Engraved by H. Meyer from an original Drawing by R. Nanteuil at Paris 1650.

MARY WIFE OF JOHN EVELYN, ESQR

Daughter of Sir Richard Browne Bart.

Ambassador from King Charles I & II. to the Court of France.

I am Sr

Sayes Court
the 22d March 1668/9

Your servant
J Evelyn

Published Feb.y 1.1816

MEMOIRS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN EVELYN, ESQ. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF THE "SYLVA," &c. &c.

COMPRISING HIS DIARY, FROM THE YEAR 1641 TO 1705-6,

AND A SELECTION OF HIS FAMILIAR LETTERS.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

The Private Correspondence

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I. AND HIS SECRETARY OF STATE,
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,

WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641, AND AT OTHER TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR;

ALSO BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,
AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I. AND THE USURPATION.

THE WHOLE NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

EDITED BY WILLIAM BRAY, ESQ.

FELLOW AND TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

THE SECOND VOLUME.

THIS Volume contains the Conclusion of Mr. Evelyn's Diary, followed by some Extracts from his very extensive Correspondence, after which are some of his hitherto unpublished Essays. Other Letters which form part of the Volume are from originals written by King Charles I. to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State; by Sir Edward to the King, with his Majesty's answers in the margins; by Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. and the Princess Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, to Sir Edward: and to them are added a few State Papers; these will be found to contain many curious particulars. They were amongst Mr. Evelyn's papers, having doubtless come to him from his father-in-law Sir Richard Browne, who was related by marriage to Sir Edward Nicholas.

These Royal Letters begin with that interesting period in the History of King Charles I. when he made his Journey to Scotland in 1641; continue during his stay there; re-commence on Sir Edward Nicholas being appointed one of the Commissioners for the Treaty at Uxbridge; next, during his residence in the besieged City of Oxford, whilst the King was pursuing his military measures in other parts; again, whilst the King was with the Scots army, and especially during his confinement at Holdenby, and in the Isle of Wight.

After the King's death, a correspondence commences with King Charles II. and the Princess Elizabeth (the late King's sister) Queen of Bohemia, and the Duke of York. These are highly illustrative of the political jealousies of that period, and of the difficulties to which the Royal Family were reduced. They shew how strenuously the Queen Mother and her Catholic advisers attempted to convert Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester, to the Roman Catholic religion. This brings down the correspondence to 1655; but it has also been thought proper to subjoin some unpublished Letters to and from the Earl of Clarendon (when Sir Edw. Hyde) and Sir Richard Browne, throwing light on the royal affairs during the Interregnum, a period but slightly touched upon by Historians, who, in general, have confined themselves to the passing Events in England, contenting themselves with a short notice of the exiled Court. The volume concludes with a few State Papers, selected as elucidatory of certain transactions little noticed by the Historians of that period.

Of Sir Edward Nicholas, who, next to his Royal Master, is the most conspicuous character in this selection, the following account is taken from our Historians and Biographers.

He was the eldest son of John Nicholas, Esq. of Winterborne Earls, in the County of Wilts; was born in 1592, educated at Oxford, entered of the Middle Temple, resided some time in France, and on his return to England turned his thoughts to public business. His first official situation was in the time of James I. that of Secretary to Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, who having surrendered that employment to please the King, it was conferred on the Duke of Buckingham. The Duke continued Mr. Nicholas in his office, and advanced him to be Secretary to the Admiralty. On the Duke being killed by Felton, the Commissioners of the Admiralty who were appointed on that occasion, continued Mr. Nicholas as Secretary, and he retained the office till 1636, when, Algernon Earl of Northumberland being appointed Lord High Admiral, he was removed to the Clerkship of the Council. This bringing him more within the personal view and knowledge of the King, he was appointed Secretary of State when the flight of Windebank left the office vacant in 1641. For his loyalty in

the execution of it he became obnoxious to the Parliament, and was one of those excepted in the terms which they offered to the King after he had raised his standard at Nottingham. Notwithstanding this exception, they did not refuse to receive him as one of the King's Commissioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge. He was at Oxford during the time it was besieged by the Parliament forces; and on the death of the King he went to France, and joined the exiled Prince at Rouen, on his arrival there from Jersey. In the young King's service he continued in France and Holland till the Treaty of Breda, when his Majesty went to Scotland; and on his return from thence Mr. Nicholas again joined him at Aix. On the Restoration in 1660, he was continued as Secretary; but in 1662 he resigned it, being then about 70 years of age. He refused a Peerage offered him by the King; and retiring to his seat at West Horsley in Surrey, an estate which he had purchased of Carew Ralegh, Esq. (son of Sir Walter), died there in 1669. In the church of that parish are monuments for him and his descendants, who continued there till 1749. He left four sons. In 1641 it appears by these Letters that he had a house at Thorpe, in Surrey. He received the honour of knighthood at Whitehall on the 26th of November, 1641, the day after the King's return from Scotland.

Lord Clarendon gives this character of Sir Edward Nicholas: "Upon his Majesty's own observation of his virtue and fidelity, and without any other recommendation, he was appointed Secretary of State on Windebank's flight."

From these Letters the Reader will duly appreciate his character. They prove him to have been a diligent, faithful adviser of the King; one who scrupled not to offer his opinion, and that an honest one; and it is to the King's credit that he allowed him to do so, commending his openness, though, unhappily for himself and his kingdoms, he did not always attend to the advice so given.

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MEMOIRS, &c.

PART I.

CONTAINING

MR. EVELYN'S DIARY, FROM 1689 TO 1705-6,

AND

A SELECTION OF HIS FAMILIAR LETTERS.

KALENDARIUM.

1689 7 Jan. A LONG frost and deepe snow; the Thames almost frozen over.

15. I visited the Abp. of Canterbury, where I found the Bps. of St. Asaph *, Ely †, Bath and Wells ‡, Peterborough § and Chichester ||, the Earles of Ailesbury and Clarendon, S^r^ Geo. Mackenzie Lord Advocate of Scotland, and then came in a Scotch Abp, &c. After prayers and dinner, divers serious matters were discours'd, concerning the present state of the public, and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene; some would have the Princesse made Queene without any more dispute, others were for a Regency; there was a Tory party (as then so call'd) who were for inviting his Ma^ty^ againe upon conditions; and there were Republicarians who would make the Pr. of Orange like a Statholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties to bring them into confusion; most for ambition or other interest, few for conscience and moderate resolutions. I found nothing of all this in this assembly of Bishops, who were pleased to admit me into their discourses; they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oathes, and so all public matters to proceede in his Ma^tys^ name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the Laws in being. Such was the result of this meeting.

My Lord of Canterbury gave me great thanks for the advertisement I sent him in Oct^r^ [see vol. I. under the year 1688], and assured me they took my counsell in that particular, and that it came very seasonably.

* Lloyd. † Turner. ‡ Ken. § White. || Lake.

I found by the Lord Advocate that the Bishops of Scotland (who were indeed little worthy of that character, and had done much mischief in that Church) were now coming about to the true interest, in this conjuncture w^ch^ threatened to abolish the whole Hierarchy in that kingdom; and therefore the Scottish Archbishop and Lord Advocate requested the Abp. of Canterbury to use his best endeavours with the Prince to maintain the Church there in the same state as by Law at present settled.

It now growing late, after some private discourse with his Grace I took my leave, most of the Lords being gone.

The Trial of the Bishops was now printed.

The greate Convention being assembled the day before, falling upon the question about the Government, resolved that K. James having by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons endeavour'd to subvert the Laws of Church and State, and deserted the Kingdom, carrying away the seals, &c. without any care for the management of the Government, had by demise abdicated himself and wholly vacated his right; they did therefore desire the Lords concurrence to their vote, to place the crown on the next heir, the Pr. of Orange, for his life, then to the Princesse his wife, and if she died without issue, to the Princesse of Denmark, and she failing, to the heirs of the Prince, excluding for ever all possibility of admitting a Roman Catholic.

27 Jan. I din'd at the Admiralty, where was brought in a child not 12 yeares old, the son of one Dr. Clench, of the most prodigious maturity of knowledge, for I cannot call it altogether memory, but something more extraordinary*. Mr. Pepys and myselfe examined him, not in any method, but with promiscuous questions, w^ch^ required judgment and discernment to answer so readily and pertinently. There was not any thing in Chronology, History, Geography, the several Systems of Astronomy, Courses of the Stars, Longitude, Latitude, Doctrine of the Spheres, Courses and Sources of Rivers, Creeks, Harbours, eminent Cities, Boundaries and Bearings of Countries, not only

* See a similar account of the afterwards celebrated Rev. William Wotton in vol. I. under the year 1679, July. This Dr. Clench was murdered in a hackney-coach, and one Harrison executed for it.

in Europe but in any other part of the Earth, w^ch^ he did not readily resolve and demonstrate his knowledge of, readily drawing out with a pen any thing he would describe. He was able not only to repeate the most famous things w^ch^ are left us in any of the Greek or Roman Histories, Monarchies, Republics, Wars, Colonies, Exploits by Sea and Land, but all the sacred Stories of the Old and New Testament; the Succession of all the Monarchies, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman, with all the lower Emperors, Popes, Heresiarchs, and Councils, what they were called about, what they determined, or in the Controversy about Easter, the Tenets of the Gnostics, Sabellians, Arians, Nestorians; the difference between St. Cyprian and Stephen about Rebaptization; the Schisms. We leap'd from that to other things totally different, to Olympic years, and Synochronismes; we ask'd him questions w^ch^ could not be resolved without considerable meditation and judgment, nay of some particulars of the Civil Laws, of the Digest and Code. He gave a stupendous account of both Natural and Moral Philosophy, and even in Metaphysics. Having thus exhausted ourselves, rather than this wonderfull child, or angel rather, for he was as beautifull and lovely in countenance as in knowledge, we concluded with asking him if in all he had read, or heard of, he had ever met with any thing w^ch^ was like this expedition of the Pr. of Orange, with so small a force to obtain 3 greate Kingdoms without any contest. After a little thought he told us that he knew of nothing w^ch^ did more resemble it than the coming of Constantine the Great out of Great Britain, thro' France and Italy, so tedious a march, to meet Maxentius, whom he overthrew at Pons Milvius with very little conflict, and at the very gates of Rome, w^ch^ he enter'd and was receiv'd with triumph, and obtain'd the empire, not of 3 kingdoms only, but of all the then known world. He was perfect in the Latine Authors, spake French naturaly, and gave us a description of France, Italy, Savoy, Spain, ancient and modernly divided; as also of ancient Greece, Scythia, and Northern Countries and Tracts: we left questioning further. He did this without any set or formal repetitions, as one who had learn'd things without book, but as if he minded other things, going about the room, and toying with a parrot there, and as he was at dinner (*tanquam aliud agens*, as it

were) seeming to be full of play, of a lively, sprightly temper, allways smiling, and exceeding pleasant, without the least levity, rudeness or childishness. His father assur'd us he never impos'd any thing to charge his memory by causing him to get things by heart, not even the rules of grammar; but his tutor (who was a Frenchman) read to him, first in French, then in Latine; that he usually play'd amongst other boys 4 or 5 hours every day, and that he was as earnest at his play as at his study. He was perfect in Arithmetic, and now newly entered into Greek. In sum *(horresco referens)* I had read of divers forward and precoce youths, and some I have known, but I never did either heare or read of any thing like to this sweete child, if it be right to call him child who has more knowledge than most men in the world. I counsell'd his father not to set his heart too much on this jewell, *Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus,* as I myself learn'd by sad experience in my most deare child Richard *, many yeares since, who dying before he was 6 yeares old, was both in shape and countenance and pregnancy of learning next to a prodigy.

29 Jan. The Votes of the House of Commons being carried up by Mr. Hampden their chairman to the Lords, I got a station by the Prince's lodgings at the doore of the lobby to the House, and heard much of the debate, w^ch^ lasted very long. Lord Derby was in the chair (for the House was resolv'd into a grand Committee of the whole House); after all had spoken, it came to the question, w^ch^ was carried but by 3 voices against a Regency, w^ch^ 51 were for, 54 against; the minority alledging the danger of dethroning Kings, and scrupling many passages and expressions in the Vote of the Commons, too long to set down particularly. Some were for sending to his Ma^ty^ with conditions; others that the King could do no wrong, and that the mal-administration was chargeable on his Ministers. There were not more than 8 or 9 Bishops, and but two against the Regency; the Abp. was absent, and the Cleargy now began to change their note, both in pulpit and discourse, on their old passive obedience, so as people began to talke of the Bishops being cast out of the House. In short, things

* See Vol. I. under the year 1658, January.

tended to dissatisfaction on both sides; add to this the morose temper of the Pr. of Orange, who shew'd little countenance to the Noblemen and others, who expected a more gracious and cherefull reception when they made their Court. The English Army also was not so in order, and firme to his interest, nor so weaken'd but that it might give interruption. Ireland was in an ill posture as well as Scotland. Nothing was yet done towards a settlement. God of his infinite mercy compose these things, that we may be at last a Nation and a Church under some fixt and sober establishment!

30. The anniversary of K. Cha. I$^{st's}$ *martyrdom;* but in all the publiq offices and pulpit prayers, the collects, and litany for the King and Queene were curtail'd and mutilated. Dr. Sharp preach'd before the Commons, but was disliked, and not thank'd for his sermon.

31. At our church (the next day being appointed a Thanksgiving for deliverance by the Pr. of Orange, with prayers purposely compos'd), our Lecturer preach'd in the afternoone a very honest sermon, shewing our duty to God for the many signal deliverances of our Church, without touching on politics.

6 Feb. The King's coronation day was ordered not to be observ'd, as hitherto it had ben.

The Convention of the Lords and Commons now declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queene of England, France, and Ireland (Scotland being an independent kingdom), the Pr. and Princesse being to enjoy it jointly during their lives, but the executive authority to be vested in the Prince during life, tho' all proceedings to run in both names, and that it should descend to their issue, and for want of such, to the Princesse Anne of Denmark and her issue, and in want of such, to the heirs of the body of the Prince if he survive, and that failing, to devolve to the Parliament as they should think fit. These produc'd a conference with the Lords, when also there was presented heads of such new laws as were to be enacted. It is thought that on these conditions they will be proclaim'd.

There was much contest about the King's abdication, and whether he had vacated the government. The Earle of Nottingham and about

20 Lords, and many Bps. enter'd their protests, but the concurrence was greate against them.

The Princess hourly expected. Forces sending to Ireland, that kingdom being in greate danger by the Earle of Tyrconnell's army, and expectations from France coming to assist them, but that King is busy in invading Flanders, and encountering the German Princes. It is likely that this will be the most remarkable summer for action, w^ch^ has happen'd in many yeares.

21 Feb. Dr. Burnett preach'd at St. James's, on the obligation to walke worthy of God's particular and signal deliverance of the Nation and Church.

I saw the *new Queene* and *King* proclaim'd the very next day after her coming to Whitehall, Wednesday 13 Feb., with greate acclamation and generall good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, &c. It was believ'd that both, especialy the Princesse, would have shew'd some (seeming) reluctance at least, of assuming her father's Crown, and made some apology, testifying by her regret that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the Nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, w^ch^ would have shew'd very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety; consonant also to her husband's first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the King, but of succouring the Nation; but nothing of all this appear'd; she came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undresse, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from roome to roome to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartm^t^ where the late Queene lay, and within a night or two sate down to play at basset, as the Queene her predecessor used to do. She smil'd upon and talk'd to every body, so that no change seem'd to have taken place at Court since her last going away, save that infinite crouds of people throng'd to see her, and that she went to our prayers. This carriage was censur'd by many. She seems to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart; whilst the Prince her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderfull serious and silent, and seems to

treate all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affaires; Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care.

Divers Bishops and Noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden an assumption of the Crown, without any previous sending, and offering some conditions to the absent King; or, on his not returning, or not assenting to those conditions, to have proclaim'd him Regent; but the major part of both Houses prevail'd to make them King and Queene immediately, and a Crowne was tempting. This was oppos'd and spoken against with such vehemence by Lord Clarendon (her own uncle), that it put him by all preferment, w^ch^ must doubtlesse have ben as great as could have ben given him. My Lord of Rochester, his brother, overshot himselfe by the same carriage and stiffnesse, which their friends thought they might have well spar'd when they saw how it was like to be over-rul'd, and that it had ben sufficient to have declar'd their dissent with lesse passion, acquiescing in due time.

The Abp. of Canterbury and some of the rest, on scruple of conscience and to salve the oathes they had taken, enter'd their Protests and hung off, especialy the Abp. who had not all this while so much as appear'd out of Lambeth. This occasion'd the wonder of many who observ'd with what zeale they contributed to the Prince's expedition, and all the while also rejecting any proposals of sending againe to the absent King; that they should now raise scruples, and such as created much division among the people, greatly rejoicing the old Courtiers, and especialy the Papists.

Another objection was, the invalidity of what was don by a Convention onely, and the, as yet, unabrogated laws; this drew them to make themselves on the 22d [Feb.] a Parliament, the new King passing the Act with the Crowne on his head. The lawyers disputed, but necessity prevail'd, the government requiring a speedy settlement.

Innumerable were the crouds, who solicited for, and expected offices, most of the old ones were turn'd out. Two or three white staves were dispos'd of some days before, as, Lord Steward, to the Earl of Devonshire; Treasurer of the Household, to Lord Newport; Lord Chamberlaine to the King, to my Lord of Dorset; but there were as yet

none in offices of the Civil Government save the Marquiss of Halifax as Privy Seal. A Council of 30 was chosen, Lord Derby president, but neither Chancellor nor Judges were yet declar'd, the new Greate Seale not yet finish'd.

8 Mar. Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, made an excellent discourse on 5 Matt. 44, exhorting to charity and forgiveness of enemies. I suppose purposely, the new Parliam^{t} being furious about impeaching those who were obnoxious, and as their custom has ever ben, going on violently without reserve or moderation, whilst wise men were of opinion the most notorious offenders being nam'd and excepted, an Act of Amnesty would be more seasonable, to pacify the minds of men in so general a discontent of the nation, especialy of those who did not expect to see the government assum'd without any regard to the absent King, or proving a spontaneous abdication, or that the birth of the Prince of Wales was an imposture; 5 of the Bishops also still refusing to take y^{e} new oath.

In the mean time to gratify the people, the Hearth Tax was remitted for ever, but what was intended to supply it, besides present great taxes on land, is not nam'd.

The King abroad was now furnish'd by the French King with money and officers for an expedition to Ireland. The greate neglect in not more timely preventing that from hence, and the disturbances in Scotland, give apprehensions of greate difficulties before any settlement can be perfected here, whilst the Parliament dispose of the greate offices amongst themselves. The Greate Seal, Treasury and Admiralty put into Commission of many unexpected persons, to gratify the more; so that by the present appearance of things (unless God Almighty graciously interpose and give success in Ireland and settle Scotland) more trouble seems to threaten the nation than could be expected. In the interim the new King refers all to the Parliament in the most popular manner, but is very slow in providing against all these menaces, besides finding difficulties in raiseing men to send abroad; the former army which had never seen any service hitherto, receiving their pay and passing their summer in an idle scene of a camp at Hounslow, unwilling to engage, and many disaffected, and scarce to be trusted.

29. The new King much blam'd for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruin'd by the Lord Tyrconnell and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants. Wonderfull uncertainty where King James was, whether in France or Ireland. The Scots seem as yet to favour K. William, rejecting K. James's letter to them, yet declaring nothing positively. Soldiers in England discontented. Parliament preparing the Coronation oath. Presbyterians and Dissenters displeas'd at the Vote for preserving the Protestant Religion as established by law, without mentioning what they were to have as to indulgence.

The Abp. of Canterbury and 4* other Bps. refusing to come to Parliament, it was deliberated whether they should incur Premunire; but it was thought fit to let this fall, and be connived at, for feare of the people, to whom those Prelates were very deare, for the opposition they had given to Popery.

Court offices distributed amongst Parliam^t men. No considerable fleete as yet sent forth. Things far from settled as was expected, by reason of the slothfull, sickly temper of the new King, and the Parliament's unmindfullness of Ireland, w^ch is likely to prove a sad omission.

The Confederates beat the French out of the Palatinate, w^ch they had most barbarously ruin'd.

11 April. I saw the Procession to and from the Abby Church of Westm^r, with the greate Feast in Westm^r Hall, at the Coronation of K. W^m and Queen Mary. What was different from former Coronations was some alteration in the Coronation oath. Dr. Burnet, now made Bishop of Sarum, preach'd with greate applause. The Parliament men had scaffolds and places w^ch took up one whole side of the Hall. When the King and Queen had din'd, the ceremonie of the Champion, and other services by tenure were perform'd. The Parliament men were feasted in the Exchequer chamber, and had each of them a gold [Coronation] medal given them, worth five and forty shil-

* Burnet names only 3 besides the Abp. viz. Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells. He says that at the first landing of the Prince, Ken declared heartily for him, and advised all to go to him, but went with great heat into the notion of a Regent. After this he changed his mind, came to town with intent to take the oaths, but again changed, and never did take them. Burnet's Own Times, vol. II. page 6.

lings. On one side were the effigies of the King and Queene inclining one to the other; on the reverse was Jupiter throwing a bolt at Phaeton, the words "Ne totus absumatur:" w^ch^ was but dull, seeing they might have had out of the poet something as apposite. The sculpture was very meane.

Much of the splendor of the proceeding was abated by the absence of divers who should have contributed to it, there being but 5 Bishops, 4 Judges (no more being yet sworn), and severall noblemen and greate ladys wanting; the feast, however, was magnificent. The next day the House of Commons went and kiss'd their new Majesties' hands in the Banquetting House.

12. I went with the Bp. of St. Asaph to visit my Lord of Canterbury at Lambeth, who had excus'd himselfe from officiating at the Coronation, w^ch^ was perform'd by the Bp. of London, assisted by the Abp. of York. We had much private and free discourse with his Grace concerning severall things relating to the Church, there being now a Bill of Comprehension to be brought from the Lords to the Commons. I urg'd that when they went about to reform some particulars in the Liturgy, Church discipline, Canons, &c. the baptizing in private houses without necessity might be reform'd, as likewise so frequent burials in Churches; the one proceeding much from the pride of women, bringing that into custom w^ch^ was only indulg'd in case of imminent danger, and out of necessity during the Rebellion, and persecution of the Clergy in our late civil wars; the other from the avarice of ministers, who, in some opulent parishes, made almost as much of permission to bury in the chancel and the church, as of their livings, and were paid with considerable advantage and gifts for baptizing in chambers. To this they heartily assented, and promis'd their endeavour to get it reform'd, utterly disliking both practices as novel and indecent.

We discours'd likewise of the greate disturbance and prejudice it might cause, should the new oath, now on the anvil, be impos'd on any, save such as were in new office, without any retrospect to such as either had no office, or had ben long in office, who it was likely would have some scruples about taking a new oath, having already sworn fidelity to the government as establish'd by law. This we all knew to be

the case of my Lord Abp. of Canterbury, and some other persons who were not so fully satisfied with the Convention making it an abdication of K. James, to whom they had sworn allegiance.

King James was now certainly in Ireland with the Marshall d'Estrades whom he made a Privy Counsellor; and who caus'd the King to remove the Protestant Counsellors, some whereof, it seems, had continued to sit, telling him that the King of France his master would never assist him if he did not immediately do it, by w^ch^ it is apparent how the poor Prince is manag'd by the French.

Scotland declares for K. W^m^ and Qu. Mary, with the reasons of their setting aside K. James, not as abdicating, but forfeiting his right by mal-administration; they proceeded with much more caution and prudence than we did, who precipitated all things to the greate reproch of y^e^ Nation, all w^ch^ had ben manag'd by some crafty ill-principled men. The new Privy Council have a Republican spirit, manifestly undermining all future succession of the Crown and prosperity of the Church of England, w^ch^ yet I hope they will not be able to accomplish so soone as they expect, tho' they get into all places of trust and profit.

21 April. This was one of the most seasonable Springs, free from the usual sharp East winds, that I have observ'd since the year 1660 (the year of the Restoration) which was much such an one.

26. I heard the lawyers plead before the Lords the writ of error in the judgment of Oates, as to the charge against him of perjurie, w^ch^ after debate they referr'd to the answer of Holloway, &c. who were his Judges. I then went with the Bp. of St. Asaph to the Abp. at Lambeth, where they enter'd into discourse concerning the final destruction of Antichrist, both concluding that the third trumpet and vial were now pouring out. My Lord St. Asaph consider'd the killing of the 2 witnesses, to be the utter destruction of the Cevennes Protestants by the French and Duke of Savoy, and the other the Waldenses and Pyrenean Christians, who by all appearance from good history had kept the primitive faith from the very Apostles time till now. The doubt his Grace suggested was, whether it could be made evident that the present persecution had made so great an havoc of those faithfull people as of the other, and whether there were not yet some among them in

being, who met together, it being stated from the text 11 Apoc. that they should both be slain together. They both much approv'd of Mr. Mede's way of interpretation, and that he only fail'd in resolving too hastily on the K. of Sweden's (Gustavus Adolphus) success in Germany. They agreed that it would be good to employ some intelligent French minister * to travel as far as the Pyrenees to understand the present state of the Church there, it being a country where hardly any one travels.

26 April. There now came certain news that K. James had not only landed in Ireland, but that he had surpriz'd Londonderry, and was become master of that kingdom, to the greate shame of our Government, who had ben so often solicited to provide against it by timely succour, and w^ch^ they might so easily have don. This is a terrible beginning of more troubles, especialy should an army come thence into Scotland, people being generally disaffected here and every where else, so that the sea and land men would scarce serve without compulsion.

A new oath was now fabricating for all the Cleargy to take, of obedience to the present Government, in abrogation of the former oaths of allegiance, w^ch^ it is foreseene many of the Bishops and others of the Cleargy will not take. The penalty is to be the losse of their dignitie and spiritual preferment. This is thought to have ben driven on by the Presbyterians, our new governors. God in mercy send us help, and direct the counsels to his glory and good of his Church!

Public matters went very ill in Ireland; confusion and dissention amongst ourselves, stupidity, inconstancy, emulation, the governors employing unskilfull men in greatest offices, no person of public spirit and ability appearing, threaten us with a very sad prospect of what may be the conclusion, without God's infinite mercy.

A fight by Adm^l^ Herbert with the French, he imprudently setting on them in a creek as they were landing men in Ireland, by w^ch^ we came off with greate slaughter and little honour. So strangely negligent and remisse were we in preparing a timely and sufficient fleete. The Scots Commissioners offer the Crowne to the *new King and*

* They sent two. See afterwards.

Queene on conditions.—Act of Poll-money came forth, sparing none.—Now came forth the Act of Indulgence for the Dissenters, but not exempting them paying dues to the Church of England Cleargy, or serving in office according to law, with severall other clauses.—A most splendid Ambassy from Holland to congratulate the K. and Queene on their accession to the Crowne.

4 June. A solemn Fast for success of the Fleete, &c.

6. I din'd with the Bishop of Asaph; Mons^{r} Capellus, the learned son of the most learned Ludovicus, presented to him his Father's works not publish'd till now.

7. I visited the Abp. of Canterbury, and stay'd with him till about 7 o'clock. He read to me the Pope's excommunication of the French King.

9. Visited Dr. Burnet, now Bp. of Sarum; got him to let Mr. Kneller draw his picture.

16. King James's Declaration was now dispers'd, offering pardon to all, if on his landing, or within 20 days after, they should return to their obedience.

Our fleete not yet at sea, thro' some prodigious sloth, and men minding onely their present interest; the French riding masters at sea, taking many greate prizes to our wonderfull reproch. No certaine newes from Ireland; various reports of Scotland; discontents at home. The King of Denmark at last joins with the Confederates, and the 2 Northern Powers are reconcil'd. The East India Company likely to be dissolv'd by Parl^{t} for many arbitrary actions. Oates acquitted of perjurie, to all honest men's admiration.

20. Newes of *a Plot* discover'd, on w^{ch} divers were sent to the Tower and secured.

23. An extraordinary drowth, to the threatening of greate wants as to the fruits of y^{e} earth.

8. I sat for my picture to Mr. Kneller, for Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, holding my "Sylva" in my right hand *. It

* Now at Wotton. A copy of it was given by the late Sir Frederick Evelyn to the Earl of Harcourt a few years ago. An engraving has been executed from the original picture, and forms one of the embellishments to these Memoirs.

was on his long and earnest request, and is plac'd in his library. Kneller never painted in a more masterly manner.

11. I din'd at Lord Clarendon's, it being his lady's wedding-day, when about 3 in the afternoone, there was an unusual and violent storm of thunder, rain, and wind; many boats on the Thames were overwhelm'd, and such was the impetuosity of the wind as to carry up the waves in pillars and spouts most dreadfull to behold, rooting up trees and ruining some houses. The Countess of Sunderland afterwards told me that it extended as far as Althorp at the very time, w^ch^ is 70 miles from London. It did no harm at Deptford, but at Greenwich it did much mischeife.

16 July. I went to Hampton Court about buisinesse, the Council being there. A greate appartment and spacious garden with fountaines was beginning in the parke at the head of the canal.

19. The Marshall de Schomberg went now as General towards Ireland, to the reliefe of Londonderry. Our fleete lie before Brest. The Confederates passing the Rhine, besiege Bonn and Mayence, to obtain a passage into France. A greate victory got by the Muscovites, taking and burning Precop. A new rebel against the Turks threatens the destruction of that tyranny. All Europe in armes against France, and hardly to be found in history so universal a face of war.

The Convention (or Parliament as some call'd it) sitting, exempt the Duke of Hanover from the succession to the Crowne, w^ch^ they seeme to confine to the present new King, his wife, and Princesse Ann of Denmark, who is so monstrously swollen that its doubted whether her being thought with child may prove a tympany onely, so that the unhappy family of the Stuarts seems to be extinguishing, and then what government is likely to be next set up is unknown, whether regal and by election, or otherwise, the Republicans and Dissenters from the Church of England evidently looking that way.

The Scots have now againe voted down Episcopacy there.—Greate discontents thro' this nation at the slow proceedings of the King, and the incompetent instruments and officers he advances to the greatest and most necessary charges.

23 Aug. Came to visite me Mr. Firmin *.

25. Hitherto it has ben a most seasonable Summer.—Londonderry reliev'd after a brave and wonderfull holding out.

21 Sept. I went to visit the Abp. of Cant^{y} since his suspension, and was receiv'd with greate kindness.—A dreadful fire happen'd in Southwark.

2 Oct. Came to visite us the Marquiss de Ruvignè, and one Mons^{r} le Coque, a French refugee, who left greate riches for his religion; a very learned, civil person; he married the sister of the Dutchess de la Force.—Ottobone, a Venetian Cardinal, 80 yeares old, made Pope †.

31. My birth day, being now 69 years old. Blessed Father, who hast prolonged my years to this great age, and given me to see so great and wonderfull revolutions, and preserv'd me amidst them to this moment, accept I beseech thee the continuance of my prayers and thankfull acknowledgments, and grant me grace to be working out my salvation and redeeming the time, that thou mayest be glorified by me here, and my immortal soul sav'd whenever thou shalt call for it, to perpetuate thy praises to all eternity, in that heavenly kingdom where there are no more changes or vicissitudes, but rest and peace and joy and consummate felicity for ever. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Jesus thine only Son and our Saviour. Amen.

5 Nov. The Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Almoner, preach'd before the King and Queene, the whole discourse being an historical narrative of the Church of England's severall deliverances, especialy that of this anniversary, signaliz'd by being also the birth-day of the Pr. of Orange, his marriage (w^{ch} was on the 4th) and his landing at Torbay this day. There was a splendid ball and other rejoicings.

10. After a very wet season, the Winter came on severely.

17. Much wet, without frost, yet the wind North and Easterly.

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* He was a man of the most amiable character and most unbounded charity. He was a great friend of Sir Robert Clayton, who after his death erected a monument for him in a walk which he had formed at Sir Robert's seat at Marden in Surrey. He was very fond of gardens, and so far of congenial spirit with Mr. Evelyn. He was an Unitarian, but lived in intimacy with many of the most eminent clergy. His life was printed in a small volume. See more of him in the History of Surrey, II. 804, 805.

† Peter Otthobonus succeeded Innocent XI. as Pope in 1689, by the title of Alexander VIII.

—A Convocation of the Cleargy meet about a Reformation of our Liturgy, Canons, &c. obstructed by others of the Cleargy.

27. I went to London with my family to winter at Soho in the great square.

1690. 11 Jan. This night there was a most extraordinary storme of wind, accompanied with snow and sharp weather; it did greate harme in many places, blowing down houses, trees, &c. killing many people. It began about 2 in the morning, and lasted till 5, being a kind of hurricane, w^ch^ mariners observe have begun of late yeares to come Northward. This Winter has ben hitherto extremely wet, warm, and windy.

12. There was read at St. Ann's Church an exhortatory letter to the Cleargy of London from the Bishop, together with a Brief for relieving the distress'd Protestants, the Vaudois, who fled from the persecution of the French and Duke of Savoy, to the Protestant Cantons of Swisserland.

The Parliam^t^ was unexpectedly prorogued to 2d April, to the discontent and surprise of many members, who being exceeding averse to the settling of any thing, proceeding with animosities, multiplying exceptions against those whom they pronounc'd obnoxious, and producing as universal a discontent against K. William and themselves, as there was before against King James.—The new King resolv'd on an expedition into Ireland in person.—About 150 of the members who were of the more Royal party, meeting at a feast at the Apollo Tavern near St. Dunstan's, sent some of their company to the King, to assure him of their service; he return'd his thanks, advising them to repaire to their severall counties and preserve the peace during his absence, and assuring them that he would be steady to his resolution of defending the Laws and Religion establish'd.—The great Lords suspected to have counsell'd this prorogation, universally denied it. However, it was believ'd the cheife adviser was the Marquiss of Carmarthen *, who now seem'd to be most in favor.

2 Feb. The Parliam^t^ was dissolv'd by proclamation, and another call'd to meet the 20 of March. This was a second surprize to the

* Osborne, Lord Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds.

former Members; and now the Court Party, or, as they call themselves, Church of England, are making their interests in the country. The Marquiss of Halifax lays down his office of Privy Seal, and pretends to retire.

16. The Dutchess of Monmouth's Chaplain preach'd at St. Martin's an excellent discourse, exhorting to peace and sanctity, it being now the time of very great division and dissention in the nation; first, amongst the Churchmen, amongst whom the moderate and sober part were for a speedy reformation of divers things, w^ch^ it was thought might be made in our Liturgy, for the inviting of Dissenters; others, more stiff and rigid, were for no condescension at all. Books and pamphlets were publish'd every day *pro* and *con;* the Convocation were forc'd for the present to suspend any further progress. — There was fierce and greate carousing about being elected in the new Parl^t^. — The King persists in his intention of going in person for Ireland, whither the French are sending supplies to K. James, and we the Danish horse to Schomberg.

19. I din'd with the Marquiss of Carmarthen (late Lord Danby), where was Lieut^t^ Gen^l^ Douglas, a very considerate and sober commander, going for Ireland. He related to us the exceeding neglect of the English souldiers, suffering severely for want of cloaths and necessaries this Winter, exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all their hardships. There din'd also Lord Lucas, Lieut^t^ of the Tower, and the Bp. of St. Asaph. — The privy seale was again put into commission, Mr. Cheny (who married my kinswoman Mrs. Pierpoint), S^r^ Tho^s^ Knatchbull, and S^r^ P. W. Poultney.—The impudence of both sexes was now become so greate and so universal, persons of all ranks keeping their courtesans publicly, that the King had lately directed a letter to the Bishops to order their Cleargy to preach against that sin, swearing, &c. and to put the Ecclesiastical Laws in execution without any indulgence.

25 Feb. I went to Kensington, w^ch^ King William had bought of Lord Nottingham, and alter'd, but was yet a patch'd building, but with the garden, however, it is a very sweete villa, having to it the Park and a straight new way through this Park.

7 Mar. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, where was that excellent Shipwright and Seaman (for so he had ben and also a Commiss^{r} of the Navy) S^{r} Anth^{y} Deane. Amongst other discourse, and deploring the sad condition of our Navy, as now govern'd by unexperienc'd men since this Revolution, he mention'd what exceeding advantage we of this nation had by being the first who built Fregats, the first of w^{ch} ever built was that vessell w^{ch} was afterwards call'd The Constant Warwick, and was the work of Pet* of Chatham, for a trial of making a vessell that would sail swiftly; it was built with low decks, the guns lying neere the water, and was so light and swift of sailing, that in a short time he told us she had, ere the Dutch war was ended, taken as much money from privateers as would have laden her; and that more such being built did in a yeare or two scour the Channel from those of Dunkirk and others w^{ch} had exceedingly infested it. He added that it would be the best and onely infallible expedient to be masters of the sea, and able to destroy the greatest navy of any enemy, if instead of building huge greate ships and second and third rates, they would leave off building such high decks, w^{ch} were for nothing but to gratify Gentlemen Commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp; that it would be the ruin of our fleets if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience w^{ch} those who were bred seamen would undergo, in those so otherwise usefull swift fregats. These being to encounter the greatest ships would be able to protect, set on, and bring off, those who should manage the fire-ships; and the Prince who should first store himselfe with numbers of such fire-ships would, thro' the help and countenance of such fregats, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships that could be sent to sea, by the dexterity of working those light, swift ships to guard the fire-ships. He concluded there would shortly be no other method of sea-fight, and that great ships and men of war, however stor'd with guns and men, must submit to those who should encounter them with far less number.

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* See vol. I. under the year 1663, August.

He represented to us the dreadfull effect of these fire-ships; that he continually observ'd in our late maritime war with the Dutch, that when an enemy's fire-ship approach'd, the most valiant commander and common sailors were in such consternation that tho' then, of all times, there was most need of the guns, boomes, &c. to keep the mischeif off, they grew pale and astonish'd, as if of a quite other mean soul, that they slunk about, forsook their guns and work as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of their ship, tho' sure to be drown'd if they did so. This he said was likely to prove hereafter the method of sea-fight, likely to be the misfortune of England if they continued to put Gentlemen Commanders over experienc'd Seamen, on account of their ignorance, effeminacy and insolence.

9 March. I din'd at the Bp. of St. Asaph's, Almoner to the new Queene, with the famous Lawyer S^{r} Geo. Mackenzie (late Lord Advocate of Scotland), against whom both the Bp. and myselfe had written and publish'd books, both now most friendly reconcil'd *. He related to us many particulars of Scotland, the present sad condition of it, the inveterate hatred which the Presbyterians shew to the Family of the Stewarts, and the exceeding tyranny of those bigots who acknowledge no superior on earth, in civil or divine matters, maintaining that the people onely have the right of government; their implacable hatred to the Episcopal Order and Church of England. He observ'd that the first Presbyter dissents from our discipline were introduc'd by the Jesuites order, about the 20. of Queene Eliz., a famous Jesuite amongst them faining himselfe a Protestant, and who was the first who began to pray extempory, and brought in that w^{ch} they since call'd, and are still so fond of, praying by the Spirit. This Jesuite remain'd many yeares before he was discover'd, afterwards died in Scotland, where he was buried at . . . . . having yet on his monument, "*Rosa inter spinas.*"

11 Mar. I went againe to see Mr. Charleton's † curiosities both of art and nature, and his full and rare collection of medails, which taken altogether, in all kinds, is doubtless one of the most perfect assemblage

* Sir George had written in praise of a Private Life, which Mr. Evelyn answered by a book in praise of Public Life and Active Employment; see the Introduction to vol. I. As to the Bishop's book, see Biog. Brit. articles Lloyd and Mackenzie. † See vol. I. under 1686, Dec.

of rarities that can be any where seene. I much admir'd the contorsions of the *Thea* roote, w^ch^ was so perplex'd, large and intricate, and withall hard as box, that it was wonderfull to consider.—The French have landed in Ireland.

16. A public Fast.

24 May. Citty Charter restor'd. Divers exempted from pardon.

4 June. King W^m^ set forth on his Irish expedition, leaving the Queene Regent.

10. Mr. Pepys read to me his remonstrance, shewing with what malice and injustice he was suspected with S^r^ Anth. Deane about the timber of w^ch^ the 30 ships were built by a late Act of Parliament, with the exceeding danger w^ch^ the fleete would shortly be in, by reason of the tyranny and incompetency of those who now manag'd the Admiralty and affaires of the Navy, of w^ch^ he gave an accurate state, and shew'd his greate ability.

18. Fast-day. Visited the Bp. of St. Asaph; he and his comp^s^ conversation was on the Vaudois in Savoy, who had ben thought so neere destruction and final extirpation by the French, being totally given up to slaughter, so that there were no hopes for them; but now it pleas'd God that the Duke of Savoy, who had hitherto join'd with the French in their persecution, was now press'd by the French to deliver up (Saluce)* and Turin as cautionary towns, on suspicion that he might at last come into the Confederacy of the German Princes, did seacretly concert measures with, and afterwards declar'd for them. He then invited these poore people from their dispersion amongst the mountains whither they had fled, and restor'd them to their country, their dwellings and the exercise of their religion, and begg'd pardon for the ill usage they had receiv'd, charging it on the cruelty of the French who forc'd him to it. These being the remainder of those persecuted Christians w^ch^ the Bp. of St. Asaph had so long affirm'd to be the 2 witnesses spoken of in the Revelation, who should be kill'd and brought to life againe, it was look'd on as an extraordinary thing that this prophesying Bishop should persuade 2 fugitive Ministers of the Vaudois† to returne to their country, and furnish them with 20*l.*

* Sed quære.

† P. 11.

towards their journey, at that very time when nothing but universal destruction was to be expected, assuring them and shewing them from the Apocalypse that their countrymen should be return'd safely to their country before they arriv'd. This happening contrary to all expectation and appearance, did exceedingly credit the Bishop's confidence how that prophecy of the witnesses should so come to pass, just at the time, and the very month he had spoken of some yeares before. I afterwards went with him to Mr. Boyle and Lady Ranelagh his sister, to whom he explain'd the necessity of it so fully and learnedly made out, with what events were immediately to follow, *viz.* the French King's ruine, the calling of the Jewes to be neere at hand, but that the kingdom of Antichrist would not yet be utterly destroy'd, till 30 years, when Christ should begin the Millenium, not as personally and visibly reigning on earth, but that the true religion and universal peace should obtain thro' all the world. He shew'd how Mr. Brightman, Mr. Mede and other interpreters of these events fail'd, by mistaking and reckoning the yeare as the Latines and others did, to consist of the present calculation, so many days to the yeare, whereas the Apocalypse reckons after the Persian account, as Daniel did, whose visions St. John all along explains as meaning only the Christian Church.

24 June. Din'd with Mr. Pepys, who the next day was sent to the Gate-house *, and severall great persons to the Tower, on suspicion of being affected to King James; amongst them was the Earl of Clarendon, the Queene's uncle.—King W^m^ having vanquish'd K. James in Ireland, there was much public rejoicing. It seemes the Irish in K. James's army would not stand, but the English-Irish and French made greate resistance. Schomberg was slain, and Dr. Walker who so bravely defended Londonderry. King W^m^ receiv'd a slight wound by the grazing of a cannon-bullet on his shoulder, w^ch^ he indur'd with very little interruption of his pursuit. Hamilton, who broke his word about Tyrconnell, was taken. It is reported that K. James is gon back to France. Drogheda and Dublin surrender'd, and if K. W^m^ be

* By Grey's Parliamentary Debates it appears that he was accused of having sent information to the French Court of the state of the English Navy.

returning, we may say of him as Cæsar said, "Veni, vidi, vici." But to alloy much of this, the French fleete rides in our Channell, ours not daring to interpose, and the enemy threatening to land.

27. I went to visite some friends in the Tower, when asking for Lord Clarendon, they by mistake directed me to the Earl of Torrington, who about 3 days before had ben sent for from the fleete, and put into the Tower for cowardice and not fighting the French fleete, w^ch^ having beaten a squadron of the Hollanders, whilst Torrington did nothing, did now ride masters of the sea, threatening a descent.

20 July. This afternoone a Camp of about 4000 men was begun to be form'd on Blackheath.

30. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, now suffer'd to return to his house, on account of indisposition.

1. Aug. The Duke of Grafton came to visite me, going to his ship at the mouth of the river, in his way to Ireland (where he was slain).

3. The French landed some souldiers at Teinemouth in Devon, and burnt some poore houses.—The French fleete still hovering about the Western coast, and we having 300 sail of rich merchant ships in the bay of Plymouth, our fleete begin to move towards them, under 3 Admirals. The country in the West all on their guard.—A very extraordinary fine season, but on the 12th was a very greate storm of thunder and lightning, and on the 15th the season much chang'd to wet and cold.—The militia and train'd bands, horse and foote, w^ch^ were up thro' England, were dismiss'd. The French King having newes that K. W^m^ was slaine, and his army defeated in Ireland, caus'd such a triumph at Paris, and all over France, as was never heard of, when in the midst of it, the unhappy King James being vanquish'd, by a speedy flight and escape, himselfe brought the newes of his own defeate.

15. I was desir'd to be one of the bail of the Earl of Clarendon, for his release from the Tower, with divers noblemen.—The Bp. of St. Asaph expounds his prophesies to me and Mr. Pepys, &c. The troops from Blackheath march to Portsmouth.—That sweete and hopefull youth, S^r^ Cha. Tuke, died of the wounds he receiv'd in the fight of the Boyne, to the greate sorrow of all his friends, being (I think) the last male of that family, to w^ch^ my wife is related. A more virtuous

young gentleman I never knew; he was learned for his age, having had the advantage of the choicest breeding abroad, both as to arts and arms; he had much travell'd, but was so unhappy as to fall in the side of the unfortunate King.

The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hinder'd, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be rais'd. K. W^m^ return'd to England.—Lord Sydney left Governor of what is conquer'd in Ireland, w^ch^ is neere 3 parts [in 4.]

17. A public Fast.—An extraordinary sharp, cold, East wind.

12 Oct. The French General, with Tyrconnell and their forces gon back to France, beaten out by K. William.—Cork deliver'd on discretion. The Duke of Grafton was there mortally wounded and dies.—Very greate storms of wind. The 8th of this month Lord Spencer wrote me word from Althorp, that there happen'd an *Earthquake* the day before in the morning, w^ch^ tho' short, sensibly shook the house. The Gazette acquainted us that the like happen'd at the same time, half past 7, at Barnstaple, Holyhead, and Dublin. Wee were not sensible of it here.

26. Kinsale at last surrender'd, mean time K. James's party burn all the houses they have in their power, and amongst them that stately palace of Lord Ossory's w^ch^ lately cost, as reported, £.40,000. By a disastrous accident a third rate ship, the Breda, blew up and destroy'd all on board; in it were 25 prisoners of war. She was to have sail'd for England the next day.

3 Nov. Went to the Countess of Clancarty to condole with her concerning her debauch'd and dissolute son, who had done so much mischiefe in Ireland, now taken and brought prisoner to the Tower.

16. Exceeding greate storms, yet a warm season.

23. Carried Mr. Pepys's memorials to Lord Godolphin, now resuming the commission of the Treasury to the wonder of all his friends.

1 Dec. Having ben chosen President of the Royal Society I desired to decline it, and with greate difficulty devolv'd the election on S^r^ Rob^t^ Southwell, Secretary of State to King W^m^ in Ireland.

20. Dr. Hough, Pres^t^ of Magdalen Coll. Oxford, who was displac'd with severall of the Fellows for not taking the oath impos'd by

K. James, now made a Bishop.—Most of this month cold and frost.—One Johnson, a knight, was executed at Tyburn for being an accomplice with Campbell, brother to Lord Argyle, in stealing a young heiress.

1691. 4 Jan. This weeke a *Plot* was discover'd for a generall rising against the new Governm^t^ for w^ch^ Lord Clarendon and others were sent to the Tower. The next day I went to see Lord Clarendon. The Bishop of Ely * search'd for.—Trial of Lord Preston, as not being an English Peer, hasten'd at the Old Bailey.

18 Jan. Lord Preston condemn'd about a design to bring in K. James by the French. Ashton executed. The Bp. of Ely, Mr. Graham, &c. absconded.

13 Mar. I went to visite Mons^r^ Justell and the Library at S^t^ James's, in w^ch^ that learned man had put the MSS. (w^ch^ were in good number) into excellent order, they having laid neglected for many yeares. Divers medails had ben stolen and embezzled.

21. Din'd at S^r^ W^m^ Fermor's, who shew'd me many good pictures. After dinner a French servant play'd rarely on the lute. S^r^ W^m^ had now bought all the remaining statues collected with so much expence by the famous Tho. Earle of Arundel, and sent them to his seat at Easton neere Towcester †.

25. Lord Sidney, principal Secretary of State, gave me a letter to Lord Lucas, Lieut^t^ of the Tower, to permit me to visit Lord Clarendon, which this day I did and din'd with him.

10 April. This night a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the stone gallery at Whitehall to the water-side, beginning at the apartment of the late Dutchesse of Portsmouth (w^ch^ had ben pull'd down and rebuilt no lesse than 3 times to please her), and consuming other lodgings of such lewd creatures, who debauch'd both K. Cha. 2, and others, and were his destruction.—The King return'd out of Holland just as this accident happen'd.—Proclamation against Papists, &c.

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* Dr. Turner, who though one of the 6 Bishops sent to the Tower for the petition to the King, declined taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary.

† They are now at Oxford, having been presented to the University in 1755 by Henrietta Countess-dowager of Pomfret, widow of Thomas the first Earl.

16. I went to see Dr. Sloane's curiosities, being an universal collection of the natural productions of Jamaica, consisting of plants, fruits, corals, minerals, stones, earth, shells, animals, insects, &c. collected with greate judgment; severall folios of dried plants, and one which had about 80 severall sorts of ferns, and another of grasses; the Jamaica pepper, in branch, leaves, flower, fruit, &c. This collection *, with his Journal and other philosophical and natural discourses and observations, is indeede very copious and extraordinary, sufficient to furnish a history of that island, to w^ch^ I encourag'd him.

19. The Abp. of Cant^y^, and Bps. of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterboro', Gloucester, and the rest who would not take the oaths to K. W^m^, were now displaced, and in their rooms, Dr. Tillotson, Dean of S^t^ Paul's, was made Abp.; Patrick remov'd from Chichester to Ely, Cumberland † to Glouc^r^.

22 April. I din'd with Lord Clarendon in the Tower.

24. I visited the Earl and Countess of Sunderland, now come to kiss the King's hand, after his returne from Holland. This is a mystery. The King is preparing to return to the army.

7 May. I went to visite the Archbp. of Canterbury [Sancroft] yet at Lambeth. I found him alone, and discoursing of the times, especialy of the new design'd Bishops; he told me that by no canon or divine law they could justifie the removing the present incumbents; that Dr. Beveridge, designed Bishop of Bath and Wells, came to ask his advice; that the Abp. told him, tho' he should give it, he believ'd he would not take it; the D^r^ said he would; why then, says the Abp. when they come to aske, say *Nolo*, and say it from y^e^ heart, there's nothing easier than to resolve y^r^ selfe what is to be don in the case; the D^r^ seem'd to deliberate. What he will do I know not, but Bishop Ken, who is to be put out, is exceedingly beloved in his diocesse, and if he and the rest should insist on it and plead their interest as freeholders, 'tis believ'd there would be difficulty in their case, and it may indanger a schisme and much disturbance, so as wise men thinke it had ben

* It now forms part of the splendid collections in the British Museum.

† A mistake. Dr. Edward Fowler was made Bishop of Gloucester in the place of Dr. Robert Frampton, deprived for not taking the oaths.

better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turne them out for refusing to sweare against their consciences. I asked at parting, when his Grace removed; he sayd that he had not yet receiv'd any summons, but I found the house altogether disturnish'd, and his books packing up.

1 June. I went with my son, and brother-in-law Glanvill and his son, to Wotton, to solemnize the funeral of *my Nephew*, w^{ch} was perform'd the next day very decently and orderly by the Herauld, in the afternoon, a very great appearance of the country being there. I was the cheife mourner; the pall was held by S^{r} Francis Vincent, S^{r} Rich^{d} Onslow, Mr. Tho. Howard (son to S^{r} Robert) and Capt. of the King's Guard, Mr. Hyldiard, Mr. James, Mr. Herbert *nephew to Lord Herbert of Cherbury* and cousin-german to my deceas'd nephew. He was laid in the vault at Wotton church, in the burying-place of the Family. A greate concourse of coaches and people accompanied the solemnity.

10. I went to visite Lord Clarendon, still prisoner in the Tower, tho' Lord Preston being pardon'd was releas'd.

17 June. A Fast.

11 July. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, where was Dr. Cumberland the new Bishop of Norwich*, Dr. Lloyd having been put out for not acknowledging the Government. Cumberland is a very learned, excellent man. — Possession was now given to Dr. Tillotson at Lambeth, by the Sheriff; Abp. Sancroft was gon, but had left his nephew to keepe possession; and he refusing to deliver it up on the Queenes message, was dispossess'd by y^{e} Sheriff and imprison'd. This stout demeanor of the few Bishops who refus'd to take the oathes to K. W^{m}, animated a greate party to forsake the Churches, so as to threaten a schisme; tho' those who look'd further into the ancient practice, found that when (as formerly) there were Bishops displac'd on secular accounts, the people never refus'd to acknowledge the new Bishops, provided they were not heretics. The truth is, the whole Cleargy had till now stretch'd the duty of passive obedience, so that the proceedings against these Bishops gave no little occasion of exceptions; but this not amounting to heresy,

* A mistake. Dr. Cumberland was made Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. John Moore succeeded Dr. Lloyd in the See of Norwich.

there was a necessity of receiving y^e^ new Bishops, to prevent a failure of that order in the Church. — I went to visit Lord Clarendon in the Tower, but he was gon into the country for aire by the Queenes permission, under y^e^ care of his warden.

18 July. I went to London to hear Mr. Stringfellow preach his first sermon in the new erected Church of Trinity, in Conduit Street; to w^ch^ I did recommend him to Dr. Tenison for the constant preacher and lecturer. This Church being formerly built of timber on Hounslow Heath by K. James for the Mass Priests, being begg'd by Dr. Tenison rector of St. Martin's, was set up by that publiq minded, charitable and pious man neere my son's dwelling in Dover Streete, cheifly at the charge of the Doctor. I know him to be an excellent preacher and a fit person. This Church, tho' erected in St. Martin's, w^ch^ is the D^r's^ parish, he was not onely content, but was the sole industrious mover, that it should be made a separate parish, in regard of the neighbourhood having become so populous. Wherefore to countenance and introduce the new Minister, and take possession of a gallery design'd for my son's family, I went to London, where,

19 July, in the morning Dr. Tenison preach'd the first sermon, taking his text f^m^ 26 Psalm 8. "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth." In concluding he gave notice that this should be made a Parish Church so soone as the Parliament sate, and was to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity *, in honor of the 3 undivided persons in the Deity; and he minded them to attend to that faith of the Church, now especially that Arianism, Socinianism, and Atheism began to spread amongst us. — In the afternoone Mr. Stringfellow preach'd on 7 Luke 5, "*the Centurion who had built a Synagogue.*" He proceeded to the due praise of persons of such public spirit, and thence to such a character of pious benefactors in the person of the generous Centurion, as was comprehensive of all the virtues of an accomplished Christian, in a style so full, eloquent and moving, that

* This was never made a Parish Church, but still remains a Chapel, and is private property. But under the Act for building 50 new Churches, one was built in the street between Conduit Street and Hanover Square, the first stone being laid 20 June 1712; it was dedicated to St. George, and part of St. Martin's was made a separate Parish, now called St. George Hanover Square.

I never heard a sermon more apposite to the occasion. He modestly insinuated the obligation they had to that person who should be the author and promoter of such publiq works for the benefit of mankind, especialy to the advantage of Religion, such as building and endowing churches, hospitals, libraries, and schools, procuring the best editions of usefull books, &c. by w^{ch} he handsomely intimated who it was that had ben so exemplary for his benefaction to that place. Indeed that excellent person Dr. Tenison had also erected and furnish'd a public library * [in St. Martin's]; and set up 2 or 3 free schools at his own charges. Besides this he was of an exemplary holy life, took greate pains in constantly preaching, and incessantly employing himselfe to promote the service of God both in publiq and private. I never knew a man of a more universal and generous spirit, with so much modesty, prudence and piety.

The greate victory of K. William's army in Ireland was look'd on as decisive of that war. The French General S^{t} Ruth, who had ben so cruel to the poore Protestants in France, was slain, with divers of the best Commanders; nor was it cheape to us, having 1000 kill'd, but of the enemy 4 or 5000.

26 July. An extraordinary hot season, yet refresh'd by some thunder showers.

28. I went to Wotton.

2 Aug. No sermon in the church in the afternoone, and the curacy ill serv'd.

16. A sermon by the curate; an honest discourse, but read without any spirit or seeming concern; a greate fault in the education of young preachers. — Great thunder and lightning on Thursday [20], but the wind and rain very violent. — Our fleete come in to lay up the greate ships; nothing done at sea, pretending that we cannot meete the French.

13 Sept. A greate storm at sea, we lost the Coronation and Harwich, above 600 men perishing.

14 Oct. A most pleasant autumn.—Our navy come in without having perform'd any thing, yet there has ben great loss of ships by negligence, and unskilfull men governing the fleete and the navy board.

* See vol. I. under the year 1684, February.

7 Nov. I visited the Earl of Dover, who having made his peace with the King, was now come home. The relation he gave of the strength of the French King, and the difficulty of our forceing him to fight, and any way making impression into France, was very wide from what we fancied.

8—30 Nov. An extraordinary dry and warm season, without frost, and like a new Spring; such as had not been known for many yeares. Part of the K's house at Kensington was burnt.

6 Dec. Discourse of *another Plot*, in which severall greate persons were nam'd, but believ'd to be a sham.—A proposal in the House of Commons that every officer in the whole nation who receiv'd a salary above £.500 or otherwise by virtue of his office should contribute it wholly to the support of the war with France, and this upon their oathes.

26. An exceeding dry and calm Winter, no rain for many past months.

25. My daughter-in-law was brought to bed of a daughter.

28. Din'd at Lambeth with the new Archbishop. Saw the effect of my green-house furnace, set up by the Archbishop's son-in-law.

30. I againe saw Mr. Charlton's collection * of spiders, birds, scorpions and other serpents, &c.

1692. 1 Jan. This last weeke died that pious admirable Christian, excellent philosopher, and my worthy friend, Mr. Boyle, aged about 65. A greate losse to all that knew him, and to the publiq.

6. At the funeral of Mr. Boyle at S^t^ Martin's, Dr. Burnet, Bp. of Salisbury, preach'd on 2 Eccles. 26. He concluded with an eulogy due to the deceas'd, who made God and Religion the scope of all his excellent tallents in the knowledge of nature, and who had arriv'd to so high a degree in it, accompanied with such zeale and extraordinary piety, w^ch^ he shew'd in the whole course of his life, particularly in his exemplary charity on all occasions—that he gave £.1000 yearly to the distress'd refugees of France and Ireland; was at the charge of translating the Scriptures into the Irish and Indian tongues, and was now promoting a Turkish translation, as he had formerly don of Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic, w^ch^ he caus'd to be

* See Vol. I. under 1686, December.

dispers'd in the Eastern countries; that he had settled a fund for preachers who should preach expressly against Atheists, Libertines, Socinians, and Jews; that he had in his will given £.8000 to charitable uses, but that his private charities were extraordinary. He dilated on his learning in Hebrew and Greek, his reading of the Fathers, and solid knowledge in theology, once deliberating about taking holy orders, and that at the time of the Restoration of K. Cha. 2. when he might have made a greate figure in the nation as to secular honour and titles, his fear of not being able to discharge so weighty a duty as the first, made him decline that, and his humility the other. He spake of his wonderfull civility to strangers, the greate good which he did by his experience in medicine and chemistry, and to what noble ends he applied himselfe to his darling studies; the works both pious and usefull which he publish'd; the exact life he led, and the happy end he made. Something was touch'd of his sister the Lady Ranelagh, who died but a few days before him. And truly all this was but his due, without any grain of flattery.

This week a most execrable murder was committed on Dr. Clench, father of that extraordinary learned child whom I have before notic'd *. Under pretence of carrying him in a coach to see a patient, they strangled him in it, and sending away the coachman under some pretence, they left his dead body in the coach, and escap'd in the dusk of the evening †.

12 Jan. My grandaughter was christen'd by Dr. Tenison, now Bp. of Lincoln, in Trinity Church, being the first that was christen'd there. She was nam'd Jane.

24. A frosty and dry season continued; many persons die of apoplexies, more than usual.—Lord Marlborough, L^t Gen^l of the K^s army in England, Gentleman of the bed-chamber, &c. dismiss'd from all his charges, military and other, for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers.—Note, this was the Lord who was entirely advanc'd by K. James, and was the first who betray'd and forsooke his master. He was son of S^r Winston Churchill of the Greencloth.

* See before, p. 2.

† One Henry Harrison was tried for this murder, convicted, and hanged; but he left a paper which was printed, denying his guilt.

7 Feb. An extraordinary snow fell in most parts.

13. Mr. Boyle having made me one of the trustees for his charitable bequests, I went to a meeting of the Bp. of Lincoln, Sir Rob. . . . . wood and Serj^{t} Rotheram, to settle that clause in the will w^{ch} related to charitable uses, and especialy the appointing and electing a minister to preach one sermon the first Sunday in the month, during the 4 Summer months, expressly against Atheists, Deists, Libertines, Jews, &c. without descending to any other controversy whatever, for w^{ch} £.50 *per ann.* is to be paid quarterly to the preacher, and at the end of 3 yeares to proceed to a new election of some other able Divine, or to continue the same, as the Trustees should judge convenient. We made choice of one Mr. Bentley*, chaplain to the Bp. of Worc^{r} (Dr. Stillingfleet.) The first sermon was appointed for the first Sunday in March, at St. Martin's; the second Monday in April at Bow Church, and so alternately.

28. Lord Marlborough having us'd words against the King, and ben discharg'd from all his greate places, his wife was forbid the Court, and the Princesse of Denmark was desir'd by the Queene to dismiss her from her service, but she refusing to do so, goes away from Court to Sion house.—Divers new Lords made; S^{r} H. Capel †, S^{r} W^{m} Fermor ‡, &c.—Change of Commiss^{rs} in the Treasury.—The Parliam^{t} adjourn'd, not well satisfied with affairs. The business of the East India Company, w^{ch} they would have reform'd, let fall.—The Duke of Norfolk does not succeed in his endeavour to be divorc'd §.

20 March. My son was made one of the Commiss^{rs} of the Revenue and Treasury of Ireland, to w^{ch} imployment he had a mind, far from my wishes.—I visited the Earle of Peterborough, who shew'd me the picture of the Pr. of Wales, newly brought out of France, seeming in my opinion very much to resemble the Queene his mother, and of a most vivacious countenance.

April. No Spring yet appearing. The Queene Dowager went out of England towards Portugal, as pretended, against the advice of all her friends.

* Afterwards the celebrated scholar and critick, Librarian to the King, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

† Lord Capel of Tewksbury.

‡ Lord Lempster; afterwards Earl of Pomfret.

§ See hereafter, p. 69.

4 April. Mr. Bentley preach'd Mr. Boyle's lecture at St. Mary le Bow. So excellent a discourse against the Epicurean system is not to be recapitulated in a few words. He came to me to ask whether I thought it should be printed, or that there was any thing in it w^ch^ I desired to be alter'd. I tooke this as a civility, and earnestly desir'd it should be printed, as one of the most learned and convincing discourses I had ever heard.

6. A Fast.—K. James sends a letter written and directed by his own hand to severall of the Privy Council, and one to his daughter the Queene Regent, informing them of the Queene being ready to be brought to bed, and summoning them to be at the birth by the middle of May, promising as from the French King, permission to come and returne in safety.

24. Much apprehension of a French invasion, and of an universal rising. Our fleet begins to join with the Dutch. Unkindness betweene the Queene and her sister. Very cold and unseasonable weather, scarce a leaf on the trees.

5 May. Reports of an Invasion were very hot, and alarm'd the Citty, Court, and People; nothing but securing suspected persons, sending forces to the sea-side, and hastening out the fleete. Continued discourse of the French invasion, and of ours in France. The Eastern wind so constantly blowing, gave our fleete time to unite, w^ch^ had been so tardy in preparation, that, had not God thus wonderfully favor'd, the enemy would in all probability have fallen upon us. Many daily sécur'd, and Proclamations out for more conspirators.

8. My kinsman S^r^ Edw^d^ Evelyn of Long Ditton died suddenly.

12. A Fast.

13. I din'd at my cousin Cheny's, son to my Lord Cheny, who married my cousin Pierpoint.

15. My niece M. Evelyn was now married to Sir Cyril Wyche, Secretary of State for Ireland *.—After all our apprehensions of being invaded, and doubts of our successe by sea, it pleas'd God to give us a greate victory at sea, to the utter ruine of the French fleete, their admiral and all their best men of war, transport ships, &c.

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* See hereafter, pages 38, 65.

29. Tho' this day was set apart expressly for celebrating the memorable birth, returne, and restauration of the late King Cha. II. there was no notice taken of it, nor any part of the Office annext to the Common Prayer Book made use of, w^ch^ I think was ill don, in regard his restauration not onely redeem'd us from anarchy and confusion, but restor'd the Church of England, as it were miraculously.

9 June. I went to Windsor to carry my grandson to Eton School, where I met my Lady Stonehouse and other of my daughter-in-law's relations, who came on purpose to see her before her journey into Ireland. We went to see the Castle, which we found furnish'd and very neatly kept, as formerly, only that the arms in the Guard Chamber and Keep were remov'd and carried away.—An exceeding greate storm of wind and rain, in some places stripping the trees of their fruit and leaves as if it had ben Winter; and an extraordinary wet season, with greate floods.

23 July. I went with my wife, son and daughter, to Eton to see my grandson, and thence to my Lord Godolphin's at Cranburn, where we lay, and were most honorably entertain'd. The next day to St. George's Chapel, and return'd to London late in the evening.

25. We went to Mr. Hewer's at Clapham, where he has an excellent, usefull and capacious house on the Common, built by Sir Den. Gauden, and by him sold to Mr. Hewer, who got a very considerable estate in the Navy, in w^ch^, from being Mr. Pepys's clerk, he came to be one of the principal officers, but was put out of all employment on the Revolution, as were all the best officers, on suspicion of being no friends to the change; such were put in their places as were most shamefully ignorant and unfit. Mr. Hewer lives very handsomely and friendly to every body.—Our fleete was now sailing on their long pretence of a descent on the French coast; but after having sail'd 100 leagues, return'd, the Admiral and Officers disagreeing as to the place where they were to land, and the time of yeare being so far spent. To the greate dishonor of those at the helm, who concerted their matters so indiscreetly, or, as some thought, designedly.

This whole Summer was exceeding wet and rainy; the like had not ben known since the year 1648; whilst in Ireland they had not known so greate a drowth.

16. I went to visite the Bp. of Lincoln, when amongst other things he told me that one Dr. Chaplin of University Coll. in Oxford was the person who wrote the "*Whole Duty of Man;*" that he us'd to read it to his pupils, and communicated it to Dr. Stern, afterwards Abp. of York, but would never suffer any of his pupils to have a copy of it.

10 Aug. A Fast. Came the sad news of the Hurricane and *Earthquake*, w^ch^ has destroy'd almost the whole Island of Jamaica, many thousands having perish'd.

11 Aug. My son, his wife, and little daughter, went for Ireland, there to reside as one of the Commiss^rs^ of the Revenue.

14. Still an exceeding wet season.

15 Sept. There happen'd an *Earthquake*, w^ch^ tho' not so great as to do any harm in England, was universal in all these parts of Europe. It shook the house at Wotton, but was not perceiv'd by any save a servant or two, who were making my bed, and another in a garret. I and the rest being at dinner below in the parlour were not sensible of it. The dreadful one in Jamaica this Summer was profanely and ludicrously represented in a puppet-play, or some such lewd pastime, in the *Fair at Southwark*, w^ch^ caus'd the Queene to put downe that idle and vicious mock shew.

1 Oct. This season was so exceedingly cold, by reason of a very long and tempestuous North-east wind, that this usually pleasant season was very uncomfortable. No fruit ripened kindly.—Harbord dies at Belgrade; Lord Paget sent Ambass^r^ in his roome.

6 Nov. There was a Vestry call'd about repairing or new building of the Church [at Deptford], w^ch^ I thought unseasonable in regard of the heavy taxes, and other improper circumstances, w^ch^ I there declar'd.

10. A solemn Thanksgiving for our victory at sea, safe return of the King, &c.

20. Dr. Lancaster, the new Vicar of St. Martin's, preach'd.

A signal robbery in Hertfordshire of the Tax money bringing out of the North towards London. They were set upon by severall desperate persons, who dismounted and stopt all travellers on the road, and guarding them in a field, when the exploit was don, and the treasure taken, they kill'd all the horses of those whom they had stay'd, to hinder pur-

suit, being 16 horses. They then dismiss'd those that they had dismounted.

14. Dec. With much reluctance we gratified Sir Jo. Rotheram, one of Mr. Boyle's trustees, by admitting the Bp. of Bath and Wells * to be Lecturer for the next yeare, instead of Mr. Bentley, who had so worthily acquitted himselfe. We intended to take him in againe the next yeare.

1693. Jan. Contest in Parl[t] about a selfe-denying Act, that no Parliament man should have any office; it wanted only 2 or 3 voices to have ben carried. The Duke of Norfolk's Bill for a Divorce thrown out, he having manag'd it very indiscreetly. The quarrell betweene Adm[l] Russell and Lord Nottingham yet undetermin'd.

4 Feb. After 5 days trial and extraordinary contest, the Lord Mohun was acquitted by the Lords of the murder of Montford the player, notwithstanding the Judges, from the pregnant witnesses of the fact, had declar'd him guilty; but whether in commiseration of his youth, being not 18 years old, tho' exceeding dissolute, or upon whatever other reason, the K. himselfe present some part of the trial, and satisfied, as they report, that he was culpable, 69 acquitted him, only 14 condemn'd him.—Unheard-of stories of the universal increase of Witches in New England; men, women and children devoting themselves to the devil, so as to threaten the subversion of the government†. At the same time there was a conspiracy amongst the negroes in Barbadoes to murder all their masters, discover'd by overhearing a discourse of 2 of the slaves, and so preventing the execution of the designe. Hitherto an exceeding mild Winter. France in the utmost misery and poverty for want of corn and subsistence, whilst the ambitious King is intent to pursue his conquests on the rest of his neighbours both by sea and land. Our Admiral Russell laid aside for not pursueing the advantage he had obtain'd over the French in the past Summer; 3 others

* Bp. Kidder.

† Some account of these unfortunate persons is given in the History of Surrey, II. 714, from the papers of the Rev. Mr. Miller, vicar of Effingham in that county, who was Chaplain to the King's forces there from 1692 to 1695. Some of these poor people were convicted and executed, but Sir Wm. Phipps the Governor had the good sense to reprieve, and afterwards pardon, several, and the Queen approved his conduct.

chosen in his place. Dr. Burnet Bishop of Salisbury's book burnt by the hangman for an expression of the King's title by conquest, on a complaint of Jo. How a Member of Parliament, little better than a madman.

19. The Bp. of Lincoln preach'd in the afternoon at the Tabernacle neere Golden Square, set up by him.—Proposals of a marriage between Mr. Draper and my daughter Susanna.—Hitherto an exceeding warme Winter, such as has seldom ben known, and portending an unprosperous Spring as to the fruits of the earth; our climate requires more cold and winterly weather.—The dreadfull and astonishing *Earthquake* swallowing up Catanea and other famous and ancient cities, with more than 100,000 persons, in Sicily, on 11 Jan. last, came now to be reported amongst us.

26. An extraordinary deep snow, after almost no Winter, and a sudden gentle thaw. A deplorable *Earthquake* at Malta, since that of Sicily, nearly as greate.

19 March. A new Secretary of State, Sir Jo. Trenchard; the Attorney General Somers made Lord Keeper, a young lawyer of extraordinary merit.—King W^m^ goes towards Flanders, but returns, the wind being contrary.

31. I met the King going to Gravesend to imbark in his yatcht for Holland.

23 April. An extraordinary wet Spring.

27. My daughter Susanna was married to W^m^ Draper Esq. in the chapel of Ely House, by Dr. Tenison, Bp. of Lincoln (since Archbishop). I gave her in portion £.4000, her jointure is £.500 *per ann.* I pray Almighty God to give his blessing to this marriage. She is a good child, religious, discreet, ingenious and qualified with all the ornaments of her sex. She has a peculiar talent in designe, as painting in oil and miniature, and an extraordinary genius for whatever hands can do with a needle. She has the French tongue, has read most of the Greek and Roman Authors and Poets, using her talents with greate modesty; exquisitely shap'd, and of an agreeable countenance. This character is due to her, tho' coming from her father. Much of this week spent in ceremonies, receiving visites and entertaining relations, and a greate part of the next in returning visites.

11 May. We accompanied my daughter to her husband's house*, where with many of his and our relations we were magnificently treated. There we left her in an apartment very richly adorn'd and furnish'd, and I hope in as happy a condition as could be wish'd, and with the greate satisfaction of all our friends; for w^ch God be prais'd!

14. Nothing yet of action from abroad. Muttering of a design to bring forces under colour of an expected descent, to be a standing army for other purposes. Talk of a declaration of the French King, offering mighty advantages to the Confederates, exclusive of K. W^m, and another of K. James, with an universal pardon, and referring the composing of all differences to a Parliam^t. These were yet but discourses; but something is certainly under it. A declaration or manifesto from K. James, so written that many thought it reasonable, and much more to the purpose than any of his former.

June. Whitsunday. I went to my Lord Griffith's chapel; the common Church office was us'd for the King without naming the person, with some other, apposite to the necessity and circumstances of the time.

11. I din'd at S^r W^m Godolphin's, and after evening prayer visited the Dutchess of Grafton.

21. I saw a great auction of Pictures in the Banquetting House, Whitehall. They had ben my Lord Melford's, now Ambass^r from K. James at Rome, and engag'd to his creditors here. Lord Mulgrave and Sir Edward Seymour came to my house, and desir'd me to go with them to the sale. Divers more of the greate Lords, &c. were there, and bought pictures dear enough. There were some very excellent of Vandyke, Rubens, and Bassan. Lord Godolphin bought the picture of the *Boys* by Morillio the Spaniard for 80 guineas, deare enough; my nephew Glanville, the *old Earl of Arundell's Head* by Rubens for 20*l.* Growing late, I did not stay till all were sold.

24. A very wet hay harvest, and little Summer as yet.

9 July. Mr. Tippin, successor of Dr. Parr at Camberwell, preach'd an excellent sermon.

13. I saw the Queen's rare cabinets and collection of china; w^ch was wonderfully rich and plentifull, but especialy a large cabinet, look-

* At Adscomb near Croydon.

ing-glasse frame and stands, all of amber, much of it white, with historical bas-reliefs and statues, with medals carved in them, esteem'd worth £.4000, sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, whose country, Prussia, abounds with amber, cast up by the sea; divers other china and Indian cabinets, screens and hangings. In her library were many bookes in English, French and Dutch, of all sorts; a cupboard of gold plate; a cabinet of silver fillagree, w^ch^ I think was our Queene Mary's*, and w^ch^ in my opinion should have ben generously sent to her.

18. I din'd with Lord Mulgrave, with the Earl of Devonshire, Mr. Hampden (a scholar and fine gentleman), Dr. Davenant, Sir Henry Vane and others, and saw and admir'd the *Venus* of Corregio, w^ch^ Lord Mulgrave had newly bought of Mr. Daun for £250, one of the best paintings I ever saw.

1 Aug. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Duncomb made Lords Justices in Ireland; Lord Sydney recall'd and made Master of the Ordnance.

6. Very lovely harvest weather, and a wholesome season, but no garden fruit.

31 Oct. A very wet and uncomfortable season.

12 Nov. Lord Nottingham resign'd as Secretary of State; the Commissioners of the Admiralty outed, and Russell restor'd to his office.—The season continued very wet, as it had nearly all the Summer, if one might call it Summer, in w^ch^ there was no fruit, but corn was very plentifull.

14. In the Lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, Sir R. Haddock one of the Commiss^rs^ of the Navy had the greatest lot, £.3000; my coachman £.40.

17. Was the funeral of Capt. Young, who died of the stone and greate age. I think he was the first who in the first war with Cromwell against Spain † took the Governor of the Havanna, and another rich prize, and struck the first stroke against the Dutch fleete in the first war with Holland in the time of the Rebellion; a sober man and an excellent seaman.

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* Mary of Esté, King James's Queen, now with him in France.

† See Vol. I. under the year 1657, Feb.

30. Much importun'd to take the office of President of the Royal Society, but I again declin'd it. S^r^ Rob^t^ Southwell was continued. We all din'd at Pontac's as usual.

3 Dec. Mr. Bentley preach'd at the Tabernacle neere Golden Square. I gave my voice for him to proceed on his former subject the following yeare in Mr. Boyle's lecture, in w^ch^ he had ben interrupted by the importunity of Sir J. Rotheram that the *Bishop of Chichester** might be chosen the yeare before, to the greate dissatisfaction of the Bishop of Lincoln and myselfe. We chose Mr. Bentley againe. —The Dutchesse of Grafton's Appeal to the House of Lords for the Prothonotaries place given to the late Duke and to her son by K. Cha. II. now challeng'd by the Lord Cheife Justice. The Judges were severely reprov'd on something they said.

10. A very greate storm with thunder and lightning.

1694. 1 Jan. Prince Lewis of Baden came to London, and was much feasted. Danish ships arrested carrying corn and naval stores to France.

11. Supp'd at Mr. Edw^d^ Sheldon's, where was Mr. Dryden the Poet, who now intended to write no more Plays, being intent on his Translation of Virgil. He read to us his Prologue and Epilogue to his valedictory Play, now shortly to be acted.

21. Lord Macclesfield, Lord Warrington and Lord Westmoreland all died within about one week. Severall persons shot, hang'd and made away with themselves.

11 Feb. Now was the greate trial of the Appeal of Lord Bath and Lord Montagu before the Lords, for the estate of the late Duke of Albemarle†.

10 March. Mr. Stringfellow preach'd at Trinity Parish, being restor'd to that place, after the contest betweene the Queen and the Bishop of London who had displac'd him.

22. Came the dismal news of the disaster befallen our Turkey fleet by tempest, to the almost utter ruin of that trade, the convoy of 3 or 4 men of war and divers merchant-ships with all their men and lading having perish'd.

* Read *Bath and Wells;* viz. Bp. Kidder; see p. 35. † See pp. 55 and 75.

25. Dr. Goode Minister of St. Martin's preach'd; he was likewise put in by the Queene, on the issue of her process with the Bishop of London.

30. I went to the Duke of Norfolk to desire him to make my cousin Evelyn of Nutfield one of the Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey, and intreat him to dismiss my brother, now unable to serve by reason of age and infirmity. The Duke granted the one, but would not suffer my brother to resign his commission, desiring he should keepe the honor of it during his life, tho' he could not act. He profess'd greate kindnesse to our family.

1 April. Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, preach'd in the afternoone at the Tabernacle by Soho.

13. Mr. Bentley, our Boyle Lecturer, Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, came to see me.

15. One Mr. Stanhope* preach'd a most excellent sermon.

22. A fiery exhalation rising out of the sea spread itselfe in Montgomeryshire a furlong broad, and many miles in length, burning all straw, hay, thatch and grass, but doing no harm to trees, timber, or any solid things, onely firing barns or thatch'd houses. It left such a taint on the grasse as to kill all the cattle that eate of it. I saw the attestations in the hands of the sufferers. It lasted many moneths.—"The Berkeley Castle" sunk by the French coming from the East Indies, worth £.200,000. The French took our Castle of Gamboo in Guinea, so that the Africa Actions fell to £.30, and the India to £.80.—Some Regiments of Highland Dragoons were on their march through England; they were of large stature, well appointed and disciplin'd. One of them having reproch'd a Dutchman for cowardice in our late fight, was attack'd by 2 Dutchmen, when with his sword he struck off the head of one, and cleft the skull of the other down to his chin.

A very young gentleman nam'd Wilson, the younger son of one who had not above £.200 a year estate, liv'd in the garb and equipage of the richest nobleman, for house, furniture, coaches, saddle-

* Afterwards Dean of Canterbury; a most respectable and worthy Divine, who made no scruple to publish what he found truly pious in the works of a Roman Catholic Priest. See pp. 49 and 50.

horses, and kept a table and all things accordingly, redeem'd his father's estate, and gave portions to his sisters, being challeng'd by one Laws a Scotchman, was killed in a duel, not fairly. The quarrel arose from his taking away his owne sister from lodging in a house where this Laws had a mistress, w^ch^ the mistress of the house thinking a disparagement to it, and looseing by it, instigated Laws to this duel. He was taken and condemn'd for murder. The mystery is how this so young a gentleman, very sober and of good fame, could live in such an expensive manner; it could not be discover'd by all possible industry, or intreaty of his friends to make him reveal it. It did not appear that *he was kept by women*, play, coining, padding, or dealing in chymistry; but he would sometimes say that if he should live ever so long, he had wherewith to maintaine himselfe in the same manner. He was very civil and well natur'd, but of no greate force of understanding. This was a subject of much discourse.

24. I went to visit Mr. Waller, an extraordinary young gentleman of greate accomplishments, skill'd in mathematics, anatomy, music, painting both in oil and miniature to greate perfection, an excellent botanist, a rare ingraver on brass, writer in Latin, and a poet; and with all this exceeding modest. His house is an Academy of itselfe. I carried him to see Brompton Park [by Knightsbridge]*, where he was in admiration at the store of rare plants, and the method he found in that noble nursery, and how well it was cultivated.—A public Bank of £.140,000 set up by Act of Parliament among other Acts, and Lotteries for money to carry on the war.—The whole month of April without rain.—A greate rising of people in Buckinghamshire, on the declaration of a famous preacher, till now reputed a sober and religious man, that our Lord Christ appearing to him on the 16th of this month, told him he was now come down, and would appeare publickly at Pentecost, and gather all the Saints, Jews and Gentiles, and lead them to Jerusalem, and begin the Millenium, and destroying and judging the wicked, deliver the government of the world to the Saints. Greate multitudes follow'd this preacher, divers of the most zealous brought their goods and considerable sums of money, and began to live in imitation of the primi-

* Belonging to Mr. Wise. See p. 75.

tive Saints, minding no private concerns, continually dancing and singing Hallelujah night and day. This brings to mind what I lately happen'd to find in Alstedius, that the thousand yeares should begin this very yeare 1694: it is in his Encyclopædia Biblica. My copy of the book printed neere 60 yeares ago.

4 May. I went this day with my wife and 4 servants from Says Court, removing much furniture of all sorts, books, pictures, hangings, bedding, &c. to furnish the apartment my brother assign'd me, and now, after more than 40 years, to spend the rest of my dayes with him at Wotton, where I was born; leaving my house at Deptford full furnish'd, and 3 servants to my *son-in-law* Draper, to pass the summer in, and such longer time as he should think fit to make use of it.

6 May. This being the first Sunday in the month, the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to have ben celebrated at Wotton Church, but in this parish it is exceedingly neglected, so that unlesse at the 4 greate feasts, there is no communion hereabouts, w^ch^ is a greate fault both in ministers and people. I have spoken to my brother who is the patron, to discourse the Minister about it.—Scarcely one shower has fallen since the beginning of April.

13. Some refreshing showers.—Lord Falkland (grandson to the learned Lord Falkland, Secretary of State to K. Cha. I. and slain in his service) died now of the small pox. He was a pretty, brisk, understanding, industrious young gentleman; had formerly ben faulty, but much reclaim'd. He married a greate fortune, besides being intitled to a vast sum as his share of the Spanish Wreck, taken up at the expence of divers adventurers. From a Scotch *Viscount* he was made an English *Baron*, design'd Ambass^r^ to Holland; had ben Treasurer of the Navy, and advancing in the new Court. All now gone in a moment, and I think the title is extinct. I know not whether the estate devolves to my *cousin* Carew. It was at Lord Falkland's, whose lady importun'd us to let our daughter be with her some time, that that deare child took the same infection, w^ch^ kill'd her some yeares ago.

3 June. Mr. Edwards, minister of Denton in Sussex, a living in my brother's gift, came to see him. He had suffer'd much by a fire. —Seasonable showers.

14 June. The public Fast. Mr. Wotton, that extraordinary learn'd young man, preach'd excellently.

1 July. Mr. Duncomb, minister of Albury, preach'd at Wotton, a very religious and exact discourse.

July. The first greate *Bank* for a fund of money being now establish'd by Act of Parliament was fill'd and compleated to the sum of £.120,000, and put under the governm^{t} of the most able and wealthy citizens of London. All who adventur'd any sum had 4 *per cent.* so long as it lay in the Bank, and had power either to take it out at pleasure, or transfer it.—Glorious steady weather, corn and all fruits in extraordinary plenty generally.

15. Lord Berkeley burnt Dieppe and Havre de Grace with *bombs* in revenge for the defeat at Brest. This manner of destructive war was begun by the French, is exceedingly ruinous, especially falling on the poorer people, and does not seem to tend to make a more speedy end of the war, but rather to exasperate and incite to revenge.—Many executed at London for *clipping money*, now don to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above halfe the nominal value.

4 Aug. I went to visit my cousin G. Evelyn of Nutfield, where I found a family of 10 children, 5 sons and 5 daughters. All beautifull women grown, and extreamly well fashion'd. All painted in one piece, very well by Mr. Lutterell in crayon on copper, and seeming to be as finely painted as the best miniature. They are the children of 2 extraordinary beautifull wives. The boys were at school.

5. Stormy and unseasonable wet weather this week.

5 Oct. I went to St. Paul's to see the choir, now finish'd as to the stone work, and the scaffolds struck both without and within, in that part. Some exceptions might perhaps be taken as to the placing columns on pilasters at the East tribunal. As to the rest, it is a piece of architecture without reproch. The pulling out the formes, like drawers, from under the stalls is ingenious. I went also to see the building beginning neere St. Giles's, where 7 streets make a star from a *Doric pillar* plac'd in the middle of a circular area; said to be built by Mr.

Neale*, introducer of the late *Lotteries* in imitation of those at Venice, now set up here, for himselfe twice, and now one for the State.

28. Mr. Stringfellow preach'd at Trinity Church.

22 Nov. Visited the Bishop of Lincoln [Tenison] newly come on the death of the Abp. of Canterbury, who a few days before had a paralytic stroke. The same day and month that Abp. Sancroft was put out.—A very sickly time, especialy the small pox, of w^ch^ divers considerable persons died. The *State Lottery* drawing, Mr. Cock, a French Refugee and a President in the Parliament of Paris for the Reform'd, drew a Lot of £.1000 *per ann.*

29. I visited the Marquiss of Normanby and had much discourse concerning K. Cha. II. being poison'd.—Also concerning the *Quinquina* w^ch^ the physicians would not give to the King, at a time when in a dangerous ague it was the only thing that could cure him (out of envy because it had ben brought into vogue by Mr. Tudor an apothecary), till Dr. Short, to whom the King sent to know his opinion of it privately, he being reputed a Papist, (but who was in truth a very honest good Christian) sent word to the King that it was the only thing w^ch^ could save his life, and then the King injoin'd his physicians to give it to him, w^ch^ they did, and he recover'd. Being asked by this Lord why they would not prescribe it, Dr. Lower said it would spoil their practice, or some such expression, and at last confessed it was a remedy fit only for Kings.—Exception was taken that the late Abp. did not cause any of his Chaplains to use any office for the sick during his illness.

9 Dec. I had newes that my deare and worthy friend Dr. Tenison, Bp. of Lincoln, was made Abp. of Canterbury, for which I thank God and rejoice, he being most worthy of it, for his learning, piety and prudence.

13. I went to London to congratulate him. He being my proxy gave my vote for Dr. Williams to succeed Mr. Bentley in Mr. Boyle's lectures.

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* This Mr. Neale took a large piece of ground on the North side of Piccadilly of Sir Walter Clarges, agreeing to lay out £.15,000 in building; but he did not do so, and Sir Walter having, after great trouble, got the lease out of his hands, built what is now called Clarges street. Malcolm's London, p. 329.

29. The *small pox* increas'd exceedingly, and was very mortal. The Queene died of it on the 28th.

1695. 13 Jan. The Thames was frozen over. The deaths by small pox increas'd to 500 more than in the preceding week.—The King and Princesse Ann reconcil'd, and she was invited to keepe her Court at Whitehall, having hitherto liv'd privately at Berkeley house; she was desir'd to take into her family divers servants of the late Queene; to maintain them the King has assign'd her £.5000 a quarter.

20 Jan. The frost and continual snow has now lasted neere 5 weekes.

Feb. Lord Spencer married the Duke of Newcastle's daughter, and our neighbour Mr. Hussey married a daughter of my cousin Geo. Evelyn of Nutfield.

3. The long frost intermitted, but not gone.

17. Call'd to London by Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords of the Treasury, offering me the Treasureship of the Hospital design'd to be built at Greenwich for worn-out seamen.

24. I saw the Queene lie in state.

27. The Marquiss of Normanby told me K. Cha. had a designe to buy all King street, and build it nobly, it being the streete leading to Westm^r. This might have been don for the expence of the *Queene's funeral*, which was £.50,000, against her desire.

5 March. I went to see the ceremonie. Never was so universal a mourning, all the Parliament men had cloaks given them, and 400 poore women; all the streetes hung, and the middle of the streete boarded and cover'd with black cloth. There were all the Nobility, Mayor, Aldermen, Judges, &c.

8. I supp'd at the Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry's, who related to me the pious behaviour of the Queene in all her sicknesse, w^ch was admirable. She never enquir'd of what opinion persons were, who were objects of charity; that on opening a cabinet a paper was found, wherein she had desir'd that her body might not be open'd, or any extraordinary expense at her funeral, whenever she should die. This paper was not found in time to be observ'd. There were other excellent things under her owne hand, to the very least of her debts, which were very small, and every thing in that exact method as seldom is found in

any private person. In sum she was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the Crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renown'd Queene Elizth.

10. I din'd at the Earl of Sunderland's with Lord Spencer. My Lord shew'd me his Library, now again improv'd by many books bought at the sale of Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent physician *, which was the very best collection, especially of mathematical books, that was I believe in Europe, once design'd for the King's Library at St. James's, but the Queene's dying, who was the greate patroness of that designe, it was let fall, and the books were miserably dissipated.

The new edition of Camden's Britannia was now publish'd, with greate additions; those to Surrey were mine, so that I had one presented to me. Dr. Gale shew'd me a MS. of some parts of the New Testament in vulgar Latin, that had belong'd to a monastery in the North of Scotland, which he esteem'd to be above 800 yeares old: there were some considerable various readings observable, as in 1. John, and genealogy of St. Luke.

24. Easter day. Mr. Duncomb, parson of this parish, preach'd, which he hardly comes to above once a yeare, tho' but 7 or 8 miles off†; a florid discourse, read out of his notes. The Holy Sacrament follow'd, wch he administer'd with very little reverence, leaving out many prayers and exhortation, nor was there any oblation. This ought to be reform'd, but my good brother did not well consider when he gave away this living and the next [Abinger].

March. The latter end of the month sharp and severe cold, with much snow, and hard frost; no appearance of Spring.

31. Mr. Lucas preach'd in the afternoon at Wotton.

7 April. Lord Halifax died suddenly at London, the day his daughter was married to the Earl of Nottingham's son at Burleigh. Lord H. was a very rich man, very witty, in his younger days somewhat positive.

14. After a most severe, cold and snowy winter, without almost any shower for many months, the wind continuing N. and E. and not a

* See Vol. I. under the year 1652, November. † This was Wm. Duncomb, Rector of Ashted in Surrey, not Mr. Duncomb of Albury, mentioned in pages 43, 48.

leafe appearing: the weather and wind now chang'd, some showers fell, and there was a remission of cold.

21. The Spring begins to appeare, yet the trees hardly leaf'd.—Sir T. Cooke discovers what prodigious bribes have been given by some of the E. India Company out of the stock, which makes a greate clamour. —Never were so many private Bills pass'd for unsettling estates, shewing the wonderfull prodigality and decay of families.

5 May. I came to Deptford from Wotton, in order to the first meeting of the Commiss^rs^ for endowing an *Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich;* it was at the Guildhall, London. Present, the Abp. of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Godolphin, Duke of Shrewsbury, Duke of Leeds, Earls of Dorset and Monmouth, Commiss^rs^ of the Admiralty and Navy, Sir Rob^t^ Clayton, Sir Christ^r^ Wren, and severall more. The Commission was read by Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, surveyor general.

17 May. Second meeting of the Commissioners, and a Committee appointed to go to Greenwich to survey the place, I being one of them.

21. We went to survey Greenwich, S^r^ Rob^t^ Clayton, Sir Chr^r^ Wren, Mr. Travers the King's Surveyor; Capt. Sanders and myselfe.

24. We made report of the state of Greenwich House, and how the standing part might be made serviceable at present for £.6000, and what ground would be requisite for y^e^ whole designe.—My Lord Keeper order'd me to prepare a book for subscriptions, and a preamble to it.

31. Met again. Mr. Vanburgh was made Secretary to the Commission, by my nomination of him to the Lords, which was all don that day.

7 June. The Commiss^rs^ met at Guildhall, when there were scruples and contests of the Lord Mayor *, who would not meet, not being nam'd as one of the Quorum, so that a new Commission was requir'd, tho' the Lord Keeper and the rest thought it too nice a punctilio.

14. Met at Guildhall, but could do nothing for want of a Quorum.

5 July. At Guildhall; account of subscriptions, about 7 or 8000£.

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* Sir William Ashurst, Knt.

6. I din'd at Lambeth, making my first visite to the Archbishop, where there was much company and greate cheere. After prayers in the evening, my Lord made me stay to shew me his house, furniture and garden, w^ch^ were all very fine, and far beyond the usual Archbishops, not as affected by this, but being bought ready furnish'd by his predecessor. We discours'd of severall public matters, particularly of the Princesse of Denmark, who made so little figure.

11 July. Met at Guildhall: not a full Committee, so nothing don.

14. No sermon at Church, but after prayers the names of all the parishioners were read, in order to gathering the tax of 4*s.* for marriages, burials, &c. A very imprudent tax, especially this reading the names, so that most went out of the Church.

19. I din'd at Sir Purbeck Temple's neere Croydon; his lady is aunt to my son-in-law Draper; the house exactly furnish'd. Went thence with my son and daughter to Wotton.—At Wotton, Mr. Duncomb, parson of Albury, preach'd excellently.

28. A very wet season.

11 Aug. The weather now so cold that greater frosts were not always seene in the midst of Winter; this succeeded much wet, and set harvest extremely back.

25. Mr. Offley preach'd at Abinger; too much of controversy on a point of no consequence, for the country people here. This was the first time I had heard him preach*.—*Bombarding of Cadiz;* a cruel and brutish way of making war, first begun by the French.—The season wet, greate storms, unseasonable harvest weather.—My good and worthy friend Capt. Gifford, who that he might get some competence to live decently, adventur'd all he had in a voyage of 2 yeares to the East Indies, was, with another greate ship, taken by some French men of war, almost within sight of England, to the losse of neere £.70,000, to my great sorrow, and pity of his wife, he being also a valiant and industrious man. The losses of this sort to the Nation have

* This gentleman gave good farms in Sussex for the better endowment of Oakwood Chapel, which is a Chapel of ease for the lower parts of Abinger and Wotton, both of which livings are in the gift of the owner of Wotton, and many of the inhabitants thereabouts being distant 5 miles from their parish churches, besides the extreme badness of the roads in winter.

been immense, and all through negligence and little care to secure the same neere our own coasts; of infinitely more concern to the public than spending their time in bombarding and ruining 2 or 3 paltry towns, without any benefit, or weakening our enemys, who, tho' they began, ought not to be imitated in an action totally adverse to humanity or Christianity.

29. Very cold weather.—Sir Purbeck Temple, uncle to my son Draper, died suddenly. A greate funeral at Adscomb. His lady being owne aunt to my son Draper, he hopes for a good fortune, there being no heir. There had ben a new meeting of the Commiss^rs about Greenwich Hospital, on the new Commission, where the Lord Mayor, &c. appear'd, but I was prevented by indisposition from attending. The weather very sharp, Winter approching apace.—The King went a progresse into the North, to shew himselfe to the people against the elections, and was every where complimented, except at Oxford, where it was not as he expected, so that he hardly stopp'd an hour there, and having seene the Theatre, did not receive the banquet propos'd.—I din'd with Dr. Gale at St. Paul's School, who shew'd me many curious passages out of some ancient Platonists MSS. concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned person would publish, with many other rare things, if he was encourag'd, and eas'd of the burden of teaching.

25 Oct. The Abp. and myselfe went to Hammersmith, to visite Sir Sam. Morland*, who was entirely blind; a very mortifying sight. He shew'd us his invention of writing, which was very ingenious; also his wooden Kalender, which instructed him all by feeling; and other pretty and useful inventions of mills, pumps, &c. and the pump he had erected that serves water to his garden, and to passengers, with an inscription, and brings from a filthy part of the Thames neere it a most perfect and pure water. He had newly buried £.200 worth of music books 6 feet under ground, being, as he said, love songs and vanity. He plays himselfe Psalms and religious hymns on the Theorbo.—Very mild weather the whole of October.

10 Nov. Mr. Stanhope, Vicar of Lewisham, preach'd at Whitehall.

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* See Vol. I. under the year 1667, July.

He is one of the most accomplish'd preachers I ever heard, for matter, eloquence, action, voice, and I am told, of excellent conversation.

13. Famous fireworks and very chargeable, the King being return'd from his progresse. He stay'd 7 or 8 days at Lord Sunderland's at Althorp, where he was mightily entertain'd. These fireworks were shew'd before Lord Romney, master of the ordnance, in St. James's *greate square*, where the King stood.

17. I spoke to the Abp. of Cant^{y} to interest himself for restoring a roome belonging to St. James's Library, where the books want place.

21. I went to see Mr. Churchill's collection of rarities.

23. I went to Lambeth to get Mr. Williams continued in Boyle's lectures another year. Amongst others who din'd there was Dr. Covel* the greate Oriental traveller.

1 Dec. I din'd at Lord Sunderland's, now the greate favorite and underhand politician, but not adventuring on any character, being obnoxious to the people for having twice chang'd his religion.

23. The Parliament wondrous intent on ways to *reform the coin;* setting out a proclamation prohibiting the currency of half crowns, &c. which made much confusion among the people.

25. Hitherto mild, dark, misty weather. Now snow and frost.

1696. 12 Jan. Great confusion and distraction by reason of the *clipp'd money*, and the difficulty found in reforming it.

2 Feb. An extraordinary wet season, tho' temperate as to cold.—The Royal Sovereign† man of war was burnt at Chatham. It was built in 1637, and having given occasion to the levy of *Ship-money* was perhaps the cause of all the after-troubles to this day.—An *Earthquake* in Dorsetshire by Portland, or rather a sinking of the ground suddenly for a large space, neere the quarries of stone, hindering the conveyance of that material for the finishing St. Paul's.

23. They now began to coin new money.

26 Feb. There was now a Conspiracy of about 30 Knights, Gen-

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* Dr. John Covel, Master of Christ's College Cambridge, Chancellor of York, &c. He wrote an Account of the Greek Church, and died in 1722 in his 85th year.

† See Vol. I. under the year 1641, July.

tlemen, Captains, many of them Irish and English Papists and Non-jurors or *Jacobites* (so call'd), to murder K. William on the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington, or to hunting, or to the Chapel; and upon signal of fire to be given from Dover Cliff to Calais, an Invasion was design'd. In order to it there was a greate army in readinesse, men of war and transports, to join a general insurrection here, the Duke of Berwick having secretly come to London to head them, K. James attending at Calais with the French army. It was discover'd by some of their owne party. £.1000 reward was offer'd to whoever could apprehend any of the 30 nam'd. Most of those who were engag'd in it were taken and secur'd. The Parliament, Citty, and all the Nation, congratulate the discovery; and votes and resolutions were pass'd that if K. William should ever be assassinated, it should be reveng'd on the Papists and party through the nation. An Act of Association drawing up to impower the Parliament to sit on any such accident, till the Crowne should be dispos'd of according to the late Settlement at the Revolution. All Papists in the meane time to be banish'd 10 miles from London. This put the nation into an incredible disturbance and generall animosity against the French King and King James. The Militia of the nation was rais'd, severall regim^{ts} were sent for out of Flanders, and all things put in a posture to encounter a descent. This was so tim'd by the enemy, that whilst we were already much discontented on the greatnesse of the taxes, and corruption of the money, &c. we had like to have had very few men of war neere our coasts; but so it pleas'd God that Adm^{l} Rooke wanting a wind to pursue his voyage to the Straits, that squadron, with others at Portsmouth and other places, were still in the Channell, and were soon brought up to join with the rest of the ships which could be got together, so that there is hope this plot may be broken. I look on it as a very greate deliverance and prevention by the Providence of God. Tho' many did formerly pity King James's condition, this designe of assassination and bringing over a French army, alienated many of his friends, and was like to produce a more perfect establishment of K. William.

1 Mar. The wind continuing N. and E. all this weeke, brought so

many of our men of war together, that tho' most of the French finding their designe detected and prevented, made a shift to get into Calais and Dunkirk roads, we wanting fire ships and bombs to disturb them; yet they were so engag'd among the sands and flats, that 'tis said they cut their masts and flung their greate guns overboard to lighten their vessells. We are yet upon them. This deliverance is due solely to God. French were to have invaded at once England, Scotland and Ireland.

8. Divers of the *Conspirators* tried and condemn'd.

Vesuvius breaking out terrified Naples.

3 of the unhappy wretches, whereof one was a Priest, were executed* for intending to assassinate the King; they acknowledg'd their intention, but acquitted K. James of inciting them to it, and died very penitent. Divers more in danger, and some very considerable persons.

Great frost and cold.

6 April. I visited Mr. Graham in the Fleete.

10. The quarters of S^r^ W^m^ Perkins and Sir John Friend lately executed on the Plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple Bar; a dismal sight, which many pitied. I think there never was such at Temple Bar till now, except once in the time of K. Cha. II. *viz.* of S^r^ Tho. Armstrong †.

12. A very fine Spring season.

19. Greate offence taken at the 3 *ministers* ‡ who absolv'd S^r^ W^m^ Perkins and Friend at Tyburn. One of them (Snatt) was a son of my old schoolmaster. This produc'd much altercation as to the canonicalness of the action §.

21. We had a meeting at Guildhall of the Grand Committee about settling the draught of Greenwich Hospital.

23. I went to Eton, and din'd with Dr. Godolphin the Provost. The schoolmaster assur'd me there had not been for 20 years a more

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* Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys.

† He was concerned in the Rye House Plot, fled into Holland, was given up and executed in his own country, 1684. See Vol. I. under 1684, June.

‡ Mr. Collier, Mr. Snatt, and Mr. Cook, all nonjuring clergymen.

§ And Pamphlets upon the subject were written pro and con.

pregnant youth in that place than my Grandson.—I went to see the *King's house* at Kensington. It is very noble, tho' not greate. The gallery furnish'd with the best pictures [from] all the houses, of Titian, Raphael, Corregio, Holbein, Julio Romano, Bassan, Vandyke, Tintoret and others; a greate collection of Porcelain; and a pretty private library. The gardens about it very delicious.

26 April. Dr. Sharp preached at the Temple. His prayer before the sermon was one of the most excellent compositions I ever heard.

28. The Venetian Ambassador made a stately entry, with 50 footmen, many on horseback, 4 rich coaches, and a numerous train of gallants.—More executions this weeke of the assassins.—Oates dedicated a most villainous reviling book against K. James, which he presum'd to present to K. William, who could not but abhor it, speaking so infamously and untruly of his late beloved Queene's own father.

2 May. I din'd at Lambeth, being summon'd to meete my cotrustees, the Abp., S^r^ Hen. Ashurst, and Mr. Serjeant Rotheram, to consult about settling Mr. Boyle's lecture for a perpetuity; which we concluded upon, by buying a rent-charge of £.50 *per ann.* with the stock in our hands.

6. I went to Lambeth to meete at dinner the Countess of Sunderland and divers ladies. We din'd in the Abp's *wife's* apartment with his Grace, and staid late; yet I return'd to Deptford at night.

13 May. I went to London to meet my Son, newly come from Ireland, indispos'd.—Money still continuing exceeding scarce, so that none was paid or receiv'd, but all was on trust, the Mint not supplying for common necessities. The association with an oath requir'd of all Lawyers and Officers, on pain of Premunire, whereby men were oblig'd to renounce King James as no rightfull King, and to revenge K. William's death if happening by assassination. This to be taken by all the Council by a day limited, so that the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench hardly heard any cause in Easter Term, so many crowded to take the oath. This was censur'd as a very intangling contrivance of the Parliament in expectation that many in high office would lay down, and others surrender. Many gentlemen taken up on suspicion of the *late plot*, were now discharg'd out of prison.

29. We settled divers officers and other matters relating to workmen for the beginning of Greenwich Hospital.

1 June. I went to Deptford to dispose of our goods in order to letting the house for 3 years to Vice Adm[l] Benbow, with condition to keepe up the garden. This was done soon after.

4. A Committee met at Whitehall about Greenwich Hospital, at Sir Chr[r] Wren's, his Mat[y's] Surveyor General. We made the first agreement with divers workmen, and for materials; and gave the first order for proceeding on the foundation, and for weekly payments to the workmen, and a generall account to be monthly.

11. Din'd at Lord Pembroke's, Lord Privy Seal, a very worthy gentleman. He shew'd me divers rare Pictures of very many of the old and best masters, especialy one of M. Angelo of a man gathering fruit to give to a woman, and a large book of the best drawings of the old masters.—Sir J. Fenwick, one of the conspirators, was taken*.—Greate subscriptions in Scotland to their East India Company.—Want of current money to carry on the smallest concerns, even for daily provisions in the markets. Guineas lower'd to 22 shillings, and great sums daily transported to Holland where it yields more, with other treasure sent to pay the armies, and nothing considerable coin'd of the new and now onely current stamp, cause such a scarcity that tumults are every day fear'd, no body paying or receiving money; so imprudent was the late Parl[t] to condemn the old, tho' clipt and corrupted, till they had provided supplies. To this add the fraud of the bankers and goldsmiths, who having gotten immense riches by extortion, keepe up their treasure in expectation of enhancing its value. Duncomb, not long since a mean goldsmith, having made a purchase of the late Duke of Buckingham's estate† at neere £.90,000, and reputed to have neere as much in cash. *Banks and Lotteries* every day set up.

18. The famous trial betweene my Lord Bath and Lord Montagu for an estate of £.11,000 a year, left by the Duke of Albemarle,

* He was taken at a house by the side of the road from Great Bookham to Stoke Dabernon in Surrey, near Slyfield mill, as I was told by the great grandson of Mr. Evelyn.—W. B.

† At Helmsley in Yorkshire.

"And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a Scrivener or a City Knight."—Pope.

wherein on severall trials had been spent £.20,000 between them. The E. of Bath was cast on evident forgery*.

20. I made my Lord Cheney a visit at Chelsea, and saw those ingenious water-works invented by Mr. Winstanley†, wherein were some things very surprizing and extraordinary.

21. An exceeding rainy, cold, unseasonable Summer, yet the citty was very healthy.

25. A trial in the Common Pleas between the Lady Purbeck Temple and Mr. Temple, a nephew of Sir Purbeck, concerning a deed set up to take place of severall wills. This deed was prov'd to be forg'd. The cause went on my lady's side. This concerning my son-in-law Draper, I staid almost all day at Court. A greate supper was given to the Jury, being persons of the best condition in Buckinghamshire.

30 June. I went with a select Committee of the Commiss^rs for Greenwich Hospital, and with S^r Chr^r Wren, where with him I laid the first stone of the intended foundation, precisely at 5 o'clock in the evening, after we had din'd together. Mr. Flamstead, the K.'s astronomical Professor, observing the punctual time by instruments.

4 July. Note that my Lord Godolphin was the first of the subscribers who paid any money to this noble fabric‡.

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* See pp. 39 and 75 of the present volume.

† Mr. Winstanley was the ingenious architect who built the Eddystone *Light-house*, and perished in it when blown down by the great storm in 1703.

‡ SUBSCRIPTIONS TO GREENWICH HOSPITAL,
from Mr. Evelyn's *Papers.*

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The King	2000	0	0				
Abp. Canterbury	500	0	0	Mr. Montague, Chan. Excheq.	100	0	0
Lord Keeper Sommers	500	0	0	Mr. Smith, Commiss. Treasury	100	0	0
Duke of Leeds, Pres. of the Council	500	0	0	Lord Ch. Justice Holt	100	0	0
E. of Pembroke, Lord Privy Seal	500	0	0	Sir Ste. Fox	200	0	0
D. of Devonshire	500	0	0	E. of Ranelagh	100	0	0
Duke of Shrewsbury	500	0	0	Sir John Lowther	100	0	0
Earl of Romney	200	0	0	Mr. Priestman	100	0	0
E. of Dorset	500	0	0	Sir Geo. Rooke	100	0	0
Lord Montague	300	0	0	Sir John Houblon	100	0	0
Lord Godolphin	200	0	0	Lord Chief Justice Treby	100	0	0
				Carried over	£.7,300	0	0

7. A Northern wind altering the weather with a continual and impetuous raine of 3 days and nights, chang'd it into perfect Winter.

12. Very unseasonable and uncertain weather.

26. So little money in the nation that Exchequer Tallies, of which I had for £.2000 on the best fund in England, the Post Office, nobody would take at 30 *per cent.* discount.

3 Aug. The Bank lending the £.200,000 to pay the army in Flanders, that had don nothing against the enemy, had so exhausted the treasure of the nation, that one could not have borrow'd money under 14 or 15 p. c. on bills, or on Exche^{r} Tallies under 30 *p. cent.*—Reasonable good harvest weather.—I went to Lambeth and din'd with the Abp. who had ben at Court on the complaint against Dr. Thomas Watson, Bp. of St. David's, who was suspended for simony*. The Abp. told me how unsatisfied he was with the *Canon Law*, and how exceedingly unreasonable all their pleadings appear'd to him.

Sept. Fine seasonable weather, and a greate harvest after a cold wet Summer. Scarcity in Scotland.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Brought over £.7,300	0	0					
Sir Wm. Trumball, Pr. Sec. State	100	0	0	Mr. Justice Powell	50	0	0
Sir Robt. Rich	100	0	0	Mr. Justice Eyre	50	0	0
Sir Hen. Goodrick	50	0	0	Lord Ch. Baron Ward	66	13	4
Col. Austen	100	0	0	Mr. Justice Gregory	50	0	0
Sir Tho. Lane	100	0	0	Mr. Baron Powell	50	0	0
Sir Patience Ward	100	0	0	E. of Portland	500	0	0
Sir Wm. Ashurst	100	0	0	Mr. Baron Powis	40	0	0
Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls	100	0	0	Sir Richard Onslow	100	0	0
Mr. Justice Rokeby	50	0	0	Mr. Baron Lechmore	40	0	0
					£.9046	13	4

By the Committee for the fabrick of Greenwich Hospital, Nov. 4, 1696.—Expence of the work already done, £.5000 and upwards, towards which the Treasurer had not received above £.800, so that they must be obliged to stop the work unless there can be a supply of money both from the tallies that have been assigned for payment of his Majesty's £.2000, and the money subscribed by several noblemen and gentlemen; the Secretary was ordered to attend Mr. Lowndes Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, to move for an order that the tallies may be fixt on such fund as may be ready money, or that the Treasurer of the Hospital may be directed to dispose of them on the best terms he can; and that the Solicitor with the Treasurer's clerk do attend the noblemen and gentlemen that have subscribed, to acquaint them herewith.

* Afterwards deprived; see p. 64.

6. I went to congratulate the marriage of a daughter of Mr. Boscawen to the son of S^r^ Philip Meadows; she is niece to my Lord Godolphin, married at Lambeth by the Abp. 30 Aug^t^. After above 6 months stay in London about Greenwich Hospital, I return'd to Wotton.

24 Oct. Unseasonable stormy weather, and an ill seed-time.

Nov. Lord Godolphin retir'd from the Treasury, who was the first Commiss^r^ and the most skillful manager of all.

8. The first frost began fiercely, but lasted not long. — More plots talk'd of. Search for Jacobites so call'd.

15—23. Very stormy weather, rain and inundations.

13 Dec. Continuance of extreme frost and snow.

1697. Jan. 17. The severe frost and weather relented, but againe froze with snow. — Conspiracies continue against K. William. Sir I. Fenwick was beheaded.

7 Feb. Severe frost continued with snow. Souldiers in the armies and garrison towns frozen to death on their posts.

(Here a leaf of the MS. is lost.) *

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* In a letter to Dr. Bohun, dated Wotton 18th Jan. 169$\frac{6}{7}$, Mr. Evelyn says:

"Having ben told that you have lately inquir'd what is become of y^r^ now old friends of Says-Court, the date hereof will acquaint you where they are, and the sequel, much of what they do and think. I believe I neede not tell you that after the marriage of my daughter, and the so kind offer of my good brother here, my then circumstances and times considered, I had reason to embrace it, not merely out of inclination to the place where I was born and have now an interest.

"Amongst other things I had paid £.300 for the renewing of my Lease [at Deptford] with some augmentation of what I hold from the Crowne, which the Duke of Leeds was supplanting me of ——— but I am not here on free cost.

"My L^d^ Godolphin (my ever noble patron and steady friend, now retir'd from a fatigueing station) got me to be named Treasurer to the Marine Colledge erecting at Greenwich, with the sallary of £.200 *per ann.* of which I have never yet receiv'd one penny of the Tallies assign'd for it, now two years at o^r^ Lady-day — my son-in-law Draper is my substitute. — I have only had this opportunity to place my old (indeed faithfull) serv^t^ J. Str^d^ in an employment at Greenwich, which with my other businesse, not small, among so many begarly tenants as y^u^ know I have at Deptford [is some provision for him]. I have let my house to Capt. Benbow, and have the mortification of seeing every day much of my former labours and expense there impairing for want of a more polite tennant.

"My grandson is so delighted in books that he professes a library is to him the greatest recreation, so I give him free scope here, where I have neare upon 22,000 [qu. 2000] (w^th^ my brother's),

17 Aug. I came to Wotton after 3 months absence.

Sept. Very bright weather, but with sharp East wind. My son came from London in his melancholy indisposition.

12. Mr. Duncombe the rector came and preach'd after an absence of 2 yeares, tho' only living 7 or 8 miles off [at Ashted].—Welcome tidings of the Peace.

3 Oct. So greate were the storms all this week, that neere a 1000 people were lost going into the Texel.

Nov. 16. The King's entry very pompous, but in nothing approaching that of K. Cha. II.

2 Dec. Thanksgiving day for the Peace. The King and a greate Court at Whitehall. The Bp. of Salisbury * preach'd, or rather made a florid panegyric on 2 Chron. 9. 7, 8. — The evening concluded with fire-works and illuminations of greate expence.

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and whither I would bring the rest had I any roome, which I have not, to my greate regrett, having here so little conversation with the Learn'd, unlesse it be when Mr. Wotton (the learned gentleman before mentioned, the friend of Dr. Bentley) comes now and then to visit me, he being tutor to Mr. Finch's son at Albury, but which he is now leaving to go to his living, that without books, and the best wife and bro. in the world, I were to be pitied; but with these subsidiaries, and the revising some of my old impertinences, to which I am adding a Discourse I made on Medals (lying by me long before Obadiah Walker's Treatise appear'd), I passe some of my Attic nights, if I may be so vaine as to name them wth the Author of those Criticisms. For the rest, I am planting an ever-green grove here to an old house ready to drop, the œconomy and hospitality of which my good old brother will not depart from, but *more veterum* kept a Christmas in wch we had not fewer than 300 bumkins every holy-day.

"We have here a very convenient appartment of 5 roomes together, besides a pretty closet, which we have furnish'd with the spoiles of Says Court, and is the raree-shew of the whole neighbourhood, and in truth we live very easy as to all domestic cares. Wednesday and Saturday nights we call Lecture Nights, when my wife and myselfe take our turnes to read the packets of all the newes sent constantly from London, wch serves us for discourse till fresh newes comes; and so you have the history of a very old man and his no young companion, whose society I have enjoy'd more to my satisfaction these 3 yeares here, than in almost 50 before, but am now every day trussing up to be gon, I hope to a better place.

"My daughter Draper being brought to bed in the Christmas holidays of a fine boy, has given an heire to her most deserving husband, a prudent, well-natur'd Gent. a man of businesse, like to be very rich, and deserving to be so, among the happiest paires I think in England, and to my daughter's and our hearts' desir. She has also a fine girle, and a mother-in-law exceedingly fond of my daughter, and a most excellent woman, charitable and of a very sweete disposition. They all live together, keepe each their coach, and with as suitable an equipage as any in towne."

* Burnet.

5. Was the first Sunday that St. Paul's had had service perform'd in it since it was burnt in 1666.

6. I went to Kensington with the Sherif, Knights and cheife gentlemen of Surrey, to present their Address to the King. The Duke of Norfolk promis'd to introduce it, but came so late, that it was presented before he came. This insignificant ceremony was brought-in in Cromwell's time, and has ever since continu'd with offers of life and fortune to whoever happen'd to have the power. I din'd at S^{r} Rich^{d} Onslow's, who treated almost all the gentlemen of Surrey. When we had half din'd, the D. of Norfolk came in to make his excuse.

12. At the Temple Church, it was very long before the service began, staying for the Comptroler of the Inner Temple, where was to be kept a riotous and revelling Christmas according to custom.

18. At Lambeth, to Dr. Bentley about the Library at St. James's.

23. I return'd to Wotton.

1698. A greate Christmas kept at Wotton, open house, much company. I presented my booke of Medails, &c. to divers Noblemen, before I expos'd it to sale.

2 Jan. Dr. Fulham, who lately married my niece, preach'd against Atheism, a very eloquent discourse, somewhat improper for most of the audience [at Wotton], but fitted for some other place, and very apposite to the profane temper of the age.

Whitehall burnt, nothing but walls and ruins left.

30. The imprisonment of the greate banker Duncomb: censur'd by Parliament; acquitted by the Lords; sent again to the Tower by the Commons*.

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* 25 Jan. 1697-8. Charles Duncombe, Esq. M. P. was charged with making false indorsements on Exchequer bills, and was committed close prisoner to the Tower. 29. Being ill, his apothecary and his brother Anthony Duncombe were permitted to see him. He confessed his guilt, and was expelled the House. A bill was brought in for seizure of his estate, which was passed 26 Feb. after great opposition, 138 against 103. It was entitled "An Act for punishing C. Duncombe, Esq. for contriving and advising the making false Indorsements of several Bills made forth at Receipt of the Exchequer, commonly called Exchequer Bills." This being sent to the Lords, they desired a conference with the Commons, and not being satisfied, though he had acknowledged the fact, they discharged him from the Tower.

31 March, the Commons re-committed him. We do not find in the Journals of the House of Commons, that any thing further was done.

The Czar of Muscovy being come to England, and having a mind to see the building of ships, hir'd my house at Says Court, and made it his Court and Palace, new furnished for him by the King *.

21 April. The Czar went from my house to return home. — An exceeding sharp and cold season.

8 May. An extraordinary greate snow and frost, nipping the corn and other fruits. Corn at 9*s.* a bushel. [£.18 a load.]

30. I din'd at Mr. Pepys, where I heard the rare voice Mr. Pule, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer we had ever had. He sung severall compositions of the late Dr. Purcel.

5 June. Dr. White, late Bishop of Norwich, who had been ejected for not complying with Government, was buried in St. Gregory's Churchyard or Vault at St. Paul's. His herse was accompanied by 2 other Non-juror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with 40 other Non-juror Clergymen, who would not stay the office of the burial, because the Dean of St. Paul's had appointed a Conforming Minister to read the office, at which all much wondered, there being nothing in that office w^ch^ mentioned the present King.

8 June. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mr. Godophin with the Earl of Marlborough's daughter.

9. I went to Deptford to see how miserably the Czar had left my house after 3 months making it his Court. I got S^r^ Christ^r^ Wren, the K^s^ surveyor, and Mr. London his gardener, to go and estimate the repairs, for which they allowed 150*l.* in their report to the Lords of the Treasury.—I then went to see the foundation of the Hall and Chapel at Greenwich Hospital.

6 Aug. I dined with Mr. Pepys, where was Capt. Dampier, who had been a famous Buccaneer, had brought hither the painted Prince Job †, and printed a relation of his very strange adventure, and his

* Whilst the Czar was in his house, Mr. Evelyn's servant writes to him: "There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The Czar lies next your Library, and dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at 10 o'clock and 6 at night, is very seldom at home a whole day, very often in the King's Yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The King is expected there this day, the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The King pays for all he has."

† Giolo, of whom there is a very curious engraved portrait, by Savage; also a smaller one, from the above, which is prefixed to a fabulous account of his life. Mr. Evelyn mentions him in his "Numismata."

observations. He was now going abroad again by the King's encouragem[t], who furnished a ship of 290 tons *. He seemed a more modest man than one would imagine by the relation of the crew he had assorted with. He brought a map of his observations of the course of the Winds in the South Sea, and assured us that the maps hitherto extant were all false as to the Pacific sea, w[ch] he makes on the South of the Line, that on the North and running by the coast of Peru being extremely tempestuous.

25 Sept. Dr. Foy came to me to use my interest with Lord Sunderland for his being made Professor of Physic at Oxford, in the King's gift. I went also to the Abp. in his behalf.

7 Dec. Being one of the Council of the Royal Society, I was named to be of the Committee to wait on our new President, the Lord Chancellor †, our Secretary Dr. Sloane and S[r] R. Southwell last Vice President carrying our book of Statutes: the office of the President being read, his Lordship subscribed his name, and took the oaths according to our Statutes as a Corporation for the improvement of natural knowledge. Then his Lordship made a short compliment concerning the honour the Society had done him, and how ready he would be to promote so noble a design, and come himself among us as often as his attendance on the public would permit; and so we took our leave.

18 Dec. Very warm, but exceeding stormy.

1699. Jan. My cousin Pierrepoint died. She was daughter to Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, my father's nephew; she was widow of W[m] Pierrepoint, brother to the Marquiss of Dorchester, and mother to Evelyn Pierrepoint, Earl of Kingston; a most excellent and prudent lady.

The House of Commons persist in refusing more than 7000 men to be a standing army, and no strangers to be in the number. This displeased the Court party. Our County member Sir R. Onslow opposed it also, w[ch] might reconcile him to the people, who began to suspect him.

17 Feb. My Grandson went to Oxford with Dr. Mander, the Master of Baliol College, where he was entered a Fellow Commoner.

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* Noticed in Parliament.

† Lord Somers.

19. A most furious wind, such as has not happened for many years, doing great damage to houses and trees, by the fall of w^ch^ several persons were killed.

5 March. The old E. India Company lost their business against the *new* Company, by 10 votes in Parliam^t^, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tyger baited by dogs.

The persecuted Vaudois who were banished out of Savoy were received by the German Protestant Princes.

24 March. My only remaining Son died after a tedious languishing sickness, contracted in Ireland and increased here; to my exceeding grief and affliction, leaving me one Grandson, now at Oxford, whom I pray God to prosper and be the support of the Wotton family. He was aged 44 years and about 3 months. He had been 6 years one of the Commiss^rs^ of the Revenue in Ireland, with great ability and reputation.

26. After an extraordinary storm, there came up the Thames a *whale* w^ch^ was 56 feet long. Such, and a larger of the Spout kind, was killed there 40 years ago (June 1658). That year died Cromwell.

30. My deceased Son was buried in the vault at Wotton, according to his desire.

The Duke of Devon lost £.1900 at a horse-race at Newmarket.

The King preferring his young favorite Earl of Albemarle * to be first Commander of his Guard, the Duke of Ormond laid down his Commission. This of the Dutch Lord passing over his head, was exceedingly resented by every body.

April. Lord Spencer purchased an incomparable Library † of . . . . . wherein among other rare books were several that were printed at the first invention of that wonderful art, as particularly "Tully's Offices," &c. There was a Homer and a Suidas in a very good Greek character and good paper, almost as ancient. This gentleman is a very fine scholar, whom from a child I have known. His tutor was one Florival of Geneva.

29 April. I dined with the Archbishop, but my business was to

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* Arnold Joost Van Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, &c. in Feb. 1695-6, K.G. 1700, died in 1718, at the Hague, æt. 48.

† The foundation of the noble Library now at Blenheim.

get him to persuade the King to purchase the late Bishop of Worcester's Library, and build a place for his own Library at St. James's, in the Park, the present one being too small.

3 May. At a meeting of the Royal Society I was nominated to be of the Committee to wait on the Lord Chancellor to move the King to purchase the Bp. of Worc^{rs} Library (Dr. Edward Stillingfleet.)

4. The Court party have little influence in this Session.

7. The Duke of Ormond restored to his Commission.—All *Lotteries*, till now cheating the people, to be no longer permitted than to Christmas, except that for the benefit of Greenwich Hospital. Mr. Bridgman, chairman of the Committee for that charitable work, died; a great loss to it. He was Clerk of the Council, a very industrious useful man. I saw the library of Dr. John Moore *, Bp. of Norwich, one of the best and most ample collection of all sorts of good bookes in England, and he, one of the most learned men.

11 June. After a long drowth we had a refreshing shower. The day before, there was a dreadfull fire at Rotherhithe, neere the Thames side, w^{ch} burnt divers ships, and consum'd neere 300 houses.—Now died the famous Dutchess of Mazarine, she had ben the richest lady in Europe. She was niece of Card^{l} Mazarine, and was married to the richest subject in Europe, as is said. She was born at Rome, educated in France, and was an extraordinary beauty and wit, but dissolute and impatient of matrimonial restraint, so as to be abandon'd by her husband, and banish'd, when she came into England for shelter, liv'd on a pension given her here, and is reported to have hasten'd her death by intemperate drinking strong spirits. She has written her own story and adventures, and so has her other extravagant sister, wife to the noble family of Colonna.

15. This week died Conyers Seymour, son of Sir Edw. Seymour, kill'd in a duel caus'd by a slight affront in St. James's Park, given

* Afterwards Bishop of Ely. He died 31 July, 1714. King George the First purchased this Library after the Bishop's death, for £.6000, and presented it to the University of Cambridge, where it now is. This gift occasioned two most witty Epigrams on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; a Troop of horse being at this time sent to the former holding high Tory opinions; the Books to the latter holding those of the Whigs and strong attachment to the Hanover family. They may be seen in Noble's Continuation of Granger.

him by one who was envious of his gallantries, for he was a vain foppish young man, who made a greate eclat about town by his splendid equipage and boundless expence. He was about 23 yeares old; his brother, now at Oxford, inherited an estate of £.7000 a year, w^ch^ had fallen to him not 2 yeares before.

19 June. My cousin Geo. Evelyn of Nutfield died suddenly.

25. The heat has ben so great, almost all this month, that I do not remember to have felt much greater in Italy, and this after a Winter the wettest, tho' not the coldest, that I remember for 50 yeares last past.

28. Finding my occasions call'd me so often to London, I took the remainder of the lease my Son had in a house in Dover Street, to w^ch^ I now remov'd, not taking my goods from Wotton.

23 July. Seasonable showers after a continuance of excessive drowth and heat.

Aug. I drank the Shooters Hill waters. At Deptford they had ben building a pretty new Church.—The Bishop of St. David's [Watson] depriv'd for *simony**.—The city of Moscow burnt by the throwing of squibs.

3 Sept. There was in this weeke an eclipse of the sun, at w^ch^ many were frighten'd by the predictions of the astrologers. I remember 50 yeares ago that many were so terrified by Lilly that they durst not go out of their houses.—A strange Earthquake at New Batavia in the East Indies.

4 Oct. My worthy Brother died at Wotton in the 83^d^ year of his age, of perfect memory and understanding. He was religious, sober and temperate, and of so hospitable a nature, that no family in the county maintain'd that ancient custom of keeping, as it were, open house the whole yeare in the same manner, or gave more noble or free entertainment to the county on all occasions, so that his house was never free. There were sometimes 20 persons more than his family, and some that staid there all the Summer, to his no small expense; by this he gain'd the universal love of the county. He was born at Wotton, went from the free school at Guildford to Trinity Coll. Oxford,

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* See page 56.

thence to the Middle Temple, as gentlemen of the best quality did, but without intention to study the law as a profession. He married the daughter of Colwall, of a worthy and ancient family in Leicestershire, by whom he had one son; she dying in 1643, left Geo. her son, an infant, who being educated liberally, after travelling abroad* return'd and married one Mrs. Gore, by whom he had several children, but only 3 daughters surviv'd: he was a young man of good understanding, but over indulging his ease and pleasure, grew so very corpulent, contrary to the constitution of the rest of his father's relations, that he died. My Brother afterwards married a noble and honourable lady, relict of S^{r} John Cotton, she being an Offley, a worthy and ancient Staffordshire family, by whom he had several children of both sexes. This lady died leaving only 2 daughters and a son. The younger daughter died before marriage; the other afterwards married S^{r} Cyril Wych, a noble and learned gentleman (son of S^{r} . . . . Wych), who had ben Ambass^{r} at Constantinople, and was afterwards made one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Before this marriage, her only brother married the daughter of ——— Eversfield of Sussex, of an honourable family, but left a widow without any child living: he died about 1691, and his wife not many yeares after, and my Brother re-settled the whole estate on me. His sister Wych had a portion of £.6000, to w^{ch} was added about £.300 more; the 3 other daughters, with what I added, had about £.5000 each. My Brother died on 5 Oct. in a good old age and greate reputation, making his beloved daughter Lady Wych sole Executrix, leaving me only his library and some pictures of my father, mother, &c. She buried him with extraordinary solemnity, rather as a nobleman than as a private gentleman. There were, as I computed, above 2000 persons at the funerall, all the gentlemen of the county doing him the last honours. I return'd to London, till my lady should dispose of herselfe and family.

* Mr. Evelyn, 30 Mar. 1664, in a letter to his nephew George Evelyn then on his travels in Italy, tells him that his father complained of his expences, as much exceeding those of his own, which were known to the young gentleman's father, as all the money passed through his hands. He says that when he travelled he kept a servant, sometimes two, entertained several masters, and made no inconsiderable collection of curiosities, all within £.300 *per ann.*—He desires seeds of the ilex, phyllerea, mirtle, jessamine, which he says are rare in England.

21 Oct. After an unusual warm and pleasant season, we were surpriz'd with a very sharp frost.—I presented my *Acetaria* dedicated to my Lord Chancellor, who return'd me thanks in an extraordinary civil letter.

25 Nov. There happen'd this weeke so thick a mist and fog that people lost their way in the streetes, it being so intense that no light of candles or torches yielded any (or but very little) direction. I was in it and in danger. Robberies were committed between the very lights w^ch^ were fix'd between London and Kensington on both sides, and whilst coaches and travellers were passing. It began about 4 in the afternoone, and was quite gon by 8, without any wind to disperse it. At the Thames they beat drums to direct the watermen to make the shore.

19 Nov. At our Chapell in the evening there was a sermon preach'd by young Mr. Horneck*, chaplain to Lord Guilford, whose lady's funeral had ben celebrated magnificently the Thursday before. A panegyric was now pronounc'd, describing the extraordinary piety and excellently imploy'd life of this amiable young lady. She died in childbed a few days before, to the excessive sorrow of her husband, who order'd the preacher to declare that it was on her exemplary life, exhortations and persuasion, that he totally chang'd the course of his life, w^ch^ was before in greate danger of being perverted, following the mode of this dissolute age. Her devotion, early piety, charity, fastings, œconomy, disposition of her time in reading, praying, recollections in her own hand-writing of what she heard and read, and her conversation, were most exemplary.

24 Nov. I sign'd Dr. Blackwall's election to be the next yeares Boyle's Lecturer.

Such horrible robberies and murders were committed, as had not ben known in this nation; atheism, profaneness, blasphemy, amongst all sorts, portended some judgment if not amended, on w^ch^ a Society was set on foot, who oblig'd themselves to endeavour the reforming of it, in London and other places, and began to punish offenders and put the laws in more strict execution, w^ch^ God Almighty prosper†.—A gentle, calm, dry, temperate weather all this season of the yeare, but now came sharp, hard frost, and mist, but calm.

* Of the character of this gentleman's father, see vol. I. under 1683, March. † P. 68.

3 Dec. Calm, bright, and warm as in the middle of April. So continu'd on 21 Jan.—A great *earthquake* in Portugal.

The Parliam^t^ reverse the prodigious donations of the Irish forfeitures, w^ch^ were intended to be set apart for discharging the vast national debt. They call'd some greate persons in the highest offices in question for setting the Greate Seale to the pardon of an *arch pirate**, who had turn'd pirate againe, and brought prizes into the West Indies, suspected to be conniv'd at on sharing the prey; but the prevailing part in the House call'd Courtiers, out-voted the complaints, not by being more in number, but by the country party being negligent in attendance.

1700. 14 Jan. Dr. Lancaster, Vicar of St. Martin's, dismiss'd Mr. Stringfellow, who had ben made the first preacher at our Chapell by the Bishop of Lincoln [Dr. Tenison, now Archbp.] whilst he held St. Martin's by dispensation, and put in one Mr. Sandys, much against the inclination of those who frequented the Chapel.—The Scotch book about Darien was burnt by the hangman by vote of Parliament†.

25. I went to Wotton the first time after my brother's funerall, to furnish the house with necessaries, Lady Wych and my nephew Glanville the executors having sold and dispos'd of what goods were there of my brother's.—The weather was now altering into sharp and hard frost.

One Stephens‡ who preach'd before the House of Commons on K. Charles's martyrdom, told them that the observation of that day was not intended out of any detestation of his murder, but to be a lesson to other Kings and Rulers, how they ought to behave themselves towards their subjects, lest they should come to the same end. This was so resented that tho' it was usual to desire these anniversary sermons to be printed, they refus'd thanks to him, and order'd that in future no one

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* Captain Kidd: he was hanged about two years afterwards with some of his accomplices. This was one of the charges brought by the Commons against Lord Somers.

† The volume alluded to was "An Enquiry into the causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien: Or an Answer to a Libel, entituled, A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien." See Votes of the House of Commons, 15 January, 1699-1700.

‡ William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey. After the censure of his sermon by the House of Commons, he published it as in defiance. See more of this and of him in Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, II. 487.

should preach before them who was not either a Dean or a Doctor of Divinity.

4 Feb. The Parliam[t] voted against the Scots settling in Darien as being prejudicial to our trade with Spain. They also voted that the exorbitant number of Attornies be lessen'd (now indeede swarming, and evidently causing law-suits and disturbance, eating out the estates of people, provoking them to go to law.)—Died the Duke of Beaufort, a person of greate honour, prudence and estate.

18. Mild and calm season, with gentle frost, and little misling rain. The Vicar of St. Martin's frequently preach'd at Trinity Chapel in the afternoone.

8. The season was like April for warmth and mildnesse.—11. On Wednesday was a sermon at our Chapell, to be continu'd during Lent.

13. I was at the funerall of my Lady Temple, who was buried at Islington, brought from Adscomb neere Croydon. She left my son-in-law Draper (her nephew) the mansion house of Adscomb, very nobly and completely furnish'd, with the estate about it, with plate and jewels, to the value in all of about £.20,000. She was a very prudent lady, gave many greate legacies, with £.500 to the poore of Islington, where her husband Sir Purbeck Temple was buried, both dying without issue.

24 March. The season warm, gentle and exceeding pleasant.—Divers persons of quality enter'd into the Society for reformation * of Manners; and some Lectures were set up, particularly in the City of London. The most eminent of the Clergy preach'd at Bow Church, after reading a Declaration set forth by the King to suppresse the growing wickednesse; this began already to take some effect, as to common swearing, and oathes in the mouths of people of all ranks.

25. Dr. Burnet preach'd to-day before the Lord Mayor and a very greate congregation on 27 Proverbs v. 5 and 6. "Open rebuke is better than secret love; the wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy." He made a very pathetic discourse concerning the necessity and advantage of friendly correction.

April. The Duke of Norfolk now succeeded in obtaining a divorce

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* See p. 66.

from his wife by the Parliament * for adultery with Sir John Germaine, a Dutch gamester of mean extraction, who had got much by gaming; the Duke had leave to marry againe, so that if he should have children, the Dukedom will go from the late Lord Thomas's children, Papists indeede, but very hopefull and virtuous gentlemen, as was their father. The now Duke their uncle is a Protestant.

The Parliament nominated 14 persons to go into Ireland as Commissioners to dispose of the forfeited estates there, towards paym^{t} of the debts incurr'd by the late war, but w^{ch} the King had in greate measure given to some of his favourites of both sexes, Dutch and others of little merit, and very unseasonably. That this might be don without suspicion of interest in the Parliament, it was ordered that no member of either House should be in the Commission.—The greate contest betweene the Lords and Commons concerning the Lords power of amendments and rejecting bills tack'd to the money bill, carried for the Commons. However, this tacking of bills is a novel practice, suffer'd by K. Cha. II. who being continually in want of money, let any thing pass rather than not have wherewith to feed his extravagance. This was carried but by one voice in the Lords, all the Bishops following the Court, save one; so that neere 60 bills pass'd, to the greate triumph of the Commons and country party, but high regret of the Court, and those to whom the King had given large estates in Ireland. Pity it is that things should be brought to this extremity, the governm^{t} of this nation being so equally poiz'd between King and Subject, but we are satisfied with nothing, and whilst there is no perfection on this side Heaven, methinks both might be contented without straining things too far.—Amongst the rest there pass'd a law as to Papists estates, that if one turn'd not Protestant before 18 yeares of age, it should passe to his next Protestant heire. This indeede seem'd a hard law, but not only the usage of the French King to his Protestant subjects, but the indiscreete insolence of the Papists here, going in triumphant and public processions with their Bishops, with banners and trumpets in divers places (as is said) in the Northern counties, has brought it on their party.

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* P. 31.

24 April. This weeke there was a greate change of State Officers.—The Duke of Shrewsbury resign'd his Lord Chamberlainship to the Earl of Jersey, the Duke's indisposition requiring his retreat. Mr. Vernon, Secretary of State, was put out.—The Seale was taken from the Lord Chancellor Somers, tho' he had ben acquitted by a greate majority of votes for what was charg'd against him in the House of Commons*. This being in term time put some stop to business, many eminent lawyers refusing to accept the office, considering the uncertainty of things in this fluctuating conjuncture. It is certaine that this Chancellor was a most excellent lawyer, very learned in all polite literature, a superior pen, master of a handsome style, and of easy conversation; but he is said to make too much haste to be rich, as his predecessor, and most in place in this age did, to a more prodigious excesse than was ever known. But the Commons had now so mortified the Court party, and property and liberty were so much invaded in all the neighbouring kingdoms, that their jealousy made them cautious, and every day strengthen'd the law w^ch^ protected the people from tyranny.

A most glorious Spring, with hope of abundance of fruite of all kinds, and a propitious yeare.

10 May. The greate trial between Sir Walter Clarges and Mr. Sherwin concerning the legitimacy of the late Duke of Albemarle, on w^ch^ depended an estate of £.1500 a year; the verdict was given for Sir Walter.—19. Serjeant Wright† at last accepted the Greate Seale.

24. I went from Dover street to Wotton for the rest of the Summer, and remov'd thither the rest of my goods from Says Court.

2 June. A sweete season, with a mixture of refreshing showers.

9—16. In the afternoone our Clergyman had a Catechism, w^ch^ was continu'd for some time.

July. I was visited with illness, but it pleas'd God that I recover'd, for w^ch^ praise be ascrib'd to Him by me, and that He has again so graciously advertiz'd me of my duty to prepare for my latter end, w^ch^ at my greate age cannot be far off.

The Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, died of the small pox.

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* See p. 74.

† Sir Nathan Wrighte, appointed Lord Keeper.

13. I went to Marden, w^ch^ was originally a barren warren bought by Sir Rob^t^ Clayton*, who built there a pretty house, and made such alteration by planting not only an infinite store of the best fruite, but so chang'd the natural situation of the hill, valleys and solitary mountains about it, that it rather represented some foreign country w^ch^ would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly and juniper; they were come to their perfect growth, with walks, mazes, &c. amongst them, and were preserv'd with the utmost care, so that I who had seen it some yeares before in its naked and barren condition, was in admiration of it. The land was bought of Sir John Evelyn of Godstone, and was thus improv'd for pleasure and retirem^t^ by the vast charge and industry of this opulent citizen. He and his lady receiv'd us with greate civility.—The tombs in the Church at Croydon of Abps. Grindal, Whitgift and other Abps. are fine and venerable, but none comparable to that of the late Abp. Sheldon, w^ch^ being all of white marble, and of a stately ordnance and carvings, far surpass'd the rest, and I judge could not cost lesse than 7 or 800*l.*†.

20 Sept. I went to Beddington, the ancient seate of the Carews ‡, in my remembrance a noble old structure, capacious, and in form of the buildings of the age of Hen. VIII. and Qu. Eliz. and proper for the old English hospitality, but now decaying with the house itselfe, heretofore adorn'd with ample gardens, and the first *orange trees* § that had ben seen in England, planted in the open ground, and secur'd in Winter onely by a tabernacle of boards and stoves removeable in Summer, that standing 120 yeares, large and goodly trees, and laden with fruite, were now in decay, as well as the Grotto, fountaines, cabinets and other curiosities in the house and abroad, it being now fallen to a child under age, and only kept by a servant or two from utter dilapidation. The estate and park about it also in decay.

23. I went to visite Mr. Pepys at Clapham where he has a very

* See Vol. I. under 1677, Oct. † There is a fine print of this very beautiful monument in Lysons's "Environs of London," article Croydon, vol. I. p. 193.

‡ In the same volume, p. 52, &c. is an ample account of the family of Carew, of the house as it now is, portrait of Sir Rich. Carew, views of the church, monuments, &c.

§ Oranges were eaten in this kingdom in the time of K. James I. if not earlier, as appears by the accounts of a Student in the Temple, which the Editor has seen.

noble and wonderfully well furnish'd house, especially with India and Chinese curiosities. The offices and gardens well accommodated for pleasure and retirement.

31 Oct. My birth day now compleated the 80th year of my age. I with my soul render thanks to God, who of his infinite mercy, not onely brought me out of many troubles, but this yeare restor'd me to health, after an ague and other infirmities of so greate an age, my sight, hearing and other senses and faculties tolerable, w^ch^ I implore him to continue, with the pardon of my sins past, and grace to acknowledge by my improvement of his goodnesse the ensuing yeare, if it be his pleasure to protract my life, that I may be the better prepar'd for my last day, thro' the infinite merits of my blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Amen.

5 Nov. Came the news of *my deare Grandson* (the only male of my family now remaining) being fallen ill of the *small pox* at Oxford, w^ch^ after the dire effects of it in my family, exceedingly afflicted me, but so it pleas'd my most mercifull God that being let blood at his first complaint, and by the extraordinary care of Dr. Mander (head of the College and now Vice Chancellor), who caus'd him to be brought and lodg'd in his own bed and bed-chamber, with the advice of his physician and care of his tutor, there were all faire hopes of his recovery, to our infinite comfort. We had a letter every day either from the Vice-Chancellor himselfe or his tutor.—17. Assurance of his recovery by a letter from himselfe.

There was a change of greate Officers at Court. Lord Godolphin return'd to his former station of first Commiss^r^ of the Treasury; S^r^ Cha. Hedges Secretary of State.

30 Nov. At the Royal Society, Lord Somers, the late Chancellor, was continu'd President.

8 Dec. Greate alterations of Officers at Court and elsewhere—Lord Cheif Justice Treby died; he was a learned man in his profession, of w^ch^ we have now few, never fewer; the Chancery requiring so little skill in deep law-learning, if the practiser can talk eloquently in that Court, so that probably few care to study the law to any purpose.—Lord Marlborough M^r^ of the Ordnance, in place of Lord Romney made Groom of the Stole. The Earl of Rochester goes Lord Lieut^t^ to Ireland.

1701. Jan. I finish'd the sale of North Stoake in Sussex to Rob[t] Michell, Esq. appointed by my brother to be sold for payment of portions to my nieces, and other incumbrances on the estate.

4. An exceeding deepe snow and melted away as suddenly.

19. Severe frost, and such a tempest as threw down many chimnies, and did greate spoile at sea, and blew down above 20 trees of mine at Wotton.

9. The old Speaker laid aside, and Mr. Harley, an able gentleman, chosen. Our countryman Sir Rich[d] Onslow, had a party for him.

27. By an order of the House of Commons, I laid before the Speaker the state of what had ben receiv'd and paid towards the building of Greenwich Hospital *.

Mr. Wye, rector of Wotton, died, a very worthy good man. I gave it to Dr. Bohun, a learned person and excellent preacher, who had ben my son's tutor, and liv'd long in my family.

18 March. I lett Says Court to Lord Carmarthen, son to the Duke of Leeds. — 28. I went to the funeral of my sister Draper †, who was buried at Edmonton in greate state. Dr. Davenant displeas'd the Clergy now met in Convocation by a passage in his book, p. 40. ‡

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* John Evelyn, Esq. D[r] to Greenwich Hospital.

Received in the year	£.	s.	d.
1696 . . .	3,416	0	0
1697 . . .	6,836	16	3
1698 . . .	14,967	8	4
1699 . . .	14,024	13	4
1700 . . .	19,241	1	3
1701, June 16 . .	10,834	2	3
	69,320	1	5

Remaine in Lottery Tickets to be paid in ten year	£.11,434	
More in Malt tickets	1,000	
69,320		
12,432		
In all	81,752	
Beside His Ma[ty]	6,000 and Subscriptions.	

Per Contra Creditor.

By the Accompt in	£.	s.	d.
1696 . .	5,915	18	7
1697 . .	8,971	10	4
1698 . .	11,585	15	1
1699 . .	19,614	9	8
1700 . .	18,013	8	5
1701 . .	3,000	0	0
Remaine in Cash .	219	1	4
	69,320	3	5
	69,320	3	5

† Mother of the gentleman who married Mr. Evelyn's daughter.

‡ Cha. Davenant, LL. D. (son of Sir William). The book was, "Essays upon the Ballance of Power," in which he says that many of those lately in play, have used their utmost endeavours to

April. A Dutch boy of about 8 or 9 years old was carried about by his parents to shewe, who had about the iris of one eye, the letters of *Deus meus*, and of the other *Elohim* in the Hebrew character. How this was don by artifice none could imagine; his parents affirming that he was so born. It did not prejudice his sight, and he seem'd to be a lively playing boy. Every body went to see him; physicians and philosophers examin'd it with greate accuracy, some consider'd it as artificial, others as almost supernatural.

4 April. The Duke of Norfolk died of an apoplexy, and Mr. Tho. Howard of complicated disease since his being cut for the stone; he was one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Mr. How made a Baron.

May. Some Kentish men delivering a petition to the House of Commons, were imprison'd *.

A greate dearth, no considerable raine having fallen for some months.

17. Very plentifull showers, the wind coming West and South.—The Bishops and Convocation at difference concerning the right of calling the assembly and dissolving. Atterbury † and Dr. Wake ‡ writing one against the other.

20 June. The Commons demanded a conference with the Lords on the trial of Lord Somers, w^ch^ the Lords refus'd, and proceeding on the trial, the Commons would not attend, and he was acquitted §.

22. I went to congratulate the arrival of that worthy and excellent person my Lord Galway, newly come out of Ireland, where he had behav'd himselfe so honestly, and to the exceeding satisfaction of the

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discountenance all revealed Religion. "Are not many of us able to point to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich benefices and dignities, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the Divinity of Christ?" The Convocation on reading the book, ordered papers to be fixed on several doors in Westminster Abbey, inviting the author, whoever he be, or any one of the many, to point out these persons, that they may be proceeded against. Biog. Brit. last edit.

* There were five of them, all gentlemen of considerable property and family in the county. There is a very good print of them, all on one plate. They desired the Parliament to mind the Publick more, and their private heats less. They were confined till the prorogation, and were much visited. Burnet, V. 532.

† Afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

‡ Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

§ See p. 70.

people; but he was remov'd thence for being a Frenchman *, tho' they had not a more worthy, valiant, discreet and trusty person in the 2 kingdoms, on whom they could have relied for his conduct and fitnesse. He was one who had deeply suffer'd, as well as the Marquiss his father, for being Protestants †.

Aug. The weather chang'd from heate not much lesse than in Italy or Spain for some few days, to wet, dripping and cold with intermissions of faire.

July. My Lord Treasurer made my Grandson one of the Commiss^{rs} of the prizes, salary £.500 per ann.

8. My Grandson went with S^{r} Simon Harcourt, the Solicitor Gen^{l}, to Windsor to wait on my Lord Treasurer. There had ben for some time a proposal of marrying my grandson to a daughter of Mrs. Boscawen, sister of my Lord Treasurer, w^{ch} was now far advanc'd.

14. I subscrib'd towards rebuilding Oakwood Chapel ‡, now after 200 years almost fallen down.

2 Sept. I went to Kensington and saw the house, plantations and gardens, the work of Mr. Wise, who was there to receive me.

The death of K. James happening on the 15th of this month N. S. after 2 or 3 days indisposition, put an end to that unhappy Prince's troubles, after a short and unprosperous reign, indiscreetly attempting to bring in Popery and make himselfe absolute in imitation of the French, hurried on by the impatience of the Jesuites, w^{ch} the Nation would not indure.

Died the Earl of Bath, whose contest with Lord Montague about the Duke of Albemarle's estate, claiming under a Will suppos'd to have ben forg'd, is said to have ben worth £.10,000 to the lawyers. His eldest son shot himselfe a few days after his father's death, for what cause is not cleare. He was a most hopefull young man, and had behav'd so bravely against the Turks at the siege of Vienna, that the

* Henry Rouvigne, Earl of Galway in Ireland, son of the Marquis who was Ambassador from France to Charles II. He was created a Peer by King William, for his gallantry at the battle of the Boyne, where his brother also fought and was killed. He commanded afterwards both in Italy and Spain, where the fatal battle of Almanza put an end to his military glory. There is a mezzotinto portrait of him by Simon.

† See vol. I. under 1687, April.

‡ In the lower part of the parish of Wotton.

Emperor made him a Count of the Empire.—It was falsely reported that Sir Edw. Seymour was dead, a great man; he had often been Speaker, Treasurer of the Navy, and in many other lucrative offices. He was of a hasty spirit, not thought at all sincere, but head of the party at any time prevailing in Parliament.

29 Sept. I kept my first Courts in Surrey, w^ch^ tooke up the whole weeke. My Steward was Mr. Hervey *, a Counsellor, Justice of Peace and Member of Parliament, and my neighbour. I gave him 6 guineas, w^ch^ was a g^a^ a day, and to Mr. Martin his clerk, 3 guineas.

31 Oct. I was this day 81 complete, in tolerable health considering my greate age.

Dec. Great contentions about elections. I gave my vote and interest to Sir R. Onslow and Mr. Weston †.

27. My grandson quitted Oxford.

1702. 21 Jan. At the Royal Society there was read and approv'd the delineation and description of my Tables of Veins and Arteries ‡, by Mr. Cooper the chirurgeon, in order to their being engrav'd.

8 March. The King had a fall from his horse and broke his collar bone, and having ben much indispos'd before, and aguish, with a long cough and other weaknesse, died this Sunday morning about 4 o'clock.

I carried my accounts of Greenwich Hospital to the Committee.

12 April. My brother-in-law Glanville departed this life this morning after a long languishing illnesse, leaving a son by my sister, and 2 grand-daughters §. Our relation and friendship had ben long and greate. He was a man of excellent parts. He died in the 84th year of his age, and will'd his body to be wrapp'd in lead and carried downe

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* Of Betchworth.

† Of Ockham; but Mr. Wessell of Bansted (a merchant) carried it against Mr. Weston.

‡ Vol. I. p. 203, 235, 263, 390.

§ One of these daughters became heiress of the family, and married William Evelyn of St. Cleer in Kent, son of George of Nutfield. He assumed the name of Glanville, but there being only daughters by this marriage, he had two sons by a second wife, and they resumed the name of Evelyn. The first of those sons left a son who died unmarried before he came of age, and a daughter who married Col. Hume, who has taken the name of Evelyn, but has no child; the second son of Mr. Glanville Evelyn married Lady Jane Leslie, who became Countess of Rothes in her own right, and left a son, George William, who became Earl of Rothes in right of his mother, and died in 1817, leaving no issue male.

to Greenwich, put on board a-ship and buried in the sea betweene Dover and Calais, about the Goodwin sands, w^ch^ was don on the Tuesday or Wednesday after. This occasioned much discourse, he having no relation at all to the sea. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Devonshire, and married my sister Jane. By his prudent parsimony he much improv'd his fortune. He had a place in the Alienation Office, and might have ben an extraordinary man had he cultivated his parts.

My Steward at Wotton gave a very honest account of what he had laid out on repairs, amounting to £.1900.

3 May. The Report of the Committee sent to examine the state of Greenwich Hospital was deliver'd to the House of Commons, much to their satisfaction. — Lord Godolphin made Lord High Treasurer.

Being elected a member of the Society lately incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I subscrib'd 10*l.* *p^r^ ann.* towards the carrying it on. We agreed that every Missioner, besides the 20*l.* to set him forth, sho^d^ have 50*l.* *per ann.* out of the Stock of the Corporation till his settlement was worth to him 100*l.* *per ann.* We sent a young Divine to New York.

22 June. I din'd at the Abp's with the new-made Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Nicholson, my worthy and learned correspondent.

27. I went to Wotton with my family for the rest of the Summer, and my son-in-law Draper with his family came to stay with us, his house at Adscomb being new building, so that my family was above 30.—Most of the new Parliament were chosen of Church of England principles, against the peevish party. — The Queene was magnificently entertain'd at Oxford and all the townes she pass'd through on her way to Bath.

31 Oct. Arriv'd now to the 82d year of my age, having read over all that pass'd since this day twelvemonth in these notes, I render solemn thanks to the Lord, imploring the pardon of my past sins, and the assistance of His grace; making new resolutions, and imploring that He will continue His assistance, and prepare me for my blessed Saviour's coming, that I may obtain a comfortable departure, after so long a term as has ben hitherto indulg'd me. I find by many infirmities this yeare (especially nephritic pains) that I much decline; and yet of

His infinite mercy retain my intellects and senses in greate measure above most of my age. I have this yeare repair'd much of the mansion-house and severall tenants' houses, and paid some of my debts and ingagements. My wife, children and family in health: for all w^ch^ I most sincerely beseech Almighty God to accept of these my acknowledgm^ts^, and that if it be His holy will to continue me yet longer, it may be to the praise of His infinite grace, and salvation of my soul. Amen.

8 Nov. My kinsman John Evelyn of Nutfield, a young and very hopeful gentleman, and Member of Parliam^t^ *, after having come to Wotton to see me, about 15 days past, went to London and there died of the *small pox*. He left a brother, a commander in the army in Holland, to inherit a faire estate.

Our affaires in so prosperous a condition both by sea and land that there has not ben so great an union in Parliament, Court and People, in memory of man, w^ch^ God in mercy make us thankfull for and continue. The Bp. of Exeter preach'd before the Queene and both Houses of Parliament at St. Paul's; they were wonderfully huzza'd in their passage, and splendidly entertain'd in the Citty.

Dec. The expectation now is what treasure will be found on breaking bulk of the Galleon brought from Vigo by S^r^ Geo. Rooke, w^ch^ being made up in an extraordinary manner in the hold, was not begun to be open'd till the 5th of this month before 2 of the Privy Council, 2 of the chiefe Magistrates of the Citty, and the Lord Treasurer.

After the excesse of honour conferr'd by the Queene on the Earl of Marlborough, by making him a Kn^t^ of the Garter, and a Duke, for the successe of but one campaign, that he should desire £.5000 a yeare to be settled on him by Parl^t^ out of the Post Office, was thought a bold and unadvis'd request, as he had, besides his own considerable estate, above £.30,000 a yeare in places and employments, with £.50,000 at interest. He had married one daughter to the son of my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, another to the Earl of Sunderland, and a third to the Earl of Bridgewater. He is a very handsome person, well-spoken and affable, and supports his want of acquir'd knowledge by keeping good company.

* For Blechingley in Surrey.

1703. News of Vice Adm. Benbow's conflict with the French fleete in the West Indies, in w^ch^ he gallantly behav'd himselfe and was wounded, and would have had extraordinary successe, had not 4 of his men of war stood spectators without coming to his assistance; for this 2 of their commanders were tried by a Council of War and executed *; a third was condemn'd to perpetual imprisonm^t^, loss of pay and incapacity to serve in future. The 4th died.

Sir Rich^d^ Onslow and Mr. Oglethorpe (son of the late S^r^ Theo. O.) fought on occasion of some words w^ch^ passed at a Committee of the House. Mr. Oglethorpe was disarm'd. — The Bill against occasional Conformity was lost by one vote.—Corn and provisions so cheape that the farmers are unable to pay their rents.

Feb. A famous cause at the King's Bench betweene Mr. Fenwick and his wife †, w^ch^ went for him with a greate estate. — The Duke of Marlborough lost his only son at Cambridge by the *small pox*. — A greate Earthquake at Rome, &c.—A famous young woman, an Italian, was hir'd by our Comedians to sing on the stage, during so many plays, for w^ch^ they gave her £.500; which part by her voice alone at the end of 3 scenes she perform'd with such modesty and grace, and above all, with such skill, that there was never any who did any thing comparable with their voices. She was to go home to the Court of the King of Prussia, and I believe carried with her out of this vain nation above £.1000 ‡, every body covetting to hear her at their private houses.

26 May. This day died Mr. Sam. Pepys, a very worthy, industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the Navy, in w^ch^ he had passed thro' all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all w^ch^ he performed with greate integrity. When K. James II. went out of England, he

* The Captains Kirby and Wade were tried and condemned to die by a Court Martial held on them in the West Indies—they were sent home in the Bristol, and on its arrival at Portsmouth were both shot on board, not being suffer'd to land on English ground.

† She was daughter and heir of Sir Adam Brown of Betchworth Castle in Dorking, and married Mr. Fenwick. This suit probably related to a settlement which she had consented to make, by which the estate was limited to them and their issue, and the heir of the survivor. They had one son, who died without issue, and she survived her husband, thereby becoming entitled to dispose of it. ‡ What would Madame Mara or Catalani in these days think of such a paltry sum?

laid down his office, and would serve no more, but withdrawing himselfe from all public affaires, he liv'd at Clapham with his partner Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweete place, where he enjoy'd the fruite of his labours in greate prosperity. He was universally belov'd, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skill'd in music, a very greate cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation. His library * and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he publish'd of an Account of the Navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers yeares under his hand the History of the Navy, or *Navalia* as he call'd it; but how far advanc'd, and what will follow of his, is left, I suppose, to his sister's son Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of usefull learning, sending to travel abroad, from whence he return'd with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be heir. Mr. Pepys had ben for neere 40 yeares so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me *compleat mourning* †, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies, but my indisposition hinder'd me from doing him this last office.

13 June. Rains have ben greate and continual, and now, neere Midsummer, cold and wet.

11 July. I went to Adscomb, 16 miles from Wotton, to see my son-in-law's new house, the outside, to the coveing, being such excellent brick-work, bas'd with Portland stone, with the pilasters, windows and within, that I pronounc'd it in all the points of good and solid architecture to be one of the very best gentlemen's houses in Surrey, when finish'd. I returned to Wotton in the evening tho' weary.

25 July. The last week in this month an uncommon long-continued rain, and the Sunday following thunder and lightning.

12 Aug. The new Commission for Greenwich Hospital was seal'd and open'd, at w^{ch} my son-in-law Draper was present, to whom I

* His valuable library he gave to Magdalen College, Cambridge, together with his fine collection of prints, where they now remain in a very handsome room, and are to this day among the *videnda* of that University.

† A curious circumstance this.

resign'd my office of Treasurer. From Aug^{t} 1696 there had ben expended in building £.89,364. 14*s*. 8*d*.

31 Oct. This day, being 83 years of age, upon examining what concern'd me more particularly the past year, with the greate mercies of God preserving me, and in some measure making my infirmities tolerable, I gave God most hearty and humble thanks, beseeching Him to confirm to me the pardon of my sins past, and to prepare me for a better life by the virtue of His grace and mercy, for the sake of my blessed Saviour.

21 Nov. The wet and uncomfortable weather staying us from church this morning, our D^{r} officiated in my family, at w^{ch} were present above 20 domestics. He made an excellent discourse on 1 Cor. 15, v. 55, 56, of the vanity of this world and uncertainty of life, and the inexpressible happiness and satisfaction of a holy life, with pertinent inferences to prepare us for death and a future state. I gave him thanks, and told him I tooke it kindly as my funeral sermon.

$\frac{26.}{27.}$ The effects of the hurricane and tempest of wind, rain and lightning thro' all the nation, especialy London, were very dismal. Many houses demolish'd and people kill'd. As to my own losses, the subversion of woods and timber, both ornamental and valuable, through my whole estate, and about my house the woods crowning the garden mount,. and growing along the park meadow, the damage to my own dwelling, farms and outhouses, is almost tragical, not to be parallel'd with any thing happening in our age. I am not able to describe it, but submit to the pleasure of Almighty God.

7 Dec. I remov'd to Dover street, where I found all well, but house, trees, garden, &c. at Says Court suffer'd very much.

31. I made up my accounts, paid wages, gave rewards and new years gifts according to custom.

1704. Jan. The King of Spain * landing at Portsmouth, came to Windsor, where he was magnificently entertain'd by the Queene, and behav'd himselfe so nobly that every body was taken with his graceful deportment. After 2 days, having presented the greate Ladies

* Charles the Third, afterwards Emperor of Germany, by the title of Charles the Sixth.

and others with very valuable jewells, he went back to Portsmouth and immediately imbark'd for Spain.

16. The Lord Treasurer gave my grandson the office of Treasurer of the Stamp duties, with a salary of £.300 a year.

30. The Fast on the martyrdom of King Cha. I. was observ'd with more than usual solemnity.

May. Dr. Bathurst, President of Trin. Coll. Oxford, now died *, I think the oldest acquaintance now left me in the world. He was 86 years of age, stark blind, deafe, and memory lost, after having ben a person of admirable parts and learning. This is a serious alarm to me. God grant that I may profit by it. He built a very handsome Chapel to the College, and his own tomb. He gave a legacy of money, and the third part of his library, to his nephew Dr. Bohun, who went hence to his funeral.

7 Sept. This day was celebrated the thanksgiving for the late greate victory †, with the utmost pomp and splendor by the Queene, Court, greate Officers, Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Companies, &c. The streets were scaffolded from Temple bar, where the Lord Mayor presented her Majesty with the Sword, w^ch^ she return'd. Every Company was rang'd under its banners, the Citty Militia without the rails, w^ch^ were all hung with cloth suitable to the colour of the banner. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen were in their scarlet robes, with caparison'd horses; the Knight Marshall on horseback; the Foot Guards; the Queene in a rich coach with 8 horses, none with her but the Dutchess of Marlborough in a very plain garment, the Queene full of jewells. Music and trumpets at every Citty Company. The greate Officers of the Crown, Nobility and Bishops all in coaches with 6 horses, besides innumerable servants, went to St. Paul's, where the Dean preach'd. After this the Queene went back in the same order to St. James's. The Citty Companies feasted all the Nobility and Bishops, and illuminated at night. Music for the Church and Anthems compos'd by the best

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* There is a very good Life of him, with his portrait prefixed, by Mr. Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, and Poetry Professor at Oxford.

† Over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, August 13, 1704.

Masters. The day before was wet and stormy, but this was one of the most serene and calm days that had been all the yeare.

Oct. The year has been very plentifull.

Dec. Lord Clarendon presented me with the 3 vol^{s} of his Father's History of the Rebellion.

31 Oct. Being my birth-day and 84th year of my life, after particular reflections on my concerns and passages of the yeare, I set some considerable time of this day apart to recollect and examine my state and condition, giving God thanks, and acknowledging his infinite mercys to me and mine, begging his blessing, and imploring his protection for the year following.

Dec. My Lord of Canterbury wrote to me for suffrage for Mr. Clarke's continuance this yeare in the Boyle Lecture, w^{ch} I willingly gave for his excellent performance of this year.

1705. 4 Jan. I din'd at Lambeth with the Abp. of Dublin, Dr. King, a sharp ready man in politics, as well as very learned.

June. The season very dry and hot.—I went to see Dr. Dickinson * the famous chymist. We had long conversation about the Philosopher's Elixir, w^{ch} he believ'd attainable, and had seen projection himselfe by one who went under the name of Mundanus, who sometimes came among the adepts, but was unknown as to his country or abode; of this the D^{r} has written a treatise in Latin, full of very astonishing relations. He is a very learned person, formerly a fellow of St. John's Coll. Oxford †, in w^{ch} citty he practised physic, but has now altogether given it over, and lives retir'd, being very old and infirm, yet continuing chymistry.

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* Edmund Dickinson of Merton College, Oxford, took the degree of batchelor of arts 22 June, 1647. He was living in Westminster in 1692, in good repute for his practice in the faculty of physic. He published several things. Wood's Fasti Oxon. p. 741.

† He was afterwards a Fellow of Merton. He died in 1707, aged 84. Dr. Campbell, in his edition of the Biog. Brit. speaks very highly of him; but Dr. Kippis, in the new edition of that work, differs much from the Doctor, though he allows him to have been a very learned man. Mr. Evelyn must have mistaken Dr. Dickinson as to his not knowing who Mundanus was, as in 1686 the Doctor printed a letter to him with his answer from Paris; in the latter, Mundanus says he made two projections in his presence. Biog. Brit. art. Dickenson.

I went to Greenwich Hospital, where they now began to take in wounded and worn-out seamen, who are exceeding well provided for. The buildings now going on are very magnificent.

9 Feb. I went to wait on my Lord Treasurer, where was the victorious Duke of Marlborough, who came to me and tooke me by the hand with extraordinary familiarity and civility, as formerly he was us'd to do, without any alteration of his good nature. He had a most rich George in a Sardonyx set with diamonds of very greate value; for the rest, very plain. I had not seen him for some yeares, and believ'd he might have forgotten me.

21. Remarkable fine weather. Agues and *small pox* much in every place.

11 Mar. An exceeding dry season. — Greate loss by fire, burning the outhouses and famous stable of the Earl of Nottingham at Burleigh [Rutlandshire], full of rich goods and furniture, by the carelessness of a servant. A little before, the same happen'd at Lord Pembroke's at Wilton.—The old Countess of Northumberland, dowager of Algernon Percy, Adm[l] of the Fleete to K. Cha. I. died in the 83d yeare of her age. She was sister to the Earl of Suffolk, and left a greate estate her jointure to descend to the Duke of Somerset *.

May. The Bailiff of Westm[r] hang'd himself. He had an ill report.

On the death of the Emperor there was no mourning worn at Court, because there was none at the Imperial Court on the death of King William.

18. I went to see Sir John Chardine † at Turnham Green, the gardens being very fine, and exceeding well planted with fruite.

20. Most extravagant expence to debauch and corrupt votes for Parliam[t] members. I sent my grandson with his party of my freeholders to vote for Mr. Harvey of Combe ‡.

Oct. Mr. Cowper § made Lord Keeper. Observing how uncertain

* This Duke had married Eliz. Percy, widow of Lord Cole, only daughter and heir to Joceline Percy, the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland. † Vol. I. under 1683, December.

‡ Sir Richard Onslow and Sir William Scawen were the other candidates, and succeeded. Mr. Harvey was a violent Tory.

§ William Cowper, created a Baron in 1706, and Lord Chancellor, afterwards Viscount Fordwich and Earl Cowper, by George the First.

greate officers are of continuing long in their places, he would not accept it unless £.2000 a yeare were given him in revertion when he was put out, in consideration of his losse of practice. His predecessors, how little time soever they had the Seal, usually got £.100,000, and made themselves Barons.—A new Secretary of State.—Lord Abington, Lieut[t] of the Tower, displac'd, and General Churchill, brother to the Duke of Marlborough, put in. An indication of great unsteadiness somewhere, but thus the crafty Whig-party (as call'd) begin to change the face of the Court, in opposition to the High Churchmen, w[ch] was another distinction of a party from the Low Churchmen. The Parliament chose one Mr. Smith Speaker. There had never ben so greate an assembly of members on the first day of sitting, being more than 450. The votes both of the old, as well as the new, fell to those call'd Low Churchmen, contrary to all expectation.

31 Oct. I am this day arriv'd to the 85th year of my age. Lord teach me so to number my days to come that I may apply them to wisdom.

1706. 1 Jan. Making up my accounts for the past year, paid bills, wages, and new years gifts according to custom. Tho' much indisposed and in so advanc'd a stage, I went to our Chapel [in London] to give God public thanks, beseeching Almighty God to assist me and my family the ensuing yeare, if he should yet continue my pilgrimage here, and bring me at last to a better life with him in his heavenly kingdom. Divers of our friends and relations din'd with us this day.

27. My indisposition increasing, I was exceeding ill this whole week.

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3 Feb. Notes of the sermons at the Chapel in the morning and afternoon, written with his own hand, conclude this Diary.

He died on the 27th of this month.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF MR. EVELYN'S PUBLICATIONS,

from a Letter of his to Dr. PLOT, dated 16 March 1682-3.

Translations.

1. Of Liberty and Servitude, Lond. 1644, 12mo.
2. The French Gardener and English Vineyard, 1658, 12mo, 3d edit.
3. An Essay on the first Book of Lucretius, 1656, 8vo.
4. *Gaspar Naudæus*, Instructions concerning Libraries, 1661, 8vo.
5. A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern, with a treatise on Statues, &c. 1664, fol.
6. An Idea of the perfection of Painting, 1668, 8vo.
7. The Mysterie of Jesuitisme, 2 parts, 8vo.
8. St. Chrysostome's Golden Book for the Education of Children, out of the Greeke, 1659, 12mo.

Original Works.

1. An Apologie for the Royal Party, 1659, 4to. Three Editions.
2. Panegyric at his Ma^{ties} Coronation, 1661, fol.
3. *Fumifugium*, or a prophetic Invective against the Fire & Smoke of London, wth its Remedies, 1661, 4to.
4. *Sculptura*, or the History of y^{e} Art of Calcography, 1662, 8vo.
5. Publiq Employm^{t} and an active life preferred to Solitude, 1667, 8vo.
6. Historie of the Three late Impostors, 1669, 8vo.
7. *Kalendarium Hortense*, 1679, 8vo. Six Editions.
8. *Sylva*, 1679, fol. Three Editions.
9. *Terra*, 1679. Two Editions.
10. *Tyrannus*, or the Mode, 8vo.

The Dignity of Man, &c. not printed. } neere ready.
Elysium Britannicum, not printed. }

Prepared for the Press.

A discourse of Medals.—Of Manuscripts.—Of Stones.—Of Reason in Brute Animals *.

In a letter to Dr. Beale, 11 July, 1679, Mr. Evelyn says, "I have sometimes thought of publishing a Treatise of *Acetaria*, which (tho' but one of the chapters of *Elysium Britannicum)* would make a competent volume, accompanied with other necessaries, according to my manner; but whilst I as often think of performing my so long-since promis'd (more universal) Hortulan work, I know not how to take that chapter out, and single it for the presse, without some blemish to the rest. When againe I consider into what an ocean I am plung'd, how much I have written and collected for above these 20 yeares, upon this fruitfull and inexhaustible subject (I mean of Horticulture) not yet fully digested to my mind, and what insuperable paines it will require to insert the (dayly increasing) particulars into what I have already in some measure prepared, and which must of necessitie be don by my owne hand, I am almost out of hope that I shall ever have strength and leasure to bring it to maturity, having for the last ten yeares of my life ben in perpetual motion, and hardly two moneths in a yeare at my owne habitation, or conversant with my family.

You know what my charge and care has ben during the late unhappy War with the Hollanders; and what it has cost me as to avocations, and for the procuring monye, and attending the Lord Treasurer &c. to discharge the quarters of many thousands.

Since that, I have upon me no fewer then three Executorships, besides other domestiq concernes, either of them enough to distract a more steady and composed genius then is mine.

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* Of the four Treatises here enumerated, the Discourse on Medals only has been printed. There is at Wotton a copy of that on Manuscripts in 13 leaves 4to, which seems to contain all he intended on this subject, and is given at the close of this Appendix. There is also a chapter of an essay, entitled "De Baculis," which from the proeme seems to have been intended as jocular, but it begins with great gravity.

Superadd to these the publiq confusions in Church and Kingdome, (never to be sufficiently deplor'd) and which cannot but most sensibly touch every sober and honest man.

In the middst of these disturbances, who but Dr. Beale (that stands upon the toure, lookes down unconcernedly on all those tempests) can think of gardens and fishponds, and the delices and ornaments of peace and tranquillity? With no little conflict and force on my other businesse, I have yet at last, and as I was able, published a third Edition of my "*Sylva*," and with such additions as occurred; and this in truth onely to pacifie the importunitie of very many (besides the Printer) who quite tired me with calling on me for it, and above all, threatening to reprint it with all its former defects, if I did not speedily prevent it. I am onely vexed that it proving so popular as in so few yeares to passe so many impressions, and (as I heare) gratifie the avaricious Printer with some hundreds of pounds; there had not ben some course taken in it for the benefit of our Society. It is apparent that nere £.500 has ben already gotten by it; but we are not yet Oeconomists.

You know what Pillars we have lost: Palmer, Morray, Chester, Oldenburg, &c.; and thro' what other discouragements we still labour: and therefore you will excuse the zeale & fervor of what I have added in my Epistle to the Reader, if at length it be possible to raise vp some generous soule to free vs, or emerge out of our difficulties. In all euents you will see where my inclinations are fixt, & that Love is stronger than Death; and secular affaires, which is the Burial of all Philosophicall Speculations & Improvements: tho' they can neuer in the least diminish the greate esteeme I haue of your friendship, and the infinite oblegations I dayly receive from your fauours."

Of Books which he had designed to publish, we find the following Memoranda:

In a letter to Mr. Boyle, 8 Aug. 1659, he says he had intended to write a History of Trades, but had given it up from the great difficulty he found in the attempt.

In another, 23 Nov. 1664, he says one *Rhea* [qu. *Ray*] has published a very usefull book concerning the Culture of Flowers, but it does nothing reach my long-since attempted design on that intire subject, with all its ornaments and circumstances, but God only knows when my opportunities will permit me to bring it to maturity.

In the Preface to the *Acetaria*, published in 1699, he mentions a work on which he had spent upwards of 40 years, and his collections for which had in that time filled several thousand pages. The author of the Biographia Britannica believes that this was the work part of which he had shewed to his friends under the title of "*Elysium Britannicum*," but which in that Preface he calls "The Plan of a Royal Garden," &c.; and that his *Acetaria*, and Gardener's Kalendar, were parts of it. This is confirmed by the preceding letter to Dr. Beale.

Amongst the MSS. at Wotton there are parts of Two volumes with the running title of "*Elysium Britannicum*," consisting of miscellaneous observations on a great variety of subjects, but nothing digested, except a printed sheet of the contents of the intended Work, as follows:

ELYSIUM BRITANNICUM

IN THREE BOOKS.

Præmissis præmittendis, &c.

Book I.

Chap. 1. A Garden derived, and defined, with its distinctions and sorts.—2. Of a Gardiner, and how he is to be qualified.—3. Of the Principles and Elements in generall.—4. Of the Fire.—5. Of the Air, and Winds.—6. Of the Water.—7. Of the Earth.—8. Of the Celestial influences, particularly the Sun, and Moon, and of the Climates.—9. Of the four Seasons.—10. Of the Mould and Soil of a Garden.—11. Of Composts, and Stercoration.—12. Of the Generation of Plants.

Book II.

Chap. 1. Of the Instruments belonging to a Gardiner, and their severall uses.—2. Of the Situation of a Garden, with its extent.—3. Of fencing, enclosing, plotting and disposing the Ground.—4. Of a Semi-

nary, and of propagating Trees, Plants and Flowers.—5. Of Knots, Parterrs, Compartiments, Bordures and Embossements.—6. Of Walkes, Terraces, Carpets and Allees, Bowling greens, Maills, their materials and proportions.—7. Of Groves, Labyrinths, Dædales, Cabinets, Cradles, Pavilions, Galleries, Close-walkes and other Relievo's.—8. Of Transplanting.—9. Of Fountaines, Cascades, Rivulets, Piscinas, and Waterworks.—10. Of Rocks, Grots, Cryptas, Mounts, Precipices, Porticos, Ventiducts.—11. Of Statues, Columns, Dyals, Perspectives, Pots, Vasas and other ornaments.—12. Of Artificiall Echos, Musick, and Hydraulick motions.—13. Of Aviaries, Apiaries, Vivaries, Insects.—14. Of Orangeries, and Conservatories of rare Plants.—15. Of Verdures, Perennial-greens, and perpetuall Springs.—16. Of Coronary Gardens, Flowers, and rare Plants, how they are to be propagated, govern'd and improved; together with a Catalogue of the choycest Trees, Shrubs, Plants, and Flowers, and how the Gardiner is to keep his Register.—17. Of the Philosophico-Medicall Garden.—18. Of a Vineyard.—19. Of Watering, Pruning, Clipping, Rolling, Weeding, &c.—20. Of the Enemies and Infirmities to which a Garden is obnoxious, together with the remedies.—21. Of the Gardiners Almanack, or *Kalendarium Hortense*, directing what he is to do Monethly, and what Flowers are in prime.

Book III.

Chap. 1. Of Conserving, Properating, Retarding, Multiplying, Transmuting and altering the Species, Formes and substantial qualities of Flowers, &c.—2. Of Chaplets, Festoons, Flower-pots, Nose-gaies and Posies.—3. Of the Gardiners Elaboratory, and of Distilling and extracting of Essences, Resuscitation of Plants, with other rare Experiments.—4. Of composing the *Hortus Hyemalis*, and making books of Naturall Arid Plants and Flowers, with other curious wayes of preserving them in their Natural.—5. Of planting of Flowers, Flowers enamell'd, in Silk, Wax, and other artificial representations of them.—6. Of Hortulane Entertainments, to shew the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and use of a Garden Festival, &c.—7. Of the most famous Gardens in the World, Antient and Moderne.—8. The Description of a Villa.—The Corollarie, and Conclusion.

Amongst the MSS. at Wotton also, on a separate paper, are the following Memoranda in Mr. Evelyn's hand-writing:

" Things I would write out faire and reforme if I had leasure;—

Londinum Redivivum, w^ch^ I presented to the King 3 or 4 days after the Conflagration of that Citty, 1666.

Pedegree of the Evelyns.

The 3 remaining Meditations on Friday, Saturday, and Sonday, being the remaining course of Offices; to which belongs a Book of Recollection bound in Leather.

A Rational Account of the True Religion, or an History of it. With a packet of notes belonging to it.

Oeconomis to a Married Friend.

The Legend of the Pearle.

Some Letters of mine to Electra and to others in that packet.

The Life of Mrs. Godolphin.

A book of some observations Politica's, and Discourses of y^t^ kind.

Thyrsander, a Tragy-Comedy.

Dignity of Mankind.

My owne Ephemeris or Diarie.

Animadversions upon *Spinosa*.

Papers concerning Education.

Mathematical papers."

List of Mr. Evelyn's Works,

as given in the last edition of the Biographia Britannica.

1. Of Liberty & Servitude, 1649, 12mo.

2. A Character of England as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France, with Reflections upon *Gallus Castratus*, 1651, 3d edit. 1659.

3. The State of France, London, 1652, 8vo.

4. An Essay on the first Book of *Lucretius de Rerum Naturâ* interpreted and made into English Verse, 1656, 8vo. The frontispiece designed by his Lady, Mary Evelyn.

5. The French Gardener, London, 1658, 12mo.—The 3^d^ Edition in 1676, was illustrated with plates.—In most of the editions is added " The English Vineyard Vindicated, by John Rose, Gardener to K. Cha. II."

6. The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children, London, 1659, 12mo.

7. An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a Letter to a person of the late Council of State: with a Touch at the pretended Plea of the Army, London, 1659, in 2 Sheets, 4to. Three Editions.

8. The late News from Brussels unmasked, London, 1660, 4to.

9. The manner of the Encounter between the French and Spanish Ambassadors at the landing of the Swedish Ambassador.

10. A Panegyrick at his Majesty K. Cha. II. his Coronation, London, 1661, folio.

11. Instructions concerning the erecting of a Library. Written by Gabriel Naudé, published in English with some Improvements by John Evelyn, Esq. London, 1661, 8vo.

12. *Fumifugium;* or the Inconveniencies of the Air, & the Smoke of London dissipated. Together with some remedies humbly proposed by John Evelyn, Esq. Lond. 1661, 4to, in 5 sheets, addressed to the King and Parliament, and published by his Majesty's express command*.

13. *Tyrannus;* or the Mode; in a discourse of Sumptuary Laws, 1661, 8vo.

14. *Sculptura;* or the History and Art of Calcography & Engraving in Copper, & mezzo tinto, London, 1662, 8vo.

15. *Sylva;* or a Discourse of Forest Trees, Lond. 1664, fol.; 2nd Edition 1669; 3rd in 1697; 4th in 1733, also in folio.—*Pomona* is an Appendix; 3nd Edition 1679; 4th 1706; 5th 1729.—This learned work has since been several times republished by Dr. A. Hunter, an eminent Physician in York, who has rendered it still more valuable by adding to it the observations of later writers.

16. Parallel of ancient & modern Architecture, London, 1664, folio. 4th edit. 1733, fol. with the Elements of Architecture by Sir Hen. Wotton.

17. Μυσήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας; another part of the Mystery of Jesuitism, Lond. 1664, 8vo. Two Parts.

18. *Kalendarium Hortense,* Lond. 1664, 8vo.—The 2d and 3d edit. was in folio, bound with the *Sylva* and *Pomona;* also reprinted in octavo in 1699.

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* Reprinted in 1772 in quarto, with an additional preface.

19. Public Employment and an active life preferred to Solitude, in reply to Sir Geo. Mackenzie, Lond. 1667, 8vo.

20. History of the Three late famous Impostors, Lond. 1669, 8vo.

21. An Idea of the perfection of Painting, translated from the French of Roland Freart, London, 1668, 8vo.

22. Navigation & Commerce, their Original and Progress. Lond. 1674, 8vo.

23. *Terra:* a Philosophical Discourse of Earth, Lond. 1675, fol. & 8vo. 1676.

24. *Mundus Muliebris,* Lond. 1690, 4to.

25. Mons^{r} de la Quintinye's Treatice of Orange Trees, & Complete Gardener, translated from the French, Lond. 1693, fol.

26. *Numismata,* a Discourse on Medals, Lond. 1697, fol.

27. *Acetaria;* a Discourse of Sallets, Lond. 1699, 8vo.

Mr. Evelyn had likewise etched, when he came to Paris from Italy, five several Prospects of places which he had drawn on the spot between *Rome* and *Naples,* to which he prefixed also a frontispiece, intituled,

" Locorum aliquot insignium et celeberrimorum inter Romam & Neapolin jacentium, ὑποδειξεις et exemplaria.

Domino Dom. Thomæ Hensheaw Anglo, omnium eximiarum et præclarissimarum artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo, et συνοψάμενῳ ἀυτῷ, (non propter operis pretium, sed ut singulare Amoris sui Testimonium exhibeat) primas has ἀδοκιμασίας aqua forti excusas et insculptas, Jo. Evelynus Delineator D. D. C. Q." *R. Hoare excud.*

I. Tres Tabernæ sive Appii Forum, celebre illud, in sacris Litteris. Act. 28.

II. Terracini, olim Anxuris, Promontorium.

III. Prospectus versus Neapolin, a Monte Vesuvio.

IV. V. Montis Vesuvii Fauces : et Vorago, sive Barathrum internum.

He etched also a View of his own seat at *Wotton,* then in the possession of his brother George Evelyn; which original etching forms one of the embellishments of these volumes.

Putney ad Ripam Tamesis—corrected on one impression, by himself, to *Battersey.*

Wotton in Surrey
The house of Geo: Evelyn Esq.r
taken in perspective from
the top of the Grotto by
Jo: Evelyn 1653

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

The following Letters are taken from Copies kept by Mr. Evelyn, and are given as Specimens of his Epistolary Correspondence. In those on serious subjects, there appears the most ardent piety: in those of friendship, the most sincere attachment, and gratitude: in those to Ladies, the most polite gallantry, expressed in easy language. In one to Mr. Thurland, a Barrister, whom he consulted in his legal affairs, he shews himself able to write with humour.

To my Lady GARRET.

It had not ben now that the gratefull resentiments of y^{r} La^{ps} favour remained so long for a faire gale on this side, if the least opportunity had presented itselfe before the returne of this noble gentleman; and howeuer Fortune (who esteemed it too greate a favour for me) has otherwise disposed of the Present which you sent me, I thinke myselfe to have received it as effectually in your La^{ps} designe and purpose, as if it were now glistering upon my finger. I am onely sorry, that because I missed that, I did not receiue y^{r} Com'ands, and that an obligation of so much vallue seemes to haue ben throwne away, whilst I remaine in another Country uselesse to you. I will not say, that the way to find what is lost, is to fling another after it; but if any services of your La^{p} perished with that Jewell, there can be no danger in reinforcing your com'ands, and repairing the greater losse, seeing there is nothing in the world which with more passion I pretend to, then to continue, Madame,

Your Ladyships, &c.

Paris, 9th Octob: 1651.

To Mr. Thurland.

(Since Sir Edward Thurland, and Baron of the Exchequer.)

S^r^

Nemo habet tam certam manum ut non sæpe fallatur; and yet I hope my memory shall serue me for the subscribing this Epistle, which is more then yours (deare Lawyer) could, it seemes, doe, when you sent me y^r^ Sum'ons for my Court at Warley, with all those sigillary formalities of a perfect Instrument. But this is a trifling σφάλμα; and I easily supplied it, by taking the boldnesse to write a new Warrant in y^e^ most illfavour'd character I could, that it might be the more like to y^r^ fayre hand; & so it was dispatch'd, onely the day altered to be the next before the Terme, since otherwise I could not haue appeared, and for which præsumption if you thinke fit to amerce me, I desire it may be by the delegation of Mr. Jo. Barton *pro Vicario;* since whilst I thus indulge my noble Tennant, I may not neglect to reduce my Vassalls, *cum ita suggerent Chartæ sicut optimè noveris*, &c. it being the advice of a greate Philosopher, and part of my Litanie, *Libera te primum metu mortis (illa enim nobis primum jugum imponit), deinde paupertatis:* The first I endeavor to secure by Physick, the latter by y^r^ learned counsell, the effects whereoff I much more desire to resent by the favour w^ch^ (I am assured) you may do y^r^ servant in promoting his singular inclynations for Albury *, in case (as I am confident it will) that Seate be exposed to sale. I know you are potent, and may do much herein: and I shall eternally acknowledg to have derived from you all the favour and successe, which I augure to my selfe from y^r^ friendship and assistance: it being now in y^r^ power to fix a wanderer, oblige all my Relations, and by one integral cause, render me yours for ever. I suppose the place will invite many Candidates, but my Money is good, and it will be the sole and greatest obligation that it shall ever be in y^r^ power to doe for, Deare Lawyer,

Lond: 25: April, 1652. Your, &c.

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* Albury, in Surrey, a seat of Mr. Howard. Mr. Thurland was one of the Trustees appointed for the sale of it.

To Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor*.

The calamitie which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that 'till my returne, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very greate impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased God, that when I had prepared to receive that sad newes, and deplore your restraint, I was assured of y^r^ release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these sad tymes; yet if I have learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity, but the discourse of some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. I had read y^e^ Preface long since to y^r^ *Golden Grove;* remember, and infinitely justifie all that you haue there asserted. 'Tis true vallor to dare to be undon, and the consequent of Truth hath euer ben in danger of his teeth, and it is a blessing if men escape so in these dayes, when, not the safties onely, but the Soules of men are betrayed: whilst such as you, & such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendred criminal & suffer. But you, S^r^, who haue furnished the world with so rare præcepts against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoeuer, could neuer be destitute of those consolations, which you haue so charitably and so piously præscribed unto others: Yea rather, this has turned to our im'ense advantage, nor lesse to y^r^ glory, whilst men behold you living y^r^ owne Institutions, and preaching to us as effectualy in y^r^ Chaines as in the Chaire, in the Prison as in the Pulpit: for me thinkes, S^r^, I heare you pronounce it, as indeede you act it—

Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris et carcere dignum
Si vis esse aliquis ——

* The cause of this imprisonment does not appear, unless it were for the sentiments contained in his "Twenty-five Sermons," published in the preceding winter—or perhaps upon political suspicion, as he actually suffered incarceration in Chepstowe Castle in 1656 (during his well-known controversy with Bishop Warner), being suspected as an instigator of the insurrection at Salisbury.

that your example might shame such as betray any truth for feare of Men, whose mission and com'ission is from God. You, S^r^, know in the general, and I must justifie in particular with infinite cognition, the benefit I haue received from the truths you haue delivered. I haue perused that excellent *Unum necessarium* of yours to my very greate satisfaction and direction: and do not doubt but it shall in tyme gaine upon all those exceptions, which I know you are not ignorant appeare against it. 'Tis a great deale of courage, and a greate deale of perill, but to attempt the assault of an errour so inveterate.

Αἱ δὲ κειναὶ κρίσεις τὸν ἀπέρατον ὁδόν. false opinion knows no bottome, and reason and præscription meet in so few instances; but certainely you greately vindicate the Diuine goodnesse, which the ignorance of men and popular mistakes haue so long charged with injustice. But, S^r^, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruites you contend for: as it shall be my dayly devotions for your successe, who remaine,

Rev^d^ Sir, &c.

Says Court, 9 Feb: 1654.

To Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor.

Rev^d^ Sir,

It was another extraordinary charity which you did me, when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger, by that which I just now received: and though the general persecution re-inforce; yet it is y^r^ particular which most concernes me in this sad catalysis and declension of piety to which we are reduced. But S^r^, what is now to be don that the Starrs of our once bright hemispheare are every where pulling from their orbs? I remember where you haue sayd it was the Harbinger of the Greate Day: and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend, the greate Oughtred, did the other day seriously perswade me *parare in occursum*, and will needes haue the following yeares productiue of wonderfull, and universal changes. What to say of that I know not; but certaine it is, we are brought to a sad condition. I speake

concerning Secular yet religious Persons; whose glory it will only be to lye buried in y^r^ ruines, a Monument too illustrious for such as I am.

For my part, I haue learned from your excellent assistances, to humble myselfe, and to adore the inscrutable pathes of the Most High: God and his Truth are still the same though the foundations of the world be shaken. *Julianus Redivivus* can shut the Schooles indeede & the Temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the Breast is the Chappell and our Heart is the Altar. Obedience founded in the understanding will be the onely cure and retraite. God will accept what remaines, & supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals, the purest ages passed under the cruelest persecutions: it is sometymes necessary; & this and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of greate advantage (even whilst they presse, and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandaliz'd; so are there diuers well disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselues, unlesse some such good men as you discouer the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, & steere their course in this darke and uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, and that all the exercise of your Functions is made criminal, that the Light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the Viaticum with safety? How shall we be baptiz'd? For to this passe it is come, S^r^. The comfort is, the Captivity had no Temple, no Altar, no King. But did they not obserue the Passover, nor circumcise? had they no Priests & Prophets amongst them? Many are weake in the Faith, and know not how to answer, nor whither to fly: and if upon the Apotheosis of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his Martyrdome, engrauen in copper, & sent me by a friend from Bruxelles, the Jesuite could so bitterly sarcasme upon the embleme —

Projicis inventum caput, Anglia Ecclesia! Cæsum
Si caput est, salvum corpus an esse potest? —

how thinke you will they now insult, ravage, and breake in upon the Flock; for the Shepheards are smitten, and the Sheepe must of

necessity be scattered, unlesse the greate Shepheard of Soules oppose, or some of his delegates reduce and direct us. Deare Sir, we are now preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten) of God's service in this Citty, or any where else in publique. I must confesse it is a sad consideration; but it is what God sees best, & to what we must submitt. The comfort is, *Deus providebit.* S^r^, I have not yet been so happy as to see those papers which Mr. Royston tells me are printing, but I greately rejoyce that you haue so happily fortified that batterie: and I doubt not but you will maintaine the seige: for you must not be discouraged for the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me where euer I find it, much more where it conduces to a designe so salutary & necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by y^r^ Arguments, can possibly resist y^r^ Charity, & y^r^ Modesty: but as you haue greatly subdued my education in that particular, and Controversy; so am I confident tyme will render you many more Proselytes. And if all doe not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must with y^r^ accostomed patience attend the event.

S^r^. I beseech God to conduct all y^r^ Labours, those of Religion to others, and of Loue and Affection to me, who remayne

S^r^ your, &c.

Loud: 18 Mar: 1655.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn, Esq.

Honourd and Deare S^r^.

Not long after my comming from my prison I mett with your kind & freindly letters, of which I was very glad, not onely because they were a testimony of your kindnesse & affections to mee, but that they gave mee a most welcome account of your health and (which now adayes is a great matter) of your liberty, and of that progression in piety in which I doe really rejoyce. But there could not be given to mee a greater & more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety & care then that you passe to greater degrees of caution & the love of

God. It is the worke of your life, & I perceive you betake your selfe heartily to it. The God of Heaven & earth prosper you & accept you!

I am well pleased that you haue read over my last booke; and give God thankes that I have reason to beleive that it is accepted by God, and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their owne reproovers; and Truth will be assisted by God, & shall prevaile, when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honour to be an advocate for God's justice & goodnesse, and that y^e^ consequent of my doctrine is, that men may speake honour of God, and meanely of themselves. But I have also this last weeke sent up some papers in which I make it appeare that the doctrine which I now haue published was taught by the Fathers within the first 400 years; and haue vindicated it both from novelty & singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, & now further explicated & justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious & prudent persons, who doe not love to goe *quà itur* but *quà eundum est*. S^r^. you see what a good husband I am of my paper and inke, that I make so short returnes to your most freindly letters. I pray be confident that if there be any defect here, I will make it up in my prayers for you & my great esteeme of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readinesse to serve you with all the earnestnesse & powers of Deare S^r^.

Your most affectionate freind & servant

JER. TAYLOR.

Novemb: 21. 1655.

From Dr Jeremy Taylor.

Honour'd & Deare Sr, April 16, 1656.

I hope your Servant brought my apology with him, & that I already am pardon'd, or excus'd in your thoughts, that I did not returne an answer yesterday to your freindly letter. Sr, I did beleive my selfe so very much bound to you for your so kind, so freindly reception of mee in your *Tusculanum*, that I had some little wonder upon mee when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. Sr, I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, & found all your circumstances to be an heape & union of Blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy & opinion of the prettinesse of your aboad, or so low an opinion of your prudence & piety, as to thinke you can be any wayes transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one moneths possession; & that strangers & seldome seers feele the beauty of them more then you who dwell with them. I am pleased indeed at the order & the cleanenesse of all your outward things; and look upon you not onely as a person, by way of thankfulnesse to God for his mercies & goodnesse to you, specially obliged to a greater measure of piety, but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares & impediments, can without excuse & allay wholly intend what you so passionately desire, the service of God. But now I am considering yours, & enumerating my owne pleasures, I cannot but adde that though I could not choose but be delighted by seeing all about you, yet my delices were really in seeing you severe & unconcerned in these things, and now in finding your affections wholly a stranger to them, & to communicate with them no portion of your passion but such as is necessary to him that uses them or receives their ministeries. Sr, I long truly to converse with you; for I doe not doubt but in those liberties wee shall both goe bettered from each other. For your *Lucretius**, I perceive you have suf-

* Mr. Evelyn translated, or at least published, only one Book, the first, printed in octavo, at London, 1656; with an engraved Frontispiece, designed by his accomplished Wife, and engraved by Hollar.

fer'd the importunity of your too kind friends to prevaile with you. I will not say to you that your *Lucretius* is as far distant from the severity of a Christian as the faire Ethiopian was from the duty of Bp. Heliodorus; for indeed it is nothing but what may become the labours of a Christian Gentleman, those things onely abated which our evil age needes not; for which also I hope you either have by notes or will by preface prepare a sufficient antidote: but since you are ingag'd in it, doe not neglect to adorne it & take what care of it it can require or neede; for that neglect will be a reproofe of your owne act, & looke as if you did it with an unsatisfied mind, & then you may make that to be wholly a sin, from which onely by prudence & charity you could before be advised to abstaine. But S^r^, if you will give me leave I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of *Lucretius* as shall neither displease God nor you; & since you are buisy in that which may minister directly to learning, & indirectly to error or the confidences of men, who of themselves are apt enough to hide their vices in irreligion, I know you will be willing & will suffer your selfe to be intreated to imploy the same pen in the glorifications of God, & the ministeries of Eucharist & Prayer. S^r^, if you have M^sr^ *Silhon de l'immortalité de l'Ame,* I desire you to lend it mee for a weeke, and beleive that I am in great heartinesse & dearenesse of affection,

Deare S^r^, your obliged & most affectionate
freind & servant

J. Taylor.

To Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

(Since Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland.)

Nothing but an affaire very greate and of consequence could stay me thus long from rendering you a personal acknowledgment for y^r^ late kind visite, and I trouble you with this because I feare I shall not be able to performe *that* 'till the later end of the weeke, but I shall, after this buisinesse is over (which concernes an accoumpt with a kindsman

of mine), importune you with frequent visits, and, I hope, prevaile with you that I may haue the honour to see you againe at my poore Villa, when my respects are lesse diverted, and that I may treate you without ceremonie or constraint. For it were fitting you did see how I live when I am by my selfe, who cannot but pronounce me guilty of many vanities, deprehending me (as you did) at a tyme when I was to gratifie so many curious persons, to whom I had ben greately obliged, and for whom I have much vallue. I suppose you thinke me very happy in these outward things; realy, I take so little satissfaction in them, that the censure of singularity would no way affright me from embracing an Hermitage, if I found that they did in the least distract my thoughts from better things; or that I did not take more pleasure and incomparable felicity in that intercourse which it pleases God to permitt me, in vouchsafing so unworthy a person to prostrate himselfe before Him, and contemplate his goodnesse. These are indeede gay things, & men esteeme me happy, *Ego autem, peccatorum sordibus inquinatus, diebus ac noctibus opperior cum timore reddere novissimum quadrantem:* Whilst that accompt is in suspence, who can truely enjoy any thing in this life *sine verme? Omnia enim tuta timeo:* My condition is too well; and I do as often wonder at it, as suspect & feare it: and yet I thinke I am not to do any rash or indiscreete action, to make the world take notice of my singularity: though I do with all my heart wish for more solitude, who was euer most auerse from being neere a greate Citty, designed against it, and yet it was my fortune to pitch here, more out of necessity, and for the benefit of others, then choyce, or the least inclynation of my owne. But S^r^. I will trouble you no farther with these trifles, though as to my Confessor I speake them. There are yet more behind. My Essay upon *Lucretius*, which I told you was engaged, is now printing, and (as I understand) neere finished: my Animadversions upon it will I hope prouide against all the ill consequences, and totaly accquit me either of glory or impiety. The Captiue Woman was in the old Law to haue ben head-shaued, and her excræscencies pared off, before she was brought as a bride to the bed of her Lord. I hope I haue so done with this Author, as far as I have penetrated, and for the rest I shall proceede with caution, and

take y^r^ counsell. But, Sir, I detaine you too long, though with promises to render you a better account hereafter, both of my tyme and my studies, when I shall haue beged of you to impose some taske upon me, that may be usefull to the greate designe of Virtue and a holy Life, who am,

S^r^, y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 27 Apr: 1656.

To my Brother G. Evelyn *.

Deare Bro: Says-Court, 15 Decemb. 1656.

I am so deepely sensible of the affliction which presses you, that I cannot forbeare to let you understand how greate a share I have in the losse, and how reciprocal it is to us. For y^r^ part, I consider that your sex and your knowledge do better fortifie you against the com'on calamities and vicissitudes of these sublunary things: so that precepts to you were but impertinencys: though I also find, that the Physitian himselfe has some tymes neede of the Physitian; and that to condole and to counsell those who want nothing to support them but their owne virtue, is to relieue them of a considerable part of their affliction: But the feare which I haue that the tendernesse of so indulgent a Mother's affection (as is that of my deare Lady) may insensibly transgresse its bounds, to so huge a prejudice as we should all receive by it, (if her im'oderate griefe should continue) makes me choose rather, being absent, to contribute what aydes I can towards its remedy, then, being present, to renew her sorrows by such expressions of resentiment as of course use to fall from friends, but can add little to the cure, because but compliment. Nor do I hereby extenuate her prudence, whose virtue is able to oppose the rudest assaults of fortune; but present my arguments as an instance of my care, not of my diffidence. I confesse there is cause of sadnesse: but all who are not stoicks know

* On the death of his son Richard.

by experience, that in these lugubrous encounters our affections do sometymes outrun our reason. Nature herselfe has assigned places and instruments to the passions: and it were as well impiety as stupidity to be totaly ἀςόργος and without natural affection: but we must remember withall that we grieve not as persons without hope: least whilst we sacrifice to our passions, we be found to offend against God, and by indulging an over kind nature redouble the losse, & loose our recompence. Children are such blossomes as every trifling wind deflowres, and to be disordered at their fall, were to be fond of certaine troubles, but the most uncertaine comforts; whilst the store of the more mature which God has yet left you, invite both your resignation and y^r^ gratitude. So extraordinary prosperity as you have hitherto ben encircled with, was indeede to be suspected; nor may he thinke to beare all his sailes, whose vessell (like yours) has been driven by the highest gale of felicity. We give hostages to Fortune when we bring Children into the World: and how unstable this is we know, & must therefore hazard the adventure. God has suffer'd this for y^r^ exercise: seeke then as well your consolation in his rod, as in his staff. Are you offended that it has pleased Him to snatch y^r^ pretty Babes from the infinite contingencies of so perverse an age, in which there is so little temptation to live? At least consider, that your Pledges are but gon a little before you: and that a part of you has taken possession of the Inheritance which you must one day enter, if ever you will be happy. Brother, when I reflect on the losse as it concernes our Family in general, I could recall my owne, and mingle my teares with you (for I have also lost some very deare to me); but when I consider the necessity of submitting to the divine arests, I am ready to dry them againe and be silent. There is nothing of us perished, but deposited: And say not that they might haue come later to their destiny: *Magna est felicitas, citò esse felicem:* 'tis no small hapynesse to be happy quickly. That which may fortune to all, we ought not to accuse for a few: and it is but reason to support that patiently, which cannot be prevented possibly. But I haue now don with the Philosopher, and will dismisse you with the Divine. Brother, be not ignorant concerning them which are asleepe, that you sorrow not euen as others which haue no hope: for if we be-

lieue that Jesus died and rose againe; euen so them also which sleepe in Jesus, will God bring with him. They are the words of St. Paul, and I can add nothing to them. In the meane tyme Auxilliarys against this enemy cannot render it the more formidable: and though all griefe of this nature haue a just rise: yet may it end in a dangerous fall: our deare Mother is a sad instance of it: and I conjure you to use all the art, and all the interest you are able, to compose your selfe, & consolate y^r^ excellent Lady, which (after I haue presented my particular resentiments) is what I would haue hereby assisted you in, who am,

Dear Brother, &c.

Et consolamini alij alios istis sermonibus.

From Mr. BARLOW*, a Painter, on dedicating a Plate of Titian's Venus, engraven, to Mr. Evelyn.

Worthy S^r^.

I haue beene boold to present you with a small peece of my endeavours. I hope your goodnes will pardon my confidence in that I have presumed to dedicate it vnto you, conceaving no one to be more woorthy, or to whom I am more obliged for those sivill favours I have receaved from you. It may seeme strange that I owne that an others name is to, but my occasions not permiting me so much spare time to finish it, Mr. Gawood my freind did, which [who] desyeres his name might be to it for his advantage in his practice, soe I consented to it. The drawing after the originall paynting I did, and the drawing and outlines of this plate: I finished the heads of both the figures, and the hands and feet, and likewise the doge and the landskape. As Eaching [etching]

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* He was a native of Lincolnshire, and placed under Sheppard, a portrait-painter; but his genius led him to design after nature every species of animals, which he drew with great exactness, though his colouring was not equal to his designs. There are six books of Animals engraven from his drawings, and a set of cuts for Æsop's Fables. Some cielings of birds he painted for noblemen and gentlemen in the Country; and at Clandon, in Surrey, the seat of Lord Onslow, are five pieces from his pencil. He died in 1702. Walpole's Anecdotes.

is not my profeshion, I hope you will not exspect much from me. S^{r}. if you shall be pleased to honner my weake (yet willing) endeavours with your exseptation, I shall ever rest obliged for this and former favours. Your servant to coommand,

FRANCIS BARLOW.

From the Black-boy over agaynst St. Dunstan's, Fleat-street,
this 22d of December, 1656.

From Mr. EVELYN to Mr. BARLOW, in reply.

S^{r}.

I had no opportunity by the hand which convey'd it to returne you my acknowledgments for the present you lately sent me, and the honour which you haue conferred upon me, in no respect meriting either so greate a testimony of y^{r} affection, or the glorious Inscription, which might better haue become some greate and eminent Mæcenas to patronise, then a person so incompetent as you haue made choyce of. If I had ben acquainted with your designe, you should on my advice have nuncupated this handsome monument of your skill and dexterity to some Great one, whose relation might have ben more considerable, both as to the encouragement, and the honour which you deserve. From me you can onely expect a reinforcement of that vallue and good esteeme which before y^{r} merites had justly acquired, and would haue perpetuated: of another you had purchased a new friend; nor lesse obliged the old, because lesse exposed him to envy; since by this you ascribe so much to me, that those who know me better, will on the one side be ready to censure your judgment, and on the other you put me out of all capacity of making you requitall. But since your affection has vanquished y^{r} reason so much to my advantage, though I wish the election were to make, yet I cannot but be very sensible of the signal honour, and the obligation which you haue put upon me. I should now extoll your courage in pursuing so noble an original, executed with so much judgment and art: but I forbeare to provoke y^{r} mo-

desty, and shall in the meane tyme that I can giue you personal thankes, receiue your present as an instance of your great civility, and a memorial of my no lesse obligation to you, who remaine, S^r^,

Your &c.

Says-Court 23 Decemb. 1656.

To Mr. Maddox.

(In behalfe of Dr. Needham, to assist him on the Charge of his com'encement at Camb.)

S^r^

I perceive by the successe of my Letter, & your most civil Reply, that I was not mistaken when I thought so nobly of you, and spake those little things neither in diffidence of your bounty or to instruct it, but to give you notice when it would arrive most seasonably, and because I found the modesty of the person might injure his fortune, as well as the greatnesse of your kindnesse.—You are pleased to informe me of your course, and I cannot but infinitely approve of your motions, because I find they are designed to Places in order to things of greater advantage then the Vanity of the Eye onely, which to other Travailers has usualy ben the temptation of making Tours. For at *Marseilles* and *Toulon* you will informe y^r^ selfe of the strength and furniture of the French on the Mediterranean Seas: you will see the Gallys, the Slaves, and in fine, a very Map of the Levant; for should you trauell as far as Constantinople it selfe, or to the bottome of the Straites, you would find but still the same thing: and the Maritime townes of Italy are no other. *Nismes* dos so much abound with Antiquities, that the difference 'twixt it and *Rome* is, that I thinke the latter has very few things more worth the visiting: and therefore it may as well present you with an idea of that greate Citty, as if you were an ocular spectator of it: for it is a perfect Epitome of it. *Montpelier* is the next in order, where I suppose you will make some longer stay; because there are Schollars and Students, and many rarities about it. There is one Peter Borell a Physitian, who hath lately published " Centuries His-

torical and Medico-Physical." Montpelier was wont to be a place of rare opportunitie for the learning the many excellent receipts to make Perfumes, sweete Pouders, Pomamders, Antidots, and divers such curiosities, which I know you will not omitt; for though they are indeede but trifles in comparison of more solid things, yet, if ever you should affect to live a retired life hereafter, you will take more pleasure in those Recreations then you can now imagine. And realy Gentlemens despising those vulgar things, deprive themselves of many advantages to improve their tyme, and do service to the desiderats of Philosophy, which is the onely part of learning best illustrated by Experiments, and after the study of Religion, certainely the most noble and virtuous. Every body hath Book-learning, which verily is of much ostentation, but of small fruit unlesse this also be super-added to it. I therefore conjure you that you do not lett passe, what ever offers it selfe to you in this nature, from whomsoeuer they come. Com'only indeede persons of meane condition possesse them, because their necessity renders them industrious: but if men of qualitie made it their delight also, Arts could not but receiue infinite advantages, because they haue both meanes and leasure to improue & cultivate them: and as I sayd before there is nothing by which a good man may more sweetely passe his tyme. Such a person I look upon as a breathing treasure, a blessing to his friends, and an incomparable ornament to his country.—This is to you the true seede-tyme, and wherein the foundations of all noble things must be layed. Make it not the field of Repentance: For what can be more glorious then to be ignorant of nothing but of Vice, which indeede has no solid existence, and therefore is nothing? Seeke therefore after Nature, and contemplate that greate Volume of the Creatures whilst you haue no other distractions: procure to see Experiments, furnish your selfe with Receipts, Models, and things which are rare. In fine, neglect nothing, that at your returne, you may bring home other things then Talke, Feather, & Ribbon, the ordinary traffiq of vaine and fantastiq persons.—I must belieue that when you are in those parts of France you will not passe *Beaugensier** without a visit; for certainely, though

* Belgenser, or Beaugensier, a town near Toulon, the birth-place of the celebrated Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius, Lord of Peiresk, Senator of the Parliament at Aix.

the Curiosities may be much dispersed since the tyme of the most noble *Peireskius*, yet the very genius of that place cannot but infuse admirable thoughts into you. But I suppose you carry the Life of that illustrious & incomparable Virtuoso always about you in your motions; not onely because it is so portable; but for that it is written in such excellent language by the pen of the greate Gassendus, and will be a fit Itinerary with you. When you returne to Paris againe, it will be good to refresh your Gymnastiq Exercises, to frequent the Court, the Barr, and the Schooles sometymes; but aboue all, procure acquaintances and settle a correspondence with Learned Men, by whom there are so many advantages to be made & experiments gotten. And I beseeche you forget not to informe your selfe as dilligently as may be, in things that belong to Gardening, for that will serue both your selfe and your friends for an infinite diversion: and so will you haue nothing to add to your accomplishment when you come home, but to looke ouer the Municipal Lawes of your owne Country, which your interest and your necessities will prompt you to: And then you may sweetely passe the rest of your dayes in reaping the harvest of all your paines, either by seruing your Country in some publiq employment (if the integrity of the tymes invite you) or by securing y^{r} owne felicity, and indeede the greatest upon earth, in a private unenvied condition, with those advantages which you will bring it of piety and knowledge. Oh the delice and reward of thus employing our youth! What a beauty and satisfaction to haue spent ones youth innocently and virtuously! What a calme & serenity to the Mind! What a glory to y^{r} Country, to y^{r} Friends, a contentment to your Instructors: in sum'e, how greate a recompence & advantage to all your concernements! And all this, Sir, I foresee and augure of Mr. Maddox, of whom may this be the least portion of his panegyriq, whilst it serues me onely to testifie how greate a part I take in all your prosperity, and how greate an honour I shall euer esteeme it to be accounted,

Sir, Your, &c.

Says-Court, 10 Jan. 1657.

To the Lieutenant of the Tower *.

S^r^

I should begin with the greater Apologie for this Addresse, did not the consideration of the nature of y^r^ greate employment and my feares to importune them carry with them an excuse which I haue hope to beleiue you will easily admitt. But as it is an errour to be troublesome to greate persons upon trifling affaires, so were it no lesse a crime to be silent in an occasion, wherein I may do an act of Charity, and reconcile a person to your good opinion, who has deserved so well, and I thinke is so innocent. Sir, I speake in behalfe of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure for the mistake of his Printer †; and the readiest way that I can thinke of to do him honour & bring him into esteeme with you, is, to beg of you, that you will please to giue him leaue to waite upon you, that you may learne from his owne mouth, as well as the world has done from his writings, how averse he is from any thing that he may be charged withall to his prejudice, and how greate an adversary he has euer bin in particular to the Popish Religion, against which he has employed his pen so signally, and with such successe. And when by this favour you shall haue don justice to all interests, I am not without faire hopes, that I shall have mutually obliged you both, by doing my endeavour to serve my worthy and pious Friend, and by bringing so innocent and deserving a person into your protection; who am

S^r^. &c.

From Greenwich, 14 Jany. 1656-7.

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* "This was written for another Gentleman, an acquaintance with the *villain* who was now Lieut. of y^e^ Tower, Baxter by name, for I never had the least knowledg of him."

† Dr. Jeremy Taylor had been committed prisoner to the Tower, for setting the picture of Christ praying before his collection of Offices, contrary to a new act concerning scandalous pictures, as they called them.

To Mr. E. THURLAND, afterwards Sir EDWARD THURLAND, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and an eminent Lawyer.

Sir,

I have read y^r^ learned *Diatriba* concerning Prayer, & do exceedingly prayse your Method, nor lesse admire y^r^ Learning and Reason, which by so rare an artifice has made notions that are very difficult & abstracted in themselves, so apt and perspicuous: Besides, y^r^ Arguments are drawne from the most irresistible and convincing topicks, and the designe not onely full of learning, but usefull also to a good life, which is indeede the right application of it. S^r^, I am so much taken with your piece, and thinke it so excellent a Homily against that abounding ingredient now in the world, that I presume you shall not neede my perswasions to induce you to make it publique; being a thing which may so greately contribute to the cure of that epidemical madnesse, and the vindication of God's glory: since w^t^ Trismegistus so long tyme sayd is most true in our age, Ἡ μεγάλη νόσος τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ ἀθεότης. and Silius Italicus has interpreted with a complaint

Heu primæ scelerum caussæ mortalibus ægris,
Naturam nescire Deum ———

But because you have not onely don me the honour to com'unicate so freely y^r^ thoughts to me: but have also layd y^r^ com'ands that I should returne you my opinion of it; Truely, I should both greately injure the intrinsiq value of the Worke, as well as my greate esteeme of the Author, if I should say lesse then I have don: so that if I am bold, or impertinent in what followes, it will serve onely to make you the more admire y^r^ owne: when y^u^ shall find how little can be added to it. And you must onely blame the liberty you have given me, if my silence would have become more acceptable.

First then y^r^ Distribution is most methodical. and logical, the Minor produced to assert the Thesis very closely and skillfully handled: but because your conclusion comes in so long after, whither may it not a little πλεοναζειν, considering that your Argument is Prayer: I would

therefore at the end of some of those Chapters, before you arrive to the maine Assumption, upon enumeration of the former Syllogismes, mention something of it (by way of enumeration) that so the thoughts of your Reader might not stray from the subject, which is to enforce the necessity of Prayer: or else alter the Title, and make it comprehensive of both the parts, as of God, and of Prayer, or something equivalent. I doe greately approve the reasons you have given for that long digression, to convince those who doubted, Democritus, Leucippus, Diogenes, Epicurus, and the late Pseudo-Politicks, with those who faintly assented, as Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoicks, Polititians, and Legislators: But I suppose that since Sextus Empiricus was but a dilligent collector of the placits and opinions of other Philosophers, you shall do more honour to your Book by omitting the so frequent citing of him: It will sufficiently gratifie the Reader to see his scruples satisfied, and their errors convinced, without so particular an account whither you deduced the opinions from the Fountaine or from the Streame. And therefore you shall better cite Diogenes Laertius or Cicero then Campanella, for that passage concerning the qualities of Atomes: and it is more proper to alledge Basil de legendis Ethnicorum scriptis, Augustin de Doctrinâ Christianâ, or Socrates Scholasticus, to prove the lawfullnesse and benefit of asserting your opinions by examples out of Heathen Poets, &c. then S^{r} W. Raleigh's History of the World, who was but of yesterday. Neither would I mention Selden, where you might cite Lactantius, Clemens, Josephus, or Eusebius: because they are authors which every man will judge you might reade. And rather Fonseca, or indeede Molin, then Pinellus, who brought that opinion from them.—And here, by the way, touching what you affirme concerning the fallen Angels intuitive knowledg; there be that will replye that Lucifer was never *in patriâ* but *in viâ* onely: for so St. August. in those excellent treatises De Corruptione et Gratiâ and De Dono Perseverantiæ. That the fallen Angels never saw God as *Authorem gratiæ* but as *cultorem naturæ*, enigmatically and not intuitively, being then in probation onely, as was Man, and had the same use of their will: God onely at that moment confirming Michael and his fellows who refused to come into the rebellious party,

what tyme as he condemned the Dragon, and the rest of those lapsed Spirits.

Touching the Eternity of the World, I suppose you meane *de Eternitate absolutâ:* for it were else hard to say which was first, the Sun, or the Light which it projects; since they are not onely inseperable but *simul tempore.* God created the World in his mind from eternity, say they: or as others, *Deus fecit æternitatem, æternitas fecit mundum.* So Mercurius in Pimander.

In that passage where you prove the existence of a Deity from the wonderfull structure of the Microcosme, Lactantius his booke de opificio Dei would extreamely delight and furnish you: And so, in all that *Scala visibilium ad invisibilia,* D^r^ Charletons "Darknesse of Atheisme," C. 4. l. 5. p. 130, which I therefore mention to you, because one would not say much of that which has already ben sayd in English: Would it not do also well to speake something of natural Conscience?—I suppose where you speake of the Pismire, and other Insects, you meane they have not an intellectual Memory: for a sensitive doubtlesse they have; and here you might appositely have sayd something concerning that *Animalis Religio,* of which S^t^ Ambrose speakes, distinguishing it from Aquinas *Religio rationalis.*

Concerning the Lenity of God, upon which you have most rationally dilated, the 10^th^ Chapt. of the 1 Booke of Proclus would extreamely delight you. Touching the Knowledge of God, you must by all meanes, consult that admirable little Treatise of M. Felix his Octavius; and S^t^ Aug: de Concubitu Angelorum, about our prayers to them, in which you have so imitated the Divine S^t^ Hierom, by your constant assertion of the Paradise deduced from Scripture, that more cannot be wished: yet something which S^t^ Paul has sayd 2: Chapt. Epist. ad Coloss. and in the 9^th^ of Ecclesiast: may be applyed.

They affirme that the Devill may be an Aerial Body, and by that meanes enter into mens bodys without our perception: but I will not importune you further with these trifles: onely I will mind you of one passage of Jamblicus, speaking of the natural sense of God in Man. *Ante omnem* (saith he) *usum rationis inest naturaliter insita Deorum notio: imò tactus quidem divinitatis melior quam notitia:* and to that

purpose Cicero de Nat. Deor: Seneca de Providentiâ, the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, and more expressely Lactantius, L. 3. C. 9. where he proves *cultum Dei* to be naturally in Man, making it a formal part of its definition, *Animal Rationale Religiosum.* To conclude, Augustine, Clemens, Lactantius, Cyrill, Arnobius, Justin Martyr of old,—of the neoteriq, Aquinas, Plæssis Morney, Dr Andrews, Grotius, Dr Hammond in a particular opusculum, I. L. Vives, Bradwardine de Causa Dei, Valesius de Sacrâ Philosophia, Campanella, and our most ingenious Mr. Moore in his Antidote against Atheisme, have all treated on this subject: but in so different a manner, and with so much confusion and prolixity, some few of them excepted, that it will greately add to the worth and lustre of your piece, who have comprehended so much in so little and to so excellent purpose. I wish you had as perfectly made good yr promise in what remaines, as in what you have begun, I meane, touching the forme, matter, posture, place, and other circumstances of Prayer, in which you would do wonders upon second thoughts.—Sir, I have ben bold to note some places with my black-leade where yr Amanuensis has com'itted some sphalmatas, and peradventure some expressions may be advantageously altered at your leasure. But there is nothing in all this by which you will more assert your owne judgment, then in leaving out the Eulogie which you are pleased to honour me withall, in citing me as an Author of any vallue. By this, Sr, you see how bold I am, both to trouble you with my follys, and then to beg pardon for them; but as I sayd at first, you must blame your selfe, partly for enjoyning me, and partly for allowing me no more tyme. But he that has the perusal of any of your discourses, cannot but emerge with the greatest advantages. It was the saying of the greate Salmasius, and shall be myne, *Nihil moror Libros, et combustos omnes velim, si doctiores tantum, non etiam meliores, qui dant illis operam, reddere idonei sunt.* But such, Sr, is your excellent Booke, & such is your Conversation, from which I do allwayes returne both more learned and better, who am, Sr, yr &c.

Says-Court 20 Jan: 1656-7.

To Mr Boyle, Son of the Earle of Corke.

Sr

I should infinitely blush at the slownesse of this Addresse, if a greate indisposition of body, and since, an unexpected Journey (from both which I am but lately delivered), had not im'ediately intervened, since you were pleased to com'and these trifles of me. I have omitted those of Brasse, &c. because they properly belonge to *Etching* and *Ingraving*: which treatise, together with five others (viz: Paynting in Oyle, Miniature, Anealing in Glasse, Enamiling, and Marble Paper) I was once minded to publish for the benefit of the ingenious: but I have since ben put off from that designe, not knowing whether I should do well to gratifie so barbarous an Age, as I feare is approaching, with Curiosities of that nature, delivered with so much integrity as I intended them: and least by it, I should dissoblige some who made those professions their living: or at least debase so much of their esteeme by prostituting them to the vulgar. Rather, I conceived that a true and ingenuous discovery of these and the like arts would to better purpose be compiled for the use of that *Mathematico-Chymico-Mechanical Schoole* designed by our noble friend Dr Wilkins, where they might be taught to those that either affected or deserved any of them: and from them, as from another Solomans house, so much of them onely made publique as should from tyme to tyme be judged convenient by the superintendent of that Schoole, for the reputation of Learning and benefit of the Nation. And upon this score there would be a most willing contribution of what ingenious persons know of this kind, & to which I should most freely dedicate what I have. In the meane tyme, Sir, I transmitt you this Vernish, and shall esteeme my selfe extreamely honoured, that you will farther com'and whatsoever else of this, or any other kinde I possesse, who am Sr, Yr &c.

Says-Court, 9 May 1657.

To Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Sir,

Amongst the rest that are Tributaries to your worth, I make bold to present you with this small toaken: and though it beares no proportion either with my obligation or your merit; yet I hope you will accept it, as the product of what I haue employed for this purpose: and which you shall yearely receive so long as God makes me able, and that it may be usefull to you. What I can handsomely doe for you by other friends, as occasions present themselves, may, I hope, in tyme supplie that which I would my selfe do. In order to which, I have already made one of my Brothers sensible of this opportunity to do God and his Church an acceptable seruice: I thinke I shall prevaile as much on the other: the effects whereoff will shew themselues, and care shall be taken that you have an accoumpt of all this in due tyme, and as you shall your selfe desire it. I will not add, that by bringing you acquainted with persons of so much virtue (though I speake it of my neerest Relatiues) I do at all reinforce the kindnesse: since by it I oblige you mutualy (for so *Beneficium dare socialis res est)*, and because it is infinitely short of his respects who (with Philemon) owes you euen him selfe, and which, if I haue not sooner payed, I appeale to Philosophy, and the sentences of that wise man who, as some affirme, held intercourse with the Apostle him selfe: *Qui festinat utique reddere, non habet animum grati hominis, sed debitoris: et qui nimis cito cupit solvere, invitus debet: qui invitus debet, Ingratus est:* and S^r^, you haue too far obliged me to be euer guilty of that crime who am,

Rev^d^ Sir, &c.

Says-Court, 9 May, 1657.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Honour'd & Deare S[r]

A Stranger came two nights since from you with a letter & a token; full of humanity & sweetnesse that was, and this, of charity. I know it is more blessed to give then to receive; and yet as I no wayes repine at that Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decrees in Heaven for my support & comfort, so I doe most thankfully adore the goodnesse of God to you, whom He consignes to greater glories by the ministeries of these graces. But S[r], what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done that you can thinke I have or can oblige you? S[r], you are too kind to mee, and oblige mee not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you, & honour you, & pray for you; and in all this I can not say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthinesses & charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. S[r], though you are beyond the reach of my returnes, & my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were possible for mee to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am oblig'd and asham'd, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent my selfe to be

Honour'd & Deare S[r]

Your most affectionate & most obliged
freind & Servant

Jer. Taylor.

May 15, 1657.

To Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor,
to come and Christen my Son George.

Sir,

I heartily acknowledg the Divine mercys to me, both in this, and many other instances of his goodnesse to me; but for no earthly concernement more then for what He has conveyed me by your charity and ministration towards my eternal and better interest; and for which I wish that any new gradations of duty to God, or acknowledgments to you from me, may in the least proportion second my greate obligations, and which you continue to reinforce by new and indelible favours, which I know my selfe to be so much the more unworthy off, as I am infinitely short of the least perfection that you ascribe to me. And because you best know how much a truth that is, I haue not reason to looke upon that part of your Letter but as upon your owne emanations, which like the beames of the Sun on darke and opake bodys make them shine indeede faintly and by reflection. Every one knows from whence they are derived, and where is there native fountaine. And since this is all the Tribute which such dim lights repay, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφερουμεν, I must never hope to oblige you; but what I am able, that I will doe. Sir, I had forgotten to tell you, and it did indeede extreamely trouble me, that you are to expect my Coach to waite on you presently after dinner, that you are not to expose your selfe to the casualty of the Tydes in repairing to doe so Christian an office for Sir

Yr &c.

Says Court, 9 June, 1657.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Honour'd & Deare Sr

Your messinger prevented mine but an houre. But I am much pleased at the repitition of the Divine favour to you in the like instances; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, & of care of your family; it is an engagement to you of

new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former, because the principle is genuine & prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal & alike. S^r^, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crown'd my innocent indeavours in my descriptions of Friendship, that I perceive there is a freindship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas: and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe the first essay; for when any thing shall be observ'd to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to see the substance, more beauteous then the picture, and by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life & worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are. —S^r^, I shall by the grace of God waite upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require; and shall hope that your litle one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then & after make for him: that then also I shall wayte upon your worthy Brothers, I see it is a desyne both of your kindnesse & of the Divine Providence.

S^r^, I am your

Most affectionate & most faithfull freind & Servant

JER. TAYLOR.

June 9, 1657.

To Sir RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

By the reverse of this Medall, you will perceive how much reason I had to be affraid of my felicity, and how greately it did import me to do all that I could to prevent what I have apprehended, what I deserved, and what now I feele. God has taken from us that deare Childe, y^r^ Grandson, your Godsonn, and with him all the joy and satisfaction that could be derived from the greatest hopes. A losse, so much the more to be deplored, as our contentments were extraordinary,

and the indications of his future perfections as faire & legible as, yet, I ever saw, or read off in one so very young: You have, Sir, heard so much of this, that I may say it with the lesse crime & suspicion. And indeede his whole life was from the beginning so greate a miracle, that it were hard to exceede in the description of it, and which I should here yet attempt, by sum'ing up all the prodigies of it, and what a child at 5 yeares old (for he was little more) is capable off, had I not given you so many minute and particular accounts of it, by several expresses, when I then mentioned those things with the greatest joy, which now I write with as much sorrow and amasement. But so it is, that it has pleased God to dispose of him, and that Blossome (Fruit, rather I may say) is fallen; a six days Quotidian having deprived us of him; an accident that has made so greate a breach in all my contentments, as I do never hope to see repaired: because we are not in this life to be fed with wonders: and that I know you will hardly be able to support the affliction & the losse, who beare so greate a part in every thing that concernes me. But thus we must be reduced when God sees good, and I submitt; since I had, therefore, this blessing for a punishment, & that I might feele the effects of my great unworthynesse. But I have begged of God that I might pay the fine heare, and if to such belonged the Kingdome of Heaven, I have one depositum there. *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit:* blessed be his name: since without that consideration it were impossible to support it: for the stroke is so severe, that I find nothing in all Philosophy capable to allay the impression of it, beyond that of cutting the channell and dividing with our friends, who really sigh on our behalfe, and mingle with our greater sorrows in accents of piety and compassion, which is all that can yet any ways alleviate the sadnesse of, Deare Sir, Y^{r} &c.

Says-Court, 14 Feb: 1657-8.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Deare S^{r},

If dividing & sharing greifes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your streame much abated; for I account my selfe to have a great cause of sorrow not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joyes & hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful Boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrowes without adding to yours; & the causes of my real sadnesse in your losse are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have very great cause to mourne: So certaine it is, that greife does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, & by joyning mine to yours, I doe but encrease the flame. *Hoc me malè urit,* is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But S^{r}, I cannot choose but I must hold another & a brighter flame to you—it is already burning in your breast: & if I can but remoove the darke side of the lanthorne, you haue enough within you to warme your selfe, & to shine to others. Remember, S^{r}, your two boyes are two bright starres, & their innocence is secur'd, & you shall never heare evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, & Heaven is given to them upon very easy termes; nothing but to be borne & die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just & reasonable greife; and indeed, though the greife hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no loosers, but you are the person that complaines, doe but consider what you would have suffer'd for their interest: you haue suffer'd them to goe from you, to be great Princes in a strange Country: and if you can be content to suffer your owne inconvenience for their interest, you command your worthiest love, & the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said & done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God; and He that so smites here, will spare hereafter: & if you by patience & submission

imprint the discipline upon your owne flesh, you kill the cause, & make the effect very tolerable; because it is in some sense chosen, & therefore in no sense unsufferable. S^r^, if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, & reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider that of the bravest men in the world we find the seldomest stories of their children, & the Apostles had none, & thousands of the worthiest persons that sound most in story died childlesse: you will find it is a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their Names by worthy actions & discourses, gouernments & reasonings.—If the breach be neuer repair'd, it is because God does not see it fitt to be; & if you will be of his mind, it will be much the better. But S^r^, if you will pardon my zeale & passion for your comfort, I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. S^r^, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces: strive to be an example & a comfort to your Lady, & by your wise counsel & comfort stand in the breaches of your owne family, & make it appeare that you are more to her then ten sons. S^r^, by the assistance of Almighty God I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your Christian courage & bravery; & that I may see, that God neuer displeases you, as long as the maine stake is preserv'd, I meane your hopes & confidences of Heaven. S^r^, I shal pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort & a present mind; and shal alwayes doe you honour, & faine also would doe you seruice, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections & desires of,

Deare S^r^,

Your most affectionate & obliged freind & servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

Feb. 17, 1657-8.

To Edward Thurland, Esq.

Sir,

I understand that my L[d] of Northumberland has some thoughts of sending his son, my L[d]. Percy, abroad to travaile, and withall to allow him an appoyntment so noble and considerable, as dos become his greatnesse, and the accomplishment of his education to the best improvement. My many yeares conversation abroad and relations there to persons of merite and qualitie, having afforded me severall opportunities to consider of effects of this nature by the successes, when Gentlemen of qualitie have ben sent beyond the Seas, resigned and concredited to the conduct of such as they call Governours, being for the greatest ingredient a pedantique sort of Schollars, infinitely uninstructed for such an employment: My ambition to serve you, by contributing to the designes of a person so illustrious, and worthy of the honour which I find you allwayes beare towards his Lo'p, hath created in me the confidence to request your advice and returne upon these particulars. Whether my Lord persist still in his resolution? What equipage and *honorarium* my L[d] dos allow? and whether he has not yet pitched upon any man to accompanye my young Lord, &c.? Because I would, through your mediation, recom'end to his Lo'p a person of honour, addresse in Court, rare erudition, languages and credite: who, I thinke, would upon my representing of the proposition, be ready to serve my Lord in an affaire of this importance. I shall add no more of the person, *quum habeat in se, quæ quum tibi nota fuerint* συγκλικώτερα πάσης ἐπιστολῆς *esse judicaberis:* and because, in truth, all that I can say will be infinitely inferior to his merite: being a person of integrity, greate experience and discretion; in a word, without reproach, and such as becomes my Lord to seeke out, that he may render his Sonne those honourable and decent advantages of the most refined conversations, things not to be encountered in a pension with a Pedant—the education of most of our Nobility abroad, which makes them returne (I pronounce it with a blushe) insolent and ignorant,

debauched, and without the least tincture of those advantages to be hoped for through the prudent conduct of some brave man of parts, sober, active, and of universall addresse—in fine, such as the person I would recom'end, and the greatest Prince in Europe might emulate upon the like occasion: and therefore such a one, as I cannot presume would descend to my proposition for any person of our Nation excepting my Lord of Northumberland alone, whose education of his Sonne, I heare, has ben of another streine and alloy, then that we have mentioned: and such as will giue countenance and honour to a person of his merite, character, and abilities. It is not enough that persons of my L. Percy's qualitie be taught to daunce, and to ride, to speake languages and weare his cloathes with a good grace (which are the verie shells of travail), but, besides all these, that he know men, customes, courts, and disciplines, and whatsoever superiour excellencys the places afford, befitting a person of birth and noble impressions. This is, S^r^, the fruite of travail: thus our incomparable Sidney was bred; and this, *tanquam Minerva Phidiæ*, setts the crowne upon his perfections, when a gallant man shall returne with religion and courage, knowledge and modestie, without pedantry, without affectation, materiall and serious, to the contentment of his relations, the glory of his family, the star and ornament of his age. This is truely to give a Citizen to his Country. Youth is the seede-tyme in which the foundation of all noble things is to be layd: but it is made the field of Repentance. For what can become more glorious then to be ignorant of nothing but of Vice, which indeede has no solid existency, and therefore is nothing? And unlesse we thus cultivate our youth, and noblemen make wiser provisions for their educations abroad, above the vanity of Talke, Feather, and Ribbon, the ordinary com'erce and import of their wild pererrations, I despayre of ever living to see a man truely noble indeede: they may be called "My Lord;" titles are sounds and inferior trifles; but when Virtue and blood are coincidents, they both add lustre and mutual excellencys. This is what my Lord takes care to secure to his Sonne, what I foresee and augure of my noble Lord Percy, and of whom (though to me no otherwise known then by fame) may this be the least portion of his panegyrick, whilst it concernes me

onely to testifie, without designe, my zeale for one whom I know you so highly vallue; *quanto enim mihi carior est amicitia tua, tanto antiquior mihi esse debet cura, illam omnibus officiis testandi;* which, Sir, is the product of this impertinency, and sole ambition of, Sir, y^{r} &c.

Says-Court, 8 Nov: 1658.

To my Co: Geo. Tuke of Cressing Temple in Essex.

Jan. 1658-9.

Speaking of his brother having been made a proselyte to the Church of Rome:—" For the rest, we must com'itt to Providence the succesee of tymes & mitigation of Proselytical fervours; having for my owne p'ticular a very greate Charity for all who sincerely adore the blessed Jesus, our com'on & deare Saviour, as being full of hope that God (however the p^{e}sent zeale of some & the scandals taken by others at the instant afflictions of the Church of England may transport them) will at last compassionate our infirmities, clarifie our judgments and make abatement for our ignorances, superstructures, passions & errours of corrupt tymes & interests, of w^{ch} the Romish persuasion can no way acquit herself, whatever the present prosperity & secular polity may pretend. But God will make all things manifest in his owne tyme; onely let us possess ourselves in patience & charity; this will cover a multitude of imperfections*."

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* See Mrs. Evelyn's character of him in a letter to Lady Tuke on his death. Sir Samuel Tuke of Cressing Temple in Essex, Bart. was a Colonel in the King's service during the civil war, and afterwards being one of those that attempted to form a body in Essex for King Charles, he narrowly escaped with his life. He married Mary Sheldon, one of Queen Catharine's dressers, and died at Somerset House, Jan. 26, 1673. Dodd's Church History, III. 251. His accomplished son followed the fortune of King James, and was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

To Dr. Wilkins,
President of our Society at Gressham Coll:
(afterwards Dean of Ripon and Bishop of Chester.)

S^r^

Though I suppose it might be a mistake that there was a Meeting appoynted to-morrow (being a day of publique sollemnity and devotion), yet because I am uncertaine, and would not disobey y^r^ com'ands, I here send you my trifling observations concerning the Anatomy of Trees, and their vegetative motion. It is certaine, as Dr. Goddard has shewed, that a section of any tree made parallel to the Horizon, will by the closenesse of the circles point to the North, and so consequently, if a perpendicular be drawne through them for the Meridian, the rest of the Cardinals, &c. found out; but this is not so universall, but that where strong reflections are made, as from walls, the warme fumes of dunghills, & especially if the Southern side be shaded, &c. those ellipticall and hyperbolicall circles are sometimes very irregular; and I doubt not but by some art might be made to have their circles as orderly, as those which we find in Brasile, Ebene, &c. which within a very little concenter by reason of the uniforme course of the Sun about them; which is doubtlesse the cause of their greater dilatation on the south part onely with us, when the pores are more open, & lesse constipated. The consideration whereof (though no where mention'd that I know) made the Poet, giving advice concerning transplantations to caution thus,

> Quin etiam Cœli regionem in cortice signant,
> Ut quo quæque modo steterit, qua parte calores
> Austrinos tulerit, quæ terga obverterit axi,
> Restituant: adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.

And though Pliny neglect it as an unnecessary curiosity, I can by much experience confirme it, that not one Tree in 100 would miscarry were it duly observed: for in some I have made triall of it even at Midsommer. But what I would add is touching the Graine of many woods, and the

reason of it, which I take to be the descent, as well as the ascent of moysture: for what else becomes of that water which is frequently found in the cavities where many branches spread themselves at the topps of greate trees, especially pollards, unlesse (according to its naturall appetite) it sinke into the very body of the stem through the pores? For example: in the Wallnut, you shall find when 'tis old, that the wood is rarely figur'd and marbled as it were, & therefore much more esteemed by Joyners, &c. then the young, which is whiter & without any grains: for the raine distilling along the branches, where many of them come out in clusters together from the stem, sinkes in, and is the cause of these markes; for it is exceedingly full of pores. Do but plane a thin chipp off from one of these old Trees, and interpose it 'twixt y^r^ eye and the light, and you shall perceive it full of innumerable holes. But above all conspicuous for these workes and damaskings, is the Maple (a finer sort whereof the Germans call Air, and therefore much sought after by the Instrument-makers): 'tis notorious that this tree is full of branches from the very roote to the su'mite, by reason it bears no considerable fruite. These branches being frequently cutt, the head is the more surcharged with them, which spreading like so many raies from a center, forme that cavity at the top of the stem whence they shoote, as contains a good quantity of water every time it raines: This sinking into the pores, as we hinted before, is compelled to diverte its course as it passes through the body of the tree, wherever it finds the knott of any of these branches which were cut off from the stem of the tree; because their rootes not onely deeply penetrate towards the heart, but are likewise of themselves very hard and impervious: and the frequent obliquity of this course of the subsiding waters, by reason of these obstacles, is the cause of those curious and rare undulations & workes which we find remarkable in this and other woods, whose branches grow thick from the stem.

S^r^, I know not whether I have well explain'd my conception, but such as it is, I offer it, and it was y^r^ com'ands I should do so, together with that Treatise or History of Chalcography, as part of the taske you have impos'd; but with this hope & humble request, that knowing upon what other subject I was engaged before I had the honour to be

elected one of this august Society, I may obtaine its indulgence, not to expect many other things from me 'till it be accomplish'd; rather that you will take all occasions which may contribute to my designe. It is there, S^r^, that I have at large discours'd of the Vegetation of Plants, and upon that argument which S^r^ K. Digby & the rest so long discours'd at our last encounter, but it shall not be so in this paper, which is now at an end, &c.

Y^r^ &c.

Says Court, 17 Feb. 1660.

To Tho. Chiffing, Esq. Page of the back stairs to his Majesty and Keeper of his closet.

In answer to the laudable design of his Ma^ty^ for fit repositories of those precious Treasures & Curiosities com'itted to y^r^ charge; I conceive you may compleately martial them in a Catalogue (as there set forth). This were in truth a noble way to preserve his treasure intire; so as upon occasion to permit a sight of it to greate Princes & curious Strangers; for it is great pity it should not be made as famous as the Cabinet of the Duke of Florence, & other foraign princes, which are onely celebrated for [by] being more universally known, & not because his Ma^tie^s collection is not altogether as worthy, His Ma^tie^ being likewise himself so exquisite a judge, as well as possessor, of so many rare things as might render not onely Whitehall, but the whole Nation, famous for it abroad.

If it be his Ma^t^s pleasure, I shall whenever you call upon me & that it may least importune his privacy, make the inventory of particulars.

To this I would have added, in another Register, the names & portraitures of all the exotic & rare Beasts & Fowls which have at any time been presented to his Ma^ty^, & which are daily sent to his Paradise at S^t^ James's Parke.

To my Lady Cotton *.

Madame,

It was by a Visite which was made us this afternoon, that we heard how it had pleased God to dispose of y^e^ little sweete Babe; and, withall, how much the losse of it dos yet afflict you. Whatsoever concernes you in this kind is, Madame, a com'on diminution to the Familie, and touches every particular of it; but so as our resentiments hold proportion to the cause, and that the losse of one dos not take away the comfort and the contentment which we ought to have in those who are left; since we must pretend to nothing here, but upon the conditions of Mortalitie, and ten thousand other accidents; and that we may learne to place our felicities in our obedience to the Will of God, which is allways y^e^ best, and to sacrifice our affections upon that Altar, which can consecrate our very losses, and turne them to our greatest advantage. Madame, I have heard with infinite satisfaction how graciously God had restor'd you y^r^ health: Why should you now impaire it againe by an excesse of Griefe, which can recalle nothing that God has taken to himselfe in exchange without a kind of ingratitude? There be some may happly sooth y^r^ Ladyship in this sensible part (which was the destruction of my deare Mother); but y^r^ Ladyship's discretion ought to fortifie you against it before it become habitual and dangerous. Remember that you have an Husband who loves you intirely; that you have other Children who will neede your conduct; that you have many Friends, and a prosperous Family. Pluck up y^r^ spirits then, and at once vanquish these hurtfull tendernesses. It is the vote of all that honor & love you; it is what God requires of you, and what I conjure you to resolve upon; and I beseech y^r^ La'p, let this expresse bring us some fairer confidences of it, then the com'on report dos represent it, to the griefe of

Madame, y^r^ &c.

Sayes Court, 9 Sept. 1662.

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* Wife to his brother George Evelyn of Wotton.

To Mr. Vander Douse,
Grandson to y^e greate Janus Dousa.

S^r

I have to the best of my skill translated y^r Relation of China: if you find the Argument omitted, it is for that I thought it superfluous, being almost as large as the Text; but I have yet left a sufficient space where you may (if you thinke good) insert it. In y^e meane time, it would be consider'd, whether this whole piece will be to the purpose, there having ben of late so many accurate descriptions of those Countries in particular, as what Father Alvarez Semedo has publish'd in the Italian; Vincent Le Blanc in French; and Mandelslo in High Dutch; not omitting the Adventures & Travels of Pinto in Spanish; all of them now speaking the English language. At least I conceive, that you might not do amisse to peruse their workes, and upon comparing of them with this piece of yours, to observe what there is more accurate and instructive; least you otherwise seeme *actum agere*, as the word is: But this, Sir, I remit to your better judgement, who am

S^r, y^r &c.

Sayes-Court 13: Sep^tr: 1662.

To Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Croone, Professor of Rhetoriq, at Gresham College, London.

S^r

It has neither proceeded from the unmindfullnesse of y^r desires, or y^r deserts, that I had not long before this gratified y^r inclinations, in finding you out a condition, which it might become you to embrace, if you still continue y^r laudable curiosity, by wishing for some opportunity to travell, and see the World. There have pass'd occasions (and some which did neerely concerne my Relations) when I might happly have engag'd you; but having long had a greate ambition to

serve you, since I had this in prospect, I rather chose to dispence with my owne advantages, that I might comply with yours. My worthy and most noble Friend Mr. Henry Howard, has by my Co: Tuke signified to me his desires of some fit person to instruct, and travell with his two incomparable children; and I im'ediately suggested Mr. Croone to them, with such recco'mendations and civilities as were due to his merits, and as became me. This being cherefully embrac'd on their part, it will now be yours to second it. All I shall say for y^r^ present encouragement, is but this: England shall never present you with an equal opportunity; nor were it the least diminution that Mr. Croone, or indeede one of the best Gentlemen of the nation, should have the Tuition of an heire to the Duke of Norfolke, (after the Royal Family) the greatest Prince in it. But the Title is not the thinge I would invite you to, in an age so universally deprav'd amongst our wretched Nobility. You will here come into a most opulent worthy family, and in which I prognosticate (and I have it assur'd me) you shall make your fortune, without any further dependances: For the persons who governe there, have both the meanes to be very gratefull, and as generous a propensity to it as any family in England: Sir, if you thinke fit to lay hold on this occasion, I shall take a tyme to discourse to you of some other particulars which the limits of an hasty Letter will not permitt me to insert. I have ben bold to leave this for you at the Colledge; because I was uncertaine of seeing you, and that I have promis'd to give my Friends an accompt of its reception. If your affaires could so far dispense with y^u^, as to afford me an afternoones visite at my poore Villa, I should with more liberty conferr with you about it, and in hope of that favour I remaine,

S^r^, y^r^ &c.

Says-Court 11: July: 1663.

To Dr. Pierce, President of Magdalen Coll. in Oxford; & one of his Ma^ties^ Chaplaines in Ordinary.

Re^d^ Sir,

Being not long since at Somersett-house, to do my duty to her Ma^ty^ the Queene Mother, I fortun'd to encounter D^r^ Goffe*. One of the first things he ask'd me was, whither I had seene M^r^ Cressy's† Reply to D^r^ Pierce's so much celebrated Sermon? I told him, I had heard much of it, but not as yet seene it: upon which he made me an offer to present me with one of the bookes, but being in hast, and with a friend, I easily excus'd his civility, that I could not well stay 'till he should come back from his lodging: In the meane time he gave no ordinary encomiums of y^t^ rare piece, which he exceedingly magnified, as beyond all answer; and to reinforce the triumph, he told me that you had written a Lett^r^ to some friend of y^rs^ (a copy whereof he believed he should shortly produce) wherein (after you had express'd y^r^ greate resentiment that some of y^e^ Bishops had made you their property, in putting you upon that ungratefull argument) you totaly declin'd to engage any farther in y^e^ controversy; intimating that you would leave it at the Bishops dores, and trouble your selfe no more with it: This (or words to this effect) being spoken to my selfe, and to some others who stood by, would have weigh'd more with me, had I not been as well acquainted with these kind of artifices to gaine Proselytes by, as of your greater discretion never to have written such a Lett^r^, and abilities to vindicate what you have publish'd, when you should see y^r^ time. Nor had I likely thought more of it, had not my Lord of Canterbury, the Bp: of Winchester, together with my Lord Chancelor (to whom upon some occasion of private discourse, I recounted the passage) expressly injoyned me to give you notice of it; because they thought it did highly concerne you; and that you would take it civily from me. And, S^r^, I have don it faithfully; but with this humble request, that

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* See Vol. I. p. 12 and 346.

† For an account of Cressy see Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

(unlesse there be very greate cause for it) you will be tender of mentioning by what hand y^r^ intelligence comes; because it may do me some injury.

S^r^, I am perfectly assur'd, that you will do both y^r^selfe and the Church of England that right, which becomes you upon this occasion. I will not say that the burthen ought to be cast upon y^r^ shoulders alone; but I will pronounce it a greater marke of y^r^ charity, and zeale; and such as intitles you to the universal obligation which all men haue to you; upon confidence whereof I satisfie myselfe you will soone dismantle this douty Battery, and assert what you haue gain'd so gloriously:

Thus I discharge my duty, in obedience to their com'ands. But it is upon another account that I was not displeas'd with having an opportunity by this occasion to expresse my thankes & great acknowledgements to you, for the present you made me of that y^r^ incomparable Sermon, and which in my opinion is sufficiently impregnable; But something must be don by these buisy men, to support their credit, though at the irreparable expence of truth, and ingenuity. The Epistle before Mr. Cressy's papers dos not want confidence: and we are very tame whiles we suffer our Church to be thus treated by such as being once her Sons did so unworthily desert her. But pardon this indignation. I am

R^d^ S^r^

y^r^ most &c.

Says-Court, 20th Aug: 1663.

To Doct^r^ Pierce, &c.

S^r^

I receiv'd y^r^ favour of the first of this moneth w^th^ very different passions, whiles in some periods you giue me reasons so convincing, why you should rather consult y^r^ health, and gratifie y^r^ charge, & personal concernements, than reply to impertinent bookes; and in others againe

make such generous and noble offers, that the Church of England, and the Cause which is now dishonor'd, should not suffer through y^r^ silence: And I had (according to y^r^ com'ands) made my addresses to those ho^ble^ persons with something of what you had instructed me; had either my Lord of Winchester, or my L: Chancellor been in towne: Since I received y^r^ lett^r^ my L: of Winchester is indeede gone to Farnham some few days past: but I was detain'd by speciall buisinesse in y^e^ Country 'til this very moment, when coming to London on purpose to waite on him I miss'd him unfortunately, and unexpectedly: In the meane time, I was not a little rejoyc'd at something my Ld: of Salisbury did assure me, of some late kind intercourse betweene you and y^r^ Visitor, to the no small satisfaction of all those that love and honor you here.

In pursuance of y^r^ farther injunction, I was this very morning with D^r^ Goff: after a short ceremony we touched upon Cressy's pamphlet: He tells me there are eight sheetes more printing (by a Rev^d^ Father of y^e^ Society, as he nam'd him) who has put M^r^ Cressy's Rhapsody into mode and figure, that so it might do y^e^ worke amongst Scholars, as it was like to do it w^th^ his illiterate Proselytes: Upon this I tooke occasion to remind him of y^e^ Lett^r^ which he lately pretended you had written, intimating y^r^ resolution not to reply: After some pause he told me, that was a mistake, and y^t^ he heard it was onely a friend of yours which writt so: Whither he suspected I came a birding, or no, I cannot be satisfied, but he now blench'd what before (I do assure you) he affirm'd to me concerning y^r^ owne writing that Lett^r^. This is the infelicity (and I haue observ'd it in more then one) that when Men abandon their Religion to God, they take their leave also of all ingenuity towards men. And what could I make of this shuffling, and caution, now turn'd to a mistake, & an heare-say? but so it seemes was not that of y^r^ being offended with the Bishops for the ingratefull taske they put upon you, which he often repeated; and the difference 'twixt you and y^r^ Visitor:—so after a short velitation, we parted. S^r^, I have nothing more to add to y^r^ trouble, then that I still persist in my supplication, and that you would at last breake through all these discouragements and objections for y^e^ publiq benefit. It is true, men deserve it not; but

the Church, which is dearer to you then all their contradictions can be grievous, requires it. You can (in the interim) govern a dissorderly College which calls for y^r^ assiduous care; but so dos no lesse the needes of a despis'd Church; nor ought any in it concerne themselves so much as to this particular, without being uncivill to you: Though (I confesse) after you have once chastis'd this insolence, no barking of the Currs should provoke you for the future: S^r^, I do not use a quarter of those arguments which y^r^ friends here suggest, why you ought to gratifie the Church by standing in this gapp; because I am confident you perfectly discerne them; and that though some particular persons may have unjustly injur'd you, yet she has been kind, and indulgent; and in a Cause which concernes either her honor or veracity, it will be glorious (not to say gratefull) you should vindicate her wrongs. You are not the onely subject which that Academiq Jack-pudding has reproch'd more bitterly personally: The Drunkards made a song of holy David, yet still he daunc'd before the Arke of God, and would be more vile. What are we Christians for? I do assure you, there is nothing I have a greater scorne & indignation against, then these wretched Scoffers, and I looke upon our neglect of severely punishing them as an high defect in o^r^ politiques, and a forerunner of something very funest. I would to God Vertue and Sobriety were more in reputation: but we shall turne plainely Barbarians, if all good men be discourag'd. S^r^, you are of a greater mind then not to despise this. *Fa pùr bene e lascia dire.* But I run into extravagances, and I beseech you to pardon my zeale, and all other the impertinences of S^r^,

Y^r^, &c.

Lond: 17^th^: Sept^r^: 1663.

To Mr. Sprat, Chaplaine to the Duke of Buckinghame, afterwards Bishop of Rochester *.

Upon receipt of the D^rs^: Lett^r^: and the hint of y^r^ designe, which I receiv'd at Oxford in my returne from Cornebery, I su'moned such scatter'd notices as I had, & which I thought might possibly serve you in some particulars relating to the person and condition of *Sorbiere*.

His birth was in Orange, where he was the sonn of a Protestant, a very indigent and poore man; but however making a shift to give him some education as to letters, he design'd him for a Minister, and procur'd him to be pedagogue to a Cadet of Mons^r^ le Comte de la Suze, in whose family he liv'd easily enough, till being at length discover'd to be a rampant Socinian he was discharg'd of employment, but in revenge whereof ('tis reported) he turn'd Apostat, & renounc'd his Religion, which had been hitherto Huguenot; I forgot to tell you that before this he obtain'd to be made a Schoolemaster to one of the Classes in y^t^ Citty; but that promotion was likewise quickly taken from him upon the former suspition. He has pass'd through a thousand shapes to ingratiat himselfe in the World, & after having been an Aristarchus, Physitian (or rather Mountebanq) Philosopher, Critic, & Polititian (to which last he thought himselfe worthily ariv'd by a version of some heterodox pieces of M^r^ Hobbes) the late Cardinal Mazarin bestow'd on him a pittifull Canonical at Avignon worth about 200 crownes p^r^ ann, w^ch^ being of our money almost 50 pounds, is hardly the sallary of an ordinary Curat: but for this yet he underwent the basest drudgery of a Sycophant in flattering y^e^ Cardinal upon all occasions the most sordidly to be imagin'd, as where I can shew you him speaking of this fourb for one of the most learned persons of the age. He styles himself *Historiograph du Roy*, the mighty meede of the co'monest Gazetiere, as that of *Conseiller du Roy* is of every

* This letter alludes to Mons. Sorbiere's "Voyage to England," then just published; and also to Observations on the same Voyage by Dr. Sprat.

trifling petifoger, w^ch^ is in France a very despicable qualification. It is certaine that by some servile intelligences he made a shift to skrew him selfe into y^e^ acquaintance of many persons of quality, at whose tables he fed, & where he entertain'd them with his impertinencies. A greate favourite of our late Republiq he was, or rather the vilany of Cromwell, whose expedition at Sea against Holland he infinitely extolls, with a prediction of his future glorious atchievements, to be seene in an Epistle of his to Mons: de Courcelles, 1652, and upon other occasions, not to omitt his inciting of our Roman Catholiques to improve their condition under his Ma^tie^ by some effort, which smells of a Rebell spirit, even in this relation which he presumes to dedicat to y^e^ French King.

Thus as to y^e^ person of y^t^ man & his co'munications: For y^e^ rest in which this audacious Delator sufficiently exposes himselfe to y^r^ mercy, I forbeare to add; unlesse it be to put you in mind of what occurs to me in relation to your vindicating my L: Chancelor, whom all the world knows he has most injuriously vilified; and you haue an ample field to proceede on, by comparing his birth & education w^th^ that of his Cardinal Patron, whom he so excessively magnifies, & even makes a demi-god.

My L: Chancelor* is a branch of y^t^ antient & honorable family of Norbery in Cheshire as it is celebrated by M^r^ Camden in his Britannia, and so famous for y^e^ long robe, that an Uncle's Son of his present Lo^p^: came to be no lesse a man than L: Chiefe Justice of England not long since, w^ch^ dignity runs parallel with their premier President de Paris, one of the most considerable charges of that Kingdome. Nor has this person ascended to this deserved eminency without greate & signal merits, having pass'd through so many superior Offices; as Chancellor of y^e^ Exchequer: Privie Counsellor, Ambass^r^ Extraordinary &c. not to mention his early engagement w^th^ his Ma^tie^ Charles y^e^ 1. in a period of so greate defection; the divers weighty affaires he has successfully manag'd, fidelity to y^e^ present King, his eloquent tongue, dextrous and happy pen, facetious conversation & obliging nature, all of them the products of a free & ingenuous education, which

* Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

was both at the University & Inns of Court, now crown'd with an experience & addresse so consum'at, that it were impossible this Satyrist should have hit on a more unreasonable mistake, than when he refin'd upon the qualifications of this illustrious Minister. You will meete in a certaine Lett^r of the old Kings to his Consort y^e Q: Mother, that his Ma^tie long since had him in his thoughts for Secretary of State. But these topics were infinite, and 'tis no wonder that he should thus defame a Chancelor, who has been so bold as to dare to censure a Crown'd head, and to call in question the procedure of the K. of Denmark about the affaire of Cornlitz Ulefield*, for which Mons^r l'Abbé de Paulmyr has perstring'd him to y^e purpose, and publish'd it in French, together with some observations of an English Gent: upon the relation of Sorbiere, in w^ch those unworthy & malicious imputations of *lascheté* & bassesse in y^e Nation is perfectly vindicated, even by citations onely of their owne French authors, as namely André du Chesne, du Verdier, Philippe de Commines, and others of no meane name & estimation amongst their most impartial Historians, sufficient to assert the Courage & Gallantry of the English, without mentioning the brave impressions the Nation has made even into y^e very bowells of their Country, which after the winning of severall signal battails, they kept in subjection same hundreds of yeares.

You cannot escape the likely choice which he made by which to judge & pronounce of the worth of English Bookes, by the learned collection he carried over with him of y^e workes of that thrice noble Marchionesse †, no more then of his experience of the English Dyet by the Pottage he eate at my L: of Devonshires : But it is much after the rate of his other observations ; or else he had not pass'd so desultorily our Universities & the Navy, w^th a thousand other particulars worthy the notice, & not to be excused in one pretending to make relations ; to omitt his subtil reflexions on matters of State, & medling with things he had nothing to do with : such as were those false & presumptuous

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* Count Cornelius Ulefield Oxenstiern, Danish Prime Minister.

† Margaret Cavendish, Marchioness, afterwards Duchess of Newcastle, a very voluminous writer both in verse and prose. There are ten or eleven volumes of her works in thin folios.

suggestions of his that the Presbyterians were forsooth the sole restorers of y^e^ King to his Throne, and the palpable ignorance of our Historiographr Royal, where he pretends to render an accoumpt of divers antient passages relating to the English Chronicle : the jurisdiction and Legislative power of Parliaments, which he mingles & compares with that of y^e^ Kings to celebrate & qualifie his Politicks : upon all which you have infinite advantages. It is true he was civily received by the Royal Society, as a person who had reco'mended him selfe to them by pretending he was Secretary to an Assembly of Learned men formerly meeting at Mons^r^: Monmors at Paris ; so as he had been plainely barbarous not to have acknowledged it by the mention he makes ; whiles those who better know whose principles the Mushroom * is addicted to, must needes suspect his integrity ; since there lives not on y^e^ Earth a person who has more disoblig'd it.

S^r^, I am, &c:

Says-Court, 31 Octob. 1664.

P. S.

I know not how you may have design'd to publish y^r^ reflexions upon this disingenuous Traveller ; but it would certainely be most co'municative & effectual in Latine, the other particular of his relation co'ming onely to those who understand the French, in which language it is already going to be printed.

To my L^d^ Viscount Cornebery.

My Lord,

Being late come home, imagine me turning over y^r^ close printed memoires, and shrinking up my shoulders ; yet w^th^ a resolution of surmounting the difficulty, animated with my L^d^ Chancelors & y^r^ Lo^p^

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* Mr. Hobbes.

com'ands, whom I am perfectly dispos'd to serve, even in the greatest of drudgeries, the Translation of Bookes*: But why call I this a drudgery? who would not be proud of the service? By the slight tast of it, I find God & the King concern'd, and I will in due tyme endeavour to p'sent y^r Lord^p & the world with the fruites of my obedience, cherefully, & with all due reguards: Nor is it small in my esteeme that God directs you to make use of me in any thing which relates to y^e Church, though in my Secular station. I began indeede (as y^r Lo^p well remembers) with that Essay on St. Chrysostome some yeares since upon that consideration, though prompted by a lugubrous occasion, such a one (though in no respect so greate a one) as what I but too sensibly perceive afflicts my L^d y^r Father; for as I last beheld his countenance, in thought I saw the very shaft transfixing him; though the greatenesse of his minde, and pious resignation† suffer him to do nothing weakely, and with passion.

Besides the Divine precepts, & his Lo^ps greate example, I could never receive any thing from Philosophy that was able to add a graine to my courage upon these irremedilesse assaults like that Enchiridion & little Weapon of Epictetus, *Nunquam te quicquam perdidisse dicito, sed reddidisse*, says he: *Filius obijt? redditus est;* it is in his 15^th^ chap: Repeate it all to my Lord, and to y^r selfe; You cannot imagine what that little target will encounter; I never go abroad without it in my pocket. What an incomparable guard is that τὰ ϛίχ᾽ ἐφ ἡμῖν! cap. 1. where he discourses of the things which *are*, & *are not* in our power: I know, my Lord, you employ y^r retirements nobly; weare this defensive for my sake, I had almost sayd this Christian Office.

But, my Lord, I am told, we shall have no Lent indicted this yeare. I acknowledge, for all D^r Gunning, that I much doubt of its apostolical institution: but I should be heartily sorry a practise so neere to it, so agreeable to Antiquity, so usefull to Devotion, and in sum so confirm'd by o^r Laws, should now faile, & sinke, that his Ma^tie and his Laws are

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* Mysterie of Jesuitisme, & its pernicious consequences as it relates to Kings & States, w'h I published this yeare.

† Upon y^e death of his sonne Edward, a very brave & hopefull young man.

restor'd. I know not what subtile & political reasons there may be: It were better, flesh should be given away for a moneth or two to the poore in some greate proportion, and that particular men should suffer, than a sanction & a costome so decent should be weaken'd, not to say abrogated; believe 'twill not be so easy a thing to reasume a liberty of this nature, w^ch^ gratifies so many humours of all sorts. Because God gives us plenty, must we always riot? If those who sit at the helme harken to the murmurs of impertinent & avaritious men, pray God they never have cause to repent of the facility when 'tis too late. I know religious fasting dos not so much consist in y^e^ species and quality as the quantity; nor in the duration, as the devotion: I have always esteemed abstainance *à tanto* beyond the fullfilling of periods & quadragessimas; nor is this of ours every where observ'd alike by Christians; but since all who are under that appellation do generaly keepe it where Christ is nam'd (I do not meane among the Romanists alone) a few imperfect reformers excepted; methinkes a reverend & antient costome should not so easily be canceld; for so I looke on it, if once we neglect the Indiction. But were that for one fortnight, with a strict proclamation, & lesse indulgence to the *faulty* (as they call that shop of iniquity) and some other pretenders to liberty; in my opinion it would greately become the sollemn, & aproching station of the Passion-Weeke: And I would to God it were reduced but to that, that the irksomenesse might not deterr the more delicat, nor the prohibition those whose interest it is to sell flesh. We in this Island have so natural a pretence to mingle this concerne of Devotion into that of the State, that they might be both preserv'd without the least shadow of Superstition; and if once o^r^ Fishery were well retriev'd (than which nothing could be more popular, nor indeare the person who should establish it) the profit of that alone would soone create proselytes of the most zealous of our carnivorous Samaritans. Why should there be an interruption of our Laws for a yeare, to the infinite disadvantage of the Church of England in many reguards?

My L: You are a pious person, and the Lenten abstinence minds me of another incongruity that you Parliament-men will I hope reforme, & that is the frequency of our Theatrical Pastimes during that Indiction. It is not allow'd in any City of Christendom so much as in

this one Towne of London, where there are more wretched & obscene plays permitted than in all the World besides. At Paris 3 days, at Rome 2 weekely, & at the other Cittys of Florence, Venice, &c. but at certaine jolly periods of the yeare, and that not without some considerable emolument to y^e^ publique; whiles our Enterludes here are every day alike; so as the Ladys & the Gallants come reaking from the Play late on Saturday night, to their Sonday Devotions; the ideas of the Farce possesses their fantsies to the infinite prejudice of Devotion, besides the advantages it gives to our reprochfull blasphemers. Could not Friday, & Saturday be spar'd; or, if indulg'd, might they not be employ'd for the support of the poore, or as well the maintenance of some Worke-house, as a few debauch'd Comedians? What if they had an hundred pound p^r^ ann. lesse com'ing in; this were but policy in them; more than they were borne too, & the onely meanes to consecrate (if I may use the tearme) their scarse allowable impertinences: If my Lord Chancelor would be but instrumental in reforming this one exorbitancy, it would gaine both the King and his Lo^ty^ multitudes of blessings. You know, my L^d^, that I (who have written a Play* & am a scurvy Poet too some times) am far from Puritanisme; but I would have no reproch left our Adversaries in a thing which may so conveniently be reform'd. Plays are now w^th^ us become a licentious excesse, & a vice, & neede severe censors that should looke as well to their morality, as to their lines and numbers. Pardon this invective, my L: nothing but my perfect affection for y^r^ person & y^r^ vertue could have made me so intemperate; & nothing but my hopes that you will do the best you can to promote the greate interest of Piety, & things worthy y^r^ excellent opportunities, could have render'd me thus prodigal of my confidence: Season my L^d^ y^r^ Father with these desiderata to our consu'mat felicity; but still with submission & under protection for the liberty I assume; nor let it appeare presumption irremissable, if I add, that as I owne my Lord o^r^ illustrious Chancelor for my Patron & Benefactor; so I pay him as tender & awfull respect (abstracted from his greatnesse & the

* It is not recollected that there is any reference or allusion to this *Play* in any other part of Mr. Evelyn's Memoirs or Writings; and, if really written, it is most likely that from pious impulse he purposely destroyed it.

circumstances of that) as if he had a natural as he has a virtual & just dominion over me; so as my gratitude to him as his Beneficiary, is even adopted into my religion, and 'till I renounce that, I shall never lessen of my duty; for I am ready to professe it, I have found more tendernesse, & greater humanity from the influences of his L^{op} than from all the Relations I have now in the World, wherein yet I have many deare & worthy friends. My L: pardon againe this excesse, which I sweare to you, proceedes from the honest, & inartificial gratitude of My Lord

y^{r} &c.

Lond. 9 Feb. 1664-65.

To S^{r} Tho. Clifford,
(afterwards Lord High Treasurer.)

S^{r},

Upon receipt of yours of the 17th instant, I repair'd to my L: Arlington, and from him to his Ma^{tie}, who on sight of y^{r} Lett^{r} added his particular com'ands, that upon arrival of y^{e} Prisoner I should im'ediately bring young Everse to him, and that then he would instruct me farther how he would have him treated; w^{h} I perceive will be wth greate respect, and some thinke wth Liberty: for the other Captaine, that I should pursue his R: Hig^{sses} directions: and in order to this, I haue com'anded my Martial to be ready. I am sorry we are like to haue so many wounded men in their company, but I have taken all the care I can for their accom'odation: I pray send me a list of the names & qualities of o^{r} Prisoners, they being so apt to contrive & forme stories of themselves, that they may passe for Embdeners or Danes: I thanke God all o^{r} affaires here are in good order: I did yesterday repaire to y^{e} Commiss^{rs} of the Navy to remove the obstruction w^{h} hinder'd our Receiver from touching the effects of o^{r} Privy Seale, they pretending a defect in the Order, w^{h} I have been faine to carry back to y^{e} Councill: Coll: Reymes writes for 700^{l}: S^{r}, here haue ben an host of women,

making moane for their losse in the unfortunat *London**: I have wth much artifice appeas'd them for y^{e} present; but they are really objects of much pitty; and I have counsel'd them to make choyce of some discreete person to represent to us their respective losses, & expectations, that we may consider their cases without clamor & disturbance. S^{r}, I am ravish'd to heare o^{r} Fleet is in so flourishing a condition, I pray God continue it, and give you all successe. I would beg the p^{r}sentment of my most humble duty to his Royall Hig^{ss}, and that you will grace wth y^{r} more particular com'ands,

S^{r}, y^{r} &c:

Lond. 2 Apr. 1665.

To D^{r} (afterwards Sir) Christopher Wren, &c.

S^{r},

You may please to remember that some tyme since I begg'd a favour of you in behalfe of my little Boy: he is now susceptible of instruction, a pleasant, and (though I speake it) a most ingenious and pregnant child. My designe is to give him good education; he is past many initial difficulties, and conquers all things with incredible industry: Do me that eternal obligation, as to enquire out and recom'end me some young man for a preceptor. I will give him 20^{l} p^{r} a^{n} Sallary, and such other accom'odations as shall be no ways disagreeable to an ingenuous spirit; and possibly I may do him other advantages: In all cases he will find his condition with us easy, his scholar a delight, & the conversation not to be despised: This obliges me to wish he may not be a morose, or severe person, but of an agreeable temper. The qualities I require are, that he be a perfect Grecian, and if more than vulgarly Mathematical, so much the more accomplish'd for my designe: myne owne defects in y^{e} Greeke tongue and knowledge of its usefulnesse, obliges me to mention that particular with

* The London Frigate, blown up by accident, with above 200 men. See vol. I.

an extraordinary note: in sum I would have him as well furnish'd as might be for the laying of a permanent & solid foundation: The Boy is capable beyond his yeares; and if you encounter one thus qualified, I shall receive it amongst the greate good fortunes of my life that I obtain'd it by the benefit of y^{r} friendship, for which I have ever had so perfect an esteeme. There is no more to be said, but that when you have found the person, you direct him im'ediately to me, that I may receive, and value him.

S^{r}, I am told by S^{r} Jo: Denham that you looke towards France this somer: be assur'd I will charge you wth some addresses to Friends of mine there, that shall exceedingly cherish you; and though you will stand in no neede of my reccom'endations, yet I am confident you will not refuse the offer of those civilities which I shall bespeake you.

There has layne at D^{r} Needham's a copy of y^{e} Parallel * bound up for you, & long since design'd you, which I shall intreate you to accept; not as a recompence of your many favours to mee, much lesse a thing in the least assistant to you (who are y^{r}selfe a Master), but as a toaken of my respect, as the Booke itselfe is of the affection I beare to an Art which you so hapily cultivate.

Deare S^{r}, I am

Y^{r} &c.

Says-Court, 4 Apr. 1665.

To His Grace the Duke of Albemarle.

May it please y^{r} Grace,

Being here at Douer for y^{e} examining & auditing my Accoumpts, as one of his Ma^{ties} Commissioners in this Kentish district; and finding that o^{r} prisoners at the Castle here, since their late attempt to escape through y^{e} Magazine (over which till then they had a very spacious & convenient roome to lodge in) are now for want of acco'modation neces-

* "A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern," written by Roland Freart, sieur de Chambray, and translated by Mr. Evelyn.

sitated to be kept in a very straite place; by meanes whereof they grow miserably sick; and are indeede reduced to a sad condition, which cannot be remedyed without extraordinary inconvenience to y^e^ Lieutennant: My most humble suite to y^r^ Grace is, that you will be pleas'd to give order they may be conveyed to Chelsey Colledge; and the rather, that there being no greate number of them, it will be hardly worth the while & charge to maintaine Officers for them here & particular Guards: The condition of the poore men (who suffer for y^e^ attempt of their more daring fellowes) is very deplorable, nor can it be prevented without enlargement of their quarters; which the Governor cannot spare them without danger. I have already inform'd y^r^ Grace how much we suffer by y^e^ scrupules of those Vessells, who refuse to transport our recover'd men to y^e^ Fleete; which makes me againe to supplicate y^r^ Graces fresh orders; It would infinitely conduce to his Ma^ties^ service: But of this, as of severall other particulars I shall render y^r^ Grace a more ample accoumpt at my returne to London; where I shall not faile to do my duty as becomes,

May it please y^r^ Grace,

Y^r^ Graces, &c.

Dover, 30 May 1665.

To S^r^ Thomas Clifford.

S^r^,

I was in precinct for my journey when y^r^ lett^r^ ariv'd, w^h^ imparted to us that most glorious Victory, in which you have had the honor to be a signal atchiever*: I pray God we may improve it as becomes us: His Royall Highn^ss^ being safe becomes a double instance of rejoyceing to us; and I do not know that ever I beheld a greater and more sollemn expression of it, unlesse it were that on his Ma^ties^ Restauration, than this whole City testified the last night, & which I cannot figure to you without hyperbolies. I am heartily sorry for those Heros that are

* For an account of this victory, see vol. I.

fallen, though it could not have been on a more transcendant occasion. S^r^, I co'municated y^r^ Lett^r^ to my L^d^: Arlington, and to his Ma^tie^ who read it greedily. My greatest solicitude is now how to dispose of y^e^ Prisoners in case you should be necessitated to put them in at the Downes, in order to which my Lord Duke of Albemarle has furnished me with 400 foote & a troop of horse, to be co'manded by me for Guards if neede require; & I am just going to put all things in order. His Grace concludes w^th^ me y^t^ Dover Castle would be the most convenient place for their custody, but would by no meanes invade his R: Hig^ss^. particular province there without his Hig^sses^: consent, & therefore advises me to write his High^ss^: for positive co'mands to the Lieutennant. It is therefore my humble request that you will move him therein, it being of so greate importance at this time, & not onely for his Castle of Dover, but the Forts likewise neere it; & that (besides my owne Guards) he would be pleas'd y^t^ a competent number of Land Souldiers might be sent with them from on board, to prevent all accidents, till they come safe to me; for it was so likewise suggested by his Grace, who dismiss'd me w^th^ this expedient: "Mr. Evelyn," says he, "when "we have fill'd all the Goailes in y^e^ Country w^th^ our Prisoners; if they "be not sufficient to containe them, as they sent our men to y^e^ East "Indies last yeare, we will send them to the West this yeare by a just "retaliation." S^r^, I thinke fit to let you understand that I have 3 days since obtayn'd of the Councill a Privy Seale, w^h^ I moved might be £20,000, in reguard of y^e^ occasion; together w^th^ the use & disposal of the Savoy-Hospitall (w^h^ I am now repairing & fitting up, having given order for 50 beds to be new made, & other utensils) all which was graunted. I also obtain'd an Order of Councill for power both to add to our Servants, & to reward them as we should see cause. His Ma^tie^: has sent me 3 chests of Linnen, which he was pleas'd to tell me of himselfe before I knew they were gon; so mindfull, & obliging he is, that nothing may be wanting. S^r^, I have no more to add, but the addresses of my most humble duty to his Royal High^ss^: & my service to M^r^ Coventry from

S^r^, y^r^ &c.

Paynters Hall Lond. 16 June 1665.

To Sr Peter Wyche, Knt.*

Sr

This crude Paper (which beggs yr pardon) I should not have presum'd to transmit in this manner, but to obey yr com'ands, and to save the imputation of being thought unwilling to labour, though it be but in gathering straw. My greate infelicity is, that the meeting being on Tuesdays in ye afternoone, I am in a kind of despaire of ever gratifying myne inclinations, in a conversation wh I so infinitely honor, & that would be so much to mine advantage; because the very houre interferes wth an employment, wh being of publiq concernement, I can in no way dispense with: I mention this to deplore myne owne misfortune onely, not as it can signifie to any losse of yours; wh cannot be sensible of so inconsiderable a member. I send you notwithstanding these indigested thoughts, and that attempt upon Cicero, wch you enjoin'd me.

I conceive the reason both of additions to, and the corruption of the English Language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes; namely from Victories, Plantations, Frontieres, Staples of Com'erce, Pedantry of Schooles, Affectation of Travellers, Translations, Fancy and style of Court, Vernility & mincing of Citizens, Pulpits, Political Remonstrances, Theaters, Shopps, &c.

The parts affected wth it we find to be the Accent, Analogy, direct Interpretation, Tropes, Phrases, and the like.

1. I would therefore humbly propose, that there might first be compil'd a Gram'ar for the Præcepts; which (as it did the Roman, when Crates transferr'd the art to that city, follow'd by Diomedes, Priscianus and others who undertooke it) might onely insist on the Rules, the sole meanes to render it a learned, & learnable tongue:

2. That with this a more certaine Orthography were introduc'd, as

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* Chaireman of a Committee appointed by the Royall Society to consider of the improvement of the English tongue.

by leaving out superfluous letters, &c: such as *o* in Woomen, People; *u* in Honour: *a* in Reproach, *ugh* in Though, &c.

3. That there might be invented some new Periods, and Accents, besides such as our Gram'arians & Critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modifie the Pronunciation of Sentences, & to stand as markes before hand how the voice & tone is to be govern'd; as in reciting of Playes, reading of Verses, &c. for the varying the tone of the voyce, and affections &c.

4. To this might follow a Lexicon or Collection of all the pure English-Words by themselves; then those w^h^ are derivative from others, with their prime, certaine and natural signification; then, the symbolical: so as no innovation might be us'd or favour'd; at least 'till there should arise some necessity of providing a new Edition, & of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

5. That in order to this, some were appointed to collect all the technical Words; especialy those of the more generous employments: as the Author of the "Essaies des Merveilles de la Nature, et des plus nobles Artifices," has don for the French; Francis Junius and others have endeavor'd for the Latine: but this must be gleaned from Shops, not Bookes; & has ben of late attempted by Mr. Moxon *.

6. That things difficult to be translated or express'd, and such as are as it were, inco'mensurable one to another; as determinations of Weights & Measures; Coines, Honors, National Habits, Armes, Dishes, Drinkes, Municipal Constitutions of Courts; old, and abrogated Costomes &c. were better interpreted than as yet we find them in Dictionaries, Glossaries, & noted in the Lexicon.

7. That a full Catalogue of exotic Words, such as are daily minted by our *Logodædali*, were exhibited, and that it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them currant, *ut Civitate donentur;* Since without restraining that same *indomitam novandi verba licentiam*, it will in time quite disguise the Language: There are some elegant words introduc'd by Physitians chiefely and Philosophers, worthy to be retained; others, it may be, fitter to be abrogated; since there ought

* In the second volume of his "Mechanick Exercises."

to be a law, as well as a liberty in this particular. And in this choyce, there would be some reguard had to the well sounding, and more harmonious words, and such as are numerous, and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so reccom'end themselves at the very first sight as it were; others, which (like false stones) will never shine, in whatever light they be placed; but embase the rest. And here I note, that such as have lived long in Universities doe greately affect words and expressions no where in use besides, as may be observed in Cleaveland's Poems for Cambridg: and there are also some Oxford words us'd by others, as I might instance in severall.

8. Previous to this it would be enquir'd what particular Dialects, Idiomes and Proverbs were in use in every several Country of England; for the Words of y^e^ present age being properly the *Vernacula*, or Classic rather, special reguard is to be had of them, and this consideration admits of infinite improvements.

9. And happly it were not amisse, that we had a Collection of y^e^ most quaint and Courtly expressions, by way of *Florilegium*, or Phrases distinct from the Proverbs: for we are infinitely defective as to civil addresses, excuses & formes upon suddaine and unpremeditated (though ordinary) encounters: in which the French, Italian & Spanyards have a kind of natural grace & talent, which furnishes the conversation, and renders it very agreeable: here may come in Synonimes, Homoinymes, &c.

10. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of Words, which goe in & out like the mode & fashion; Bookes would be consulted for the reduction of some of the old layd-aside words and expressions had formerly *in delicijs;* for our Language is in some places sterile and barren, by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it; and therefore such places should be new cultivated, and enrich'd either w^th^ the former (if significant) or some other: For example, we have hardly any words that do so fully expresse the French *clinquant, naïveté, ennuy, bizarre, concert, façoniere, chicaneries, consummé, emotion, defer, effort, chocq, entours, débouche;* or the Italian *vaghezze, garbato, svelto,* &c. Let us therefore (as y^e^

Romans did the Greeke) make as many of these do homage as are like to prove good citizens.

11. Something might likewise be well translated out of the best Orators & Poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of y^e^ Moderne Languages; that so some judgement might be made concerning the Elegancy of y^e^ style, and so a laudable & unaffected imitation of the best recco'mended to Writers.

12. Finaly, There must be a stock of reputation gain'd by some publiq Writings and Compositions of y^e^ Members of this Assembly, that so others may not thinke it dishonor to come under the test, or accept them for judges and approbators: And if y^e^ designe were ariv'd thus far, I conceive a very small matter would dispatch the art of Rhetoric, which the French propos'd as one of the first things they reco'mended to their late Academitians.

I am S^r^:

Y^r^ most &c.

Says-Court, 20 June 1665.

To my Lord Viscount Cornebery.

My Lord,

Those who defin'd History to be *Disciplina composita de bono practico obtinendo* pointed us to that use of it which every wise man is to make of it by his reading of Authors. But as it is the Narration *Rerum gestarum* (for whatever is matter of fact, is the subject of History), your L^p^ cannot expect I should at this distance from my study, & bookes of that kind, be able to present you with so compleate a series of Authors as you require of me; much lesse such a method, as y^r^ affection for so noble a resolution, and so becoming a greate person, dos truely merit. However that this may not be looked on as an excuse, and that I may in some measure obey y^r^ Lo^ps^ com'ands, I shall as far as my talent, and my faithlesse memory serves me at present, give y^r^ Lo^p^

the names of those Authors which haue deservedly been esteemed the most worthy and instructive of those greate and memorable Actions of the Ages past.

A Recention of y^e^ Greeke Historians from the reigne of Cyrus (before which we have nothing of credible in any prophane history) 'til after Justinian, and y^e^ confusion of y^e^ Roman Empire by the Goths and Vandals:

1 Herodotus.
2 Thucydides.
3 Xenophon.
4 Polybius.
5 Diodorus Siculus.
6 Dionysius Halicarnassus.
7 Josephus.
8 Arrianus.
9 Appianus.
10 Dion-Cassius.
11 Herodian.
12 Zosimus.
13 Procopius.
14 Agathias, &c.

The Latine Historians from y^e^ foundation of Rome to the death of the Emperor Valens: Sallust, Cæsar, Titus Livius, Vellejus Paterculus, Quintus Curtius, Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, Justinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, &c.

To these may be superadded, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, and Eunapius, among the Greekes; Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, Spartianus, Lampridius, and the Augustæ Scriptores, of the Latine &c.: but for being more mix'd, and lesse methodical, they would haply be read in another order; and if the Greekes have happly written more even of the Roman story than the Romans themselves, it is what is universaly knowne and acknowledg'd by the learned; which has made the enumeration of the one, to exceede the mention of y^e^ latter. These are, my L^d^. sufficient to afford y^r^ L^p^: a fairer & more ample course, then any of y^r^ quality usualy pretend to; being the best, & most worthy consideration both as to y^e^ grandeur of Examples, and politure of the Language. As to the later periods, from Valens and the Gotic Emperors to our times; I shall furnish y^r^ curiosity, when you have finish'd this stage; for it were now, my L^d^. to discourage you, the very calling over the names of so many; how much more, should I add (w^t^ y^r^ L^ps^ curiosity will desire to dip into, to emerge a compleate Historian) the Biographi, or Writers of particular Lives, Relations, Nego-

tiations, Memoires, &c. which are things apart, and that properly come within the series of y^e^ more solid and illustrious Historians: onely as to that of Chronologie, I conceive it of absolute necessity, that y^r^ L^sp^ joyne it with all y^r^ readings together with some Geographical Author & guide, whose Tables, Mapps & discoveries both for the antient & modern names, situations & boundaries of y^e^ places, you shall with incredible advantage consult, to fix and make it y^r^ owne. Scaliger's Emendatio Temporum, Petavii Rationarium, Calvisius, Helvicus, or our Isaacson*, may suffice to assist you, with Cluverius, our Peter Heylin, and the late accurate Atlasses set forth by Bleau. To these may be added as necessary subsidiaries; H. Stephens's Historical Dictionary set lately forth in London; and if your L^p^ thinke fit to pursue the Cycle with more expedition, which were likewise to gratifie y^r^ curiosity by a preparation that will furnish you with a very usefull prospect, before you engage y^r^selfe on y^e^ more particulars, there is in English one Howel (not James) who has published a very profitable Compendium of Universal History, so far as he has brought it; to which you may joyne what Bp. Usher has set forth in two volumes, containing the Annales of all the memorable actions & passages which have happened in the Church from the Creation, mingled w^th^ divers secular passages of rare remarke, and which may serve you instead of Baronius, or any of his voluminous epitomizers, Spondanus, Peruginus, &c. And by that time y^r^ L^p^ is arriv'd thus far, you will have perform'd more than any man of y^r^ quality can pretend to in Court, by im'ense degrees, according to my weake observation, who sometimes passe my time at the circle where the Gallants produce themselves with all their advantages, & (God knows) small furniture. Nor will it be difficult for you to goe through the rest with delight & ease, whether you would begin at y^e^ present age, and reade upwards, 'till you meete w^th^ the period where you left off (which is Grotius's advise to Mon^r^ Maureriq), or proceede in that order in which you began: But my Lord, of this, as of whatever else you shall judge

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* Henry Isaacson, author of the "Chronological Series of the four Monarchies." Folio, London, 1633.

me worthy to serve you in, I shall endeavour to p'sent y^r Lo^p with something more material, & better digested, when you please to co'-mand, My L^d

Y^r Lordship's &c.

Cornebery, 21 June 1665.

To my Ld. Viscount CORNEBERY, L^d Chamberlaine to her Ma^tie, &c.

My Lord,

I should be exceedingly wanting to my duty, and to the interest you are pleas'd to allow me in y^r friendship, not to preserve it by such acknowledgements as are due to you by infinite obligations: and if this have not been done oftener, distance, and the many circumstances of a jealous intercourse, will easily obtaine y^r mercy; for I sweare to you, my Lord, there breathes not a man upon earth who has a greater value for y^r noble person; because I have establish'd it upon y^r Virtues, and that which shines in you above titles, and adjuncts, w^ch I reguard but as the shadows of greate men; nothing constituent of good & realy permanent. But, my L^d: I intend not here a Panegyric, where haply an Epithalamium were due, if what has been lately told me, of y^r L^ps being newly married, or shortly re-entring into those golden fetters, be true. But can y^r L^p thinke of such a felicity, and not com'and me to celebrate it? not as a Poet (for I know not w^t it meanes) but as one perfectly devoted to y^r good fortune; since that glory must needes be in my mouth, which already is so profoundly engraven in my heart. I thought indeede that golden key which I saw ty'd to y^r side by that silken riban, was the forerunner of some other knot, constant as the colour, and bright as the mettall. My L^d: I joy'd you at Hampton Court for y^e one, and I would joy you from Says-Court for the other: You have in the first a dignity conspicuous for y^e ornament it receives from y^r vertues; but in the second onely, a reward of them above y^e pearles, & the rubies: 'tis a price which Fortune owes y^r L^p: and I can celebrate her justice without flattery. Long may you live under her

happy Empire. When I am certaine of y^e^ particulars, I will string more roses on this Chaplet, and make you a country gardener's present; if the anxiety of being at this distance from a person whose influence is so necessary, do not altogether wither my genius.

But, my Ld. give me now leave to entertaine you a little w^th^ mine owne p^r^ticular condition; since as contraries illustrate one another, it cannot but improve y^r^ happinesse.

After 6978 (and possibly halfe as many more conceil'd) which the pestilence has mow'd downe in London this Weeke; neere 30 houses are visited in this miserable Village, whereoff one has beene the very neerest to my dwelling: after a servant of mine now sick of a swelling (whom we have all frequented, before our suspicion was pregnant) & which we know not where will determine; behold me a living monument of God Almighty's protection and mercy! It was Saturday last 'ere my courageous Wife would be persuaded to take the alarme; but she is now fled, with most of my Family; whilest my conscience, or something which I would have taken for my duty, obliges me to this sad station, 'till his Ma^tie^ take pitty on me, and send me a considerable refreshment for the comfort of these poore creatures, the sick & wounded Seamen under mine inspection through all the ports of my district. For mine owne particular, I am resolv'd to do my duty as far as I am capable, & trust God with the event; but the second causes should coöperate: for in sum, my L^d^, all will, and must fall into obloquy & desolation, unlesse o^r^ Supplys be speedily settled on some more solid fonds to carry this important Service on. My Bro: Com^r^ S^r^ W^m^ D'Oily after an accoumpt of £.17000 is indebted about £.6000, and my reckoning comes after it apace. The Prisoners of Warr, our Infirmatories, & the languishing in 12 other places; the charge of Sallaries to Physitians, Chyrurgeons, Officers, Medicaments, & Quarters, require speedy & considerable supplies;—lesse then £.2000 a weeke will hardly support us. And if I have been the more zealous & descriptive of this sad face of things, & of the personal danger I am expos'd to, it is because I beg it may be an instance of y^r^ goodnesse & charity to reade this article of my letter to my Ld: y^r^ Father, who I know has bowels, and may seriously represent it to his Ma^tie^ and my L: High Treasurer.

For, my L^d^, having made mine attempts at Court by late Expresses on this occasion, I am driven to lay this appeale at his Lo^ps^ feete, because having had experience of his favour in mine owne concerne & private affaires, I addresse my selfe w^th^ a confidence I shall succeede now that it imports the publiq. I dare not apply w^t^ S^t^ Paule sayd to Timothy (because it dos not become me), but give me liberty to alude: I know none (amongst all o^r^ Court greate-ones) like minded, who dos naturaly care for our state. The consectary is ———; for all seeke their owne. 'Tis, my L^d^, a sad truth, & this no time to flatter; we should succumb under the poiz but for some few such Atlasses as are content to accept of the burthen w^th^ the honor; which though it makes it sit heavy, makes it sit with a good conscience, & the expectation of a blessing. I am a plaine Country Gent^n^, yet heare, & see, and observe, as those in the valies best discerne the mountaines: this Nation is ruin'd for want of activity on our parts; religion & gratitude on all. But, my L^d^, I tirannize y^r^ patience; pardon the excesse: I have not often y^e^ opportunity, and God knows when I may enjoy another, who daily carry my life in my hands. If the malignity of this sad Contagion spend no faster before Winter, the calamity will be indicible.—But let me now acquainte y^r^ Lo^p^ how I passe those moments w^ch^ my assiduous prayers to God for y^r^ prosperity, & my service of his Ma^tie^ do not take up. It is now about 2 moneths since I consign'd a large Epistle to Royston: for y^t^ piece y^r^ Lo^p^ enjoyn'd me to publish in consequence of the former, and which I have made bold to inscribe to my Ld: Chancellor, under somewhat an ænigmatical character, because of the invidiousnesse of y^e^ argument. The booke it selfe was quite finish'd, & wrought off; but Royston being fled, & the presses dissolv'd, we cannot hope to get o^r^ freedome, till it please God in mercy to abate y^e^ Contagion. This is that w^h^ hinders us from y^t^ most incomparable piece of Mr. Stillingfleete's friend against Searjeant, & divers other particulars, w^h^ though printed will not as yet be publish'd;—both venders, & buyers, & readers being universaly scathed. As to o^r^ Philosophical concernes, D^r^ Wilkins, S^r^ W^m^ Petty, & Mr. Hooke, w^th^ our operator, live alltogether at my L^d^ Geo. Barclay's at Durdans neere my Brother, where they are excogitating new riggings for Ships, new Charriots, &

new Ploughs, &c. so as I know not of such another happy conversation of Virtuosi in England. And now I mention'd my Bro: I were ungratefull to omitt my acknowledgement of the infinite honor he tells me my Ld: Chancelor was pleas'd to do me, before so many persons of Quality and Gent: of our County of Surrey as came in to waite on him at Farnham, at my L^d^ Bishops of Winchester table; when his Lo^p^ was pleas'd to mention me with an eulogy, and kindnesse so particular & obliging, as I can never hope to merite from his goodnesse. But I would esteeme it the most fortunate day of my life, y^t^ should present me with an occasion, in which I might signalize my prone & most ardent inclynations to his service, as being professedly more engag'd to his Lo^p^ than to any person living in this world. And if God heare the humble prayers w^h^ I poure out for the continuance of y^r^ prosperity, I shall have perform'd but my duty, who am w^th^ a most unfained resignation My Ld:

Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 9^th^ Sep^r^. 1665.

To my L^d^ Viscount Cornebery, L^d^ Chamberlaine to her Ma^tie^.

My L^d^:

By this most agreeable opportunity I continue to p'sent y^r^ L^p^ with my faithfull service, and if it arrive seasonably, to supplicate y^r^ L^ps^ pardon for the style, the mistake, and the length of mine of the ninth instant; it will excite in you different passions, and *one*, my L^d^, not an unpleasant one. Smile at my intelligence, and pity all the rest; for it will deserve it, and find a way to y^r^ noble breast. My Servant (whom I there mention to have sent from my house for feare of the worst) will recover, and proves sick only of a very ougly surfeit; w^ch^ not only frees me fro' infinite apprehensions, but admitts me to give my Wife a visite, who is at my Brother's, and within a fortnight of bringing me my seaventh sonne; and it is time, my L^d^, he were borne;

for they keepe us so short of monys at Court, that his Ma^ties^ Commiss^rs^ had neede of one to do Wonders, and heale the Sick and Wounded by Miracle, 'till we can maintaine o^r^ Chyrurgeons. My Ld: I do not forget y^r^ injunction of waiting on you this moneth at Cornebery; but I am momentarily threatned to be hurried to the Sea-side againe, after this Conflict of my L^d^ Sandwich;—and the Woman in the straw I would gladly see out of perill. I will not question y^r^ L^sps^ being at Oxford this approching reconvention of Parliam^t^: My Father-in-law waites there, and it must go ill w^th^ me if I kisse not y^r^ hands. Just now I heare the Gunns from the Tower: This petty Triumph revives us much; but the miserably afflicted Citty, and euen this o^r^ poore Village, want other consolations: my very heart turnes within me at the contemplation of our calamity. God give the Repentance of David, to y^e^ Sinns of David! We have all added some weights to this burthen; Ingratitude, and Luxurie, and the too, too soone oblivion of Miracles.

The Almighty preserve y^r^ Lo^p^, and my best friend in the world my most hon^rd^ L^d^ Chancelor. I would say a thousand affectionate things more to conjure y^r^ Lop^s^ beliefe, that I am

My L: y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 12 Sep^r^ 1665.

Sir Philip Warwick to John Evelyn, Esquire.

Cousen,

I am to seek how to answere your Letter; for without passing any compliment vpon you how much I am concern'd in yo^r^ safty, w^ch^ I find endangered by y^r^ Employment—without professing how sensible I am, that scarce any perticular in the Nauy ought to haue that care & tendernes wait vpon it as the Sick and Wounded men, and the Prisoners, though a lesse regard in respect I heare ours are not soe well vsed; and that the Emb^r^ Serv^t^ seems to take such little care for Exchanges, as if

he meant to burthen vs wth them: and that these fellowes are soe stuborne they will not worke, nay beat any that will—yet a shame it is if they be not in the proportion the King allowes them prouided for. The ill effect of both these I acknowledge if they be neglected. And when I haue said this you'll wonder what I can say next, that my Lord Tr'r makes not the prouision. S^{r}: I must say, though I offend my good friend S^{r} George Carteret, that from the first my Lord Tr'r told him this charge was a cheife part of the expence of the Nauy, & by his Assign-m^{ts} to be prouided for. It was the first sin transferring faults one from another; & therefore I am asham'd to be making such returnes, & know that will as little feed the hungry & cloath the naked, as a mouth that's open wth a benediction & a hand closed wth the money. And yet how to make you judge of this I cannot, wthout showing you how the whole Royall Ayde is distributed. (And this I assure you, the distribution of the whole 2500000^{li} is not of perticular concerne vnto me, fine p'^{d})

	£.
Of the Citty for the Nauy before the Parl^{t} borrowed - -	200000
Of the Dunkirk mony - - - - - - - - - - -	050000*
13 Counties wholy assigned - - - - - - - - -	1277604
County of Bucks for the Nauall Reg^{t} - - - - - - -	0047346
The first 3 months of all the other Counties - - - - -	0096047
Vpon 17 other Counties 102^{mlli} & 40^{mlli} And now lately the dispute being that he had noe proper assignm^{t} for the sick & wounded, my Lord told him he would assigne him 28000^{li} of those Counties particularly for them - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	0170000
but I feare that will not doe you any seruice, S^{r} George saying the assignm^{t} being upon the 3^{d} yeare, he cannot borrow vpon it.	
This hath bin already the Nauys Portion of the Royall Ayde. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1840997

* This to be repaid.

	£.
Ordnance hath had assigned vnto it - - - - - - -	0367686
Guards hath Counties sett out for - - - - - - - -	0170616
Garrisons - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	0045121
Wardrobe had on Wales - - - - - - - - - - -	0025000
	0608423
Rem: on the 17 Counties 50^{mli} } 109^{mli} on Wales - - - 59 }	

And now do you see by whose friendship you have receiued that small refreshment, w^{ch} I say not to diminish his kindnes, but to shew you that properly you were a care of Mr. Vice Chamberlin's.

Totall	2449420
Rem:	0109000
	2558420

All I can adde is, my Lord T'rer will endeavor to dispose the Vice Chamberlin; & if it be in his power, for I thinke him as much overlayed as others, I doubt not he'l vnd^{r}take yo^{r} charge. And because the Assignm^{t} w^{ch} remaynes to be made vpon Wales, w^{ch} is about 30000^{li} for the second yeare & the first quarter of the third, may better please him, my Lord T'rer will offer him that, or offer it to S^{r} W^{m} D'Oyly & yo^{r}selfe, if you can procure credit vpon it. He'l make an essay whether out of the present Prizes (w^{ch} if his Ma^{ty} will not employ to this vse, being a better fond of credit, he may be repaied from this Assignm^{t}) he can get you a consid^{le} sum. His Lo^{p} is ready to assigne out of Wales or the 17 Counties 50000^{li} for this seruice singly. And if I could give you a better & more perticular account I would, for I valew both yours and S^{r} William's integrities & informations soe much, you may both assure yo^{r}selues I'l not be wanting. And am really sensible of your cares & dangers, w^{ch} we want not (being for all comers) euen here; but being in our station & depending on Prouidence, I hope none of vs shall miscarry. Wee are now seperated & in motion, but I'l hast the Resolution. In the mean tyme you may reserue this to y^{r}selfe. Only co'municate it to S^{r} W^{m} D'Oyley, to whom I cannot at present write, for hauing receiued yo^{r} L'res but late this night, and the

Post goeing away in the morning, & I have to send my L'r six myle thither. I begge his pardon & yours, & remayne w^th^ all truth & affection

Y^r^ most faithf^l^

kinsman & serv^t^,

P. Warwick.

Stratton, Sept. 16, 1665, 8 at Night.

To Sir Philip Warwick, Secretary to my Lord High Treasurer.

S^r^,

Your favour of the 16^th^ current from Stratton has not only inlightened mine eyes, but confirm'd my reason; for sure I am I durst write nothing to you which could cary in it the least diffidence of y^r^ most prudent œconomy; and you are infinitely mistaken in me if y^u^ thinke I have not establish'd my opinion of y^r^ sincerity & candor in all that you transact, upon a foundation very remote from what the World dos ordinarily build upon: I am sufficiently satisfied to whose care our Supplies did naturaly belong: for I do not believe the sums we have received to carry on our burthen thus far (trifling as they have been compar'd to y^e^ occasion) proceeded from his (Sir George's) good nature (w^h^ I have been much longer acquainted with then you), but to shift the clamor w^ch^ our necessities have compell'd us to; whilst our Task-masters exacted brick without allowing us straw. And if I have express'd any thing to you in a style more zealous then ordinary, it has been to lay before you a Calamity w^ch^ nothing can oppose but a suddaine supply; and for that my L^d^ Arlington (to whom I have frequently said as much) directed me to the proper object. Nor was what I writ a prophesy at adventure: One fortnight has made me feele the uttmost of miseries that can befall a person in my station and w^th^ my affections: To have 25000 prisoners, & 1500 sick & wounded men to take care of, without one peny of mony, and above 2000*l.* indebted: It is true, I am but newly acquainted w^th^ buisinesse, and I now find the happy difference betwixt Speculation and Action to the purpose; learning that at once, w^ch^ others get by

degrees; but I am sufficiently punish'd for the temerity, and I acknowledge the burthen insupportable: Nor indeede had I been able to obviate this impetuous torrent, had not his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and my Ld: Sandwich (in pure compassion of me) unanimously resolv'd to straine their authority, and to sell (though not a full quorum) some of y^e^ Prizes, & breake bulke in an Indian Ship, to redeeme me from this plunge: and all this, for the neglect of his personal care—whom you worthily perstringe, though for domestiq respects & other relations they were not willing to expresse their resentiments. S^r^, I am in some hopes of touching y^e^ 5000*l.* some day this weeke; but w^t^ is that, to y^e^ expense of 200*l.* y^e^ day? Is there no exchange or pecuniary redemption to be propos'd? or is his Ma^tie^ resolv'd to maintaine the Armies of his Enemyes in his owne boosome? whose idlenesse makes them sick, and their sicknesse redoubles the charge! I am amaz'd at this method, but must hold my tongue. Why might not yet the French, who are numerous in this last action (and in my conscience have enough of the Sea) be sent home to their Master, not to gratifie but plague him w^th^ their unprofitable numbers?

S^r^, I most humbly acknowledge your goodnesse for the confidence you have in me, and for that *Arcanum*, the Accoumpt of the disposure & assignement of this prodigious Royall Ayd of 2500000*l.* which you have so particularly imparted to me, & that I should have preserv'd w^th^ all due caution, though you had enjoyn'd me none. If I obtaine this small sum of 5000*l.* it will be a breathing till I can meete my Bro: Commis^rs^ at Oxford, whither I am sum'on'd to joyne for y^r^ effects and settlements of some of those more solid appointments mention'd in y^r^ Audit, & which you have promis'd to promote, & therefore I will trouble you no further at present, then to let y^u^ know, that upon that account of y^r^ encouragement (I meane the providence of God & my sole desires of serving Him in any thing which I hope He may accept, for I sweare to you no other consideration should tempt me a second time to this trouble) I am resolv'd to maintaine my station, and to refuse nothing that may contribute to his Mat^tes^ service, or concerne my duty, who am, S^r^, Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 30 Sep^r^ 1665.

To Sir William Coventry, Secretary to his Highness the Duke of Yorke, and one of the Privy Council.

May it please y^{r} Ho^{r}:

Nothing but a calamity which requires the application of the speediest redresse to preserve the lives of men, the honor of his Ma^{tie}, and (as I conceive) a concernement of the weightiest importance to the whole Nation, could have extorted this repetition of the sad posture our affaires are in, for want of those monys and effects we were made believe should be assign'd us for the carying on of the province intrusted to us. I will not torment you with the particulars of my owne story, which you know so well by all that has prevented my complaints; but I perfectly apprehend the funest and calamitous issue which a few days may produce, unlesse some speedy course be taken to stop it: Nor am I so little acquainted with the respect w^{h} I owe to the persons I now write to, as not to know with what decency and reserve I ought to make my addresses upon any other occasion: but the particulars I have aledg'd are very greate truths, and it were to betray his Ma^{ties} gracious intentions, and even his honor, to extenuate here. S^{r} W^{m} D'Oily and my selfe have neere ten thousand upon our care, whiles there seemes to be no care of us; who having lost all our Servants, Officers, & most necessary Assistants, have nothing more left us to expose but our persons, which are every moment at the mercy of a raging Pestilence (by our daily conversation) and an unreasonable multitude; if such they may be call'd who having adventur'd their lives for the publiq, perish for their reward, and dye like doggs in the street unregarded. Our Prisoners (who with open armes, as I am credibly inform'd by eye-witnesses, embrac'd our men, instead of lifting up their hands against them) beg at us, as a mercy, to knock them on the head; for we have no bread to relieve the dying creatures. Nor dos this County afford Goailes to secure them in, unlesse Leeds Castle (for which I am now contracting with my Ld: Culpeper) may be had; if at least half of

them survive to be brought so far to starve when they come there. As for the pittance now lately order'd us, what will that benefit to our numbers and the mouthes we are to feede? Neither is that to be had suddainely, and will be spent before we touch it. I could assemble other particulars of a sad countenance relating to y^e^ miserys of our owne Countrymen. I beseech y^r^ Hon^r^ let us not be reputed Barbarians; or if at last we must be so, let me not be the executor of so much inhumanity; when the price of one good Subject's life is (rightly consider'd) of more value then the wealth of the Indies. It is very hard, if in now a twelve moneth's time that we have cost you little more then 30000*l.* through all England where we have supported this burthen, there should not have been a sufficient fond consecrated & assign'd as a sacred stock for so important a service; since it has been a thing so frequently & earnestly press'd to their Lo^ps^; And that this is not an affaire which can be menag'd without p^r^sent monyes to feede it; because we have to deale with a most miserable indigent sort of people, who live but from hand to mouth, & whom we murther if we do not pay daily or weekely; I meane those who harbor our Sick & Wounded men and sell bread to our Prisoners of Warr. How we have behav'd o^r^selves for his Ma^ties^ advantage & honor, we are most ready to produce the Accoumpts, and to stand to y^e^ comparison of what it cost a former Usurper, & a Power which was not lavish of their expenses. Let it please y^r^ Honor to consider of y^e^ premises, and if you can believe I retaine so much of servile in me, as to informe you of tales, or designe to magnifie my owne merits (whatever my particular & private sufferings have been), let me be dismiss'd w^th^ infamy; But let me beg of y^r^ Hon^r^ to receive first the relation of his Ma^ties^ principal Officers & Commiss^rs^ of the Navy which accompanies the Paper of

Right Hon^ble^

Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 2 Octob: 1665.

To Samuel Pepys, Esq. Clerk of the Admiralty, and one of the principal Officers of his Majesty's Navy, &c.

S^r^,

I have according to your com'ands sent you an hasty draught of the Infirmary, and Project for Chatham, the reasons, & advantages of it; which challenges your promise of promoting it to the use design'd: I am myselfe convinc'd of the exceeding benefit it will every way afford us. If upon examination of the p^r^ticulars, and y^r^ intercession, it shall merit a recom'endation from y^e^ rest of the Pr^ll^ Officers, I am very confident the effects will be correspondent to the pretence of the Papers which I transmit to accompany it. In all events, I have don my endeavour; and, if upon what appeares demonstrable to me (not without some considerable experience, and collation with our officers, discreete & sober persons) I persist in my fondnesse to it, from a prospect of the singular advantages w^ch^ would be reaped by setting it on foote, I beseech you to pardon my honest endeavours, w^th^ the errors of

S^r^, Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 3 Jan. 1665-6.

To my Lord Viscount Cornbery.

My Lord,

Ubi Amor, ibi Oculus, excuses y^e^ glaunces we cast upon desireable objects; my hand cannot containe it selfe from this presumption when I have any thing to write which affords me the least pretense; and though you should not answer my Lett^rs^, yet, till you forbid me writing, I please myselfe that you vouchsafe to reade them. Great persons pay deare for such addresses, who afford them that honor; and especialy those that (like y^r^ Lo^p^) know so well to value their tyme. One period more, my L^d^, and *beso los manos.*

Upon Wednesday last I went to London and spent the whole afternoone in viewing my Ld: Chancel^rs *new House**, if it be not a solecisme to give a Palace so vulgar a name: My uncessant buisinesse had 'till that moment prevented my passionate desires of seing it since it was one stone advanc'd: but I was plainely astonish'd when I beheld w^t a progresse was made. Let me speake ingenuously; I went with prejudice, and a critical spirit; incident to those who fancy they know any thing in Art: I acknowledge to y^r L^p that I have never seene a nobler pile: My old Friend and fellow Traveller (cohabitants, & contemporarie at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himselfe. It is, without hyperbolies, the best contriv'd, the most usefull, gracefull, and magnificent house in England,—I except not Audly-end; which, though larger, and full of gaudy & barbarous ornaments, dos not gratifie judicious spectators. As I sayd, my Ld: here is state and use, solidity & beauty most symetricaly combin'd together: Seriously there is nothing abroad pleases me better; nothing at home approches it. I have no designe, my Ld: to gratifie the Architect, beyond what I am oblig'd, as a profess'd honorer of virtue wheresoever 'tis conspicuous; but when I had seriously contemplated every roome (for I went into them all, from the cellar to the plat-forme on y^e roofe) seene how well and judiciously the Walls were erected, the Arches cut, & turn'd, the timber braced, their scantlings and contignations dispos'd, I was incredibly satisfied, and do acknowledge myselfe to have much improved by what I observed: What shall I add more? *rumpatur Invidia*, I pronounce it the first Palace of England, deserving all I have said of it, and a better Encomiast.

May that greate & illustrious Person, whose large & ample heart has honor'd his Country w^th so glorious a structure, and by an example worthy of himselfe, shew'd o^r Nobility how they ought indeede to build, and value their qualities, live many long yeares to enjoy it; and when he shall be pass'd to that upper *building, not made w^th hands*, may his Posterity (as you my L^d) inherite his goodnesse, this Palace, and all

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* Clarendon House, built by Mr. Prat; since quite demolished by Sir Thomas Bond, &c. who purchased it to build a streete of tenements to his undoing. J. E.

other circumstances of his grandure, to consu'mate their felicity; with which happy augure, permitt me in all faithfullnesse, and sincerely, to subscribe my selfe, My L^{d}

Y^{r} &c.

Says-Court, 20th Jan. 1665-6.

To the Dean of Rippon (Dr. Wilkins) afterwards Lord Bishop of Chester.

S^{r},

I have read Mr. Tillotson's "Rule of Faith," and am oblig'd to render him thankes for the benefit I acknowledge to have receiv'd by it: Never in my life did I see a thing more illustrated, more convincing, unlesse men will be blind because they will be so. I am infinitely pleas'd with his equal style, dispassionate treatment, & Christian temper to that importunat Adversary: For my part, I looke upon that buisinesse as dispatch'd, and expect onely the grimaces and agonies of dying & desperate men for the future: plainely the wound is mortal.

S^{r}, that I presume to send you the consequence of what I formerly publish'd in English, in the Controversy 'twixt the Jesuits and Jansenists, speakes rather my obedience to a com'and from that greate Person *, than my abilities to have undertaken, or acquitted my selfe of it as I ought: I have annext an Epistolary Preface, not to instruct such as you are in any thing which you do not know: but for their sakes, who reading the booke, might possibly conceive the French Kings to have ben the onely persons in danger; & because I hope it may receive y^{r} suffrage as to the pertinence of it *pro hic et nunc.*

I am heartily sorry that some indispensable avocations frequently deprive me of y^{r} meetings at Gressham-Colledge, & particularly that I

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* My Lord Chancellor.

cannot be there on Wednesday; his Ma^tie having enjoyn'd me to repaire to-morrow to Chatham, for the taking order about erecting an Infirmary, capable to entertaine about 500 sick persons, & all to be finish'd against the next occasion. If Almighty God do not vouchsafe to accept this service, as well as the King my Master, I shall be an intollerable looser, by being so long diverted from a conversation so profitable and so desirable. But Warrs will once have a period; and I now & then get a baite at Philosophy; but it is so little and jejeune, as I despair of satisfaction 'till I am againe restor'd to the Society, where even y^r very fragments are enough to enrich any man that has the honor to approach you. S^r, I thinke I have at last procured the Mummia w^h you desired: be pleas'd in y^e name & w^th authority of the Royal Society to challenge it of the injurious detainers, therein using the addresse of Mr. Fox; S^r Sam. Tuke having written most effectually in our behalfe, who deserves (together with the Hon. Mr. Hen. Howard of Norfolk) a place among our benefactors.

Sir, I am &c.

To Sir Samuel Tuke, Knt. & Bart.

S^r

It was some foure dayes before the most fatal Conflagration of the (quondam) Citty of London y^t I addressed a few lines to you; little thinking I should so soone have had two such dissolutions to deplore: The burning of the best Towne in the World: and the discease of the best ffriend in y^e World, your excellent Lady. S^r, you know they are but small afflictions that are loquacious — greate ones are silent: & if ever greate ones there were, mine eyes have beheld, & mine eares heard them, with an heart so possess'd with sorrow, that it is not easily expressed; because y^e instances have ben altogether stupendous & unparallel'd. But it were in vaine to entertaine you with those formal topics, w^h are wont to be apply'd to persons of lesse fortitude & Christian resignation, though I cannot but exhort you to what, I know, you

do — looke upon all things in this World as transitory & perishing; sent us upon condition of quitting them cherefully, when God pleases to take them from us. This consideration alone, (wth the rest of those Graces w^{h} God has furnish'd you wthall) will be able to aleviate y^{r} passion, & to preserve you from succumbing under y^{r} pressures, w^{h} I confesse are weighty: but not insupportable: Live therefore, I conjure you, & helpe to restore y^{r} deare Country, & to consolate y^{r} ffriends: There is none alive wishes you more sincere happinesse than my poore family.

I suppose I should have heard ere this from you of all y^{r} concernments; but impute y^{r} silence to some possible miscarriage of y^{r} Lett^{rs}; since the usual place of addresse is wth the rest reduc'd to ashes & made an heape of ruines. I would give you a more particular relation of this calamitous accident; but I should oppresse you with sad stories, and I question not but they are come too soone amongst you at Paris with all minutenesse, & (were it possible) hyperbolies: There is this yet of lesse deplorable in it: That, as it pleas'd God to order it, little effects of any greate consequence have been lost, besides the houses:—That o^{r} Merchands at the same instant in w^{ch} it was permitted y^{t} y^{e} tidings should flie over Seas, had so settled all their affaires, as they complying wth their forraine Correspondence as punctualy as if no disaster at all had happen'd; nor do we heare of so much as one that has fail'd. The Exchange is now at Gressham Colledge. The rest of the Citty (which may consist of neere a 7th part) & suburbs peopl'd with new shopps, the same noyse, buisinesse & co'merce, not to say vanity. Onely the poore Booke-sellers have ben indede ill treated by Vulcan; so many noble impressions consum'd, by their trusting them to y^{e} Churches, as the losse is estimated neere two-hundred thousand pounds: w^{ch} will be an extraordinary detriment to y^{e} whole Republiq of Learning. In y^{e} meane time, the King & Parliament are infinitely zealous for the rebuilding of our ruines; & I believe it will universally be the employment of y^{e} next Spring: They are now busied wth adjusting the claimes of each proprietor, that so they may dispose things for the building after the noblest model: Every body brings in his idea, amongst the rest I p^{r}sented his Ma^{tie} my owne conceptions, wth a Discourse annex'd. It was

the second that was seene, within 2 dayes after the Conflagration: But Dr. Wren had got the start of me *. Both of us did *coincide* so frequently, that his Ma^tie was not displeas'd with it, & it caus'd divers alterations; and truly there was never a more glorious Phœnix upon Earth, if it do at last emerge out of these cinders, & as the designe is layd, with the present fervour of y^e undertakers. But these things are as yet im'ature; & I pray God we may enjoy peace to encourage those faire dispositions: The miracle is, I have never in my life observ'd a more universal resignation, lesse repining amongst sufferers; which makes me hope, y^t God has yet thoughts of mercy towards us: Judgments do not alwayes end where they begin; & therefore let none exult over our calamities: — We know not whose turne it may be next. But S^r, I forbear to entertaine you longer on these sad reflections; but persist to beg of you not to suffer any transportations unbecoming a man of virtue; resolve to preserve y^r selfe, if it be possible, for better times, the good & restauration of y^r Country, & the comfort of y^r Friends & Relations, and amongst them of, S^r,

Y^r &c.

Says Court, 27th Sep^r 1666.

To my Lord High Chancellor:
Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon.

My L^d:

I did the other day in West^r Hall give my Ld: Cornbery, y^r L^ps sonne, my thoughts briefely concerning a most needefull reformation for the transmitting a clearer streame for the future from the Presse, by

* These Plans were afterwards printed by the Society of Antiquaries, and have been repeatedly engraved for the various Histories of London; that by Mr. Evelyn is erroneously inscribed Sir John Evelyn.

directing to imaculate Copys of such Bookes as being vended in greate proportions do for want of good Editions amongst us export extraordinary sums of mony, to our no lesse detriment than shame: And I am so well satisfied of the honor which a redresse in this kind will procure even to posterity (however small the present instance may appear to some in a superficial view) that I thinke my selfe obliged to wish that y^r Lo^p may not conceive it unworthy of y^r patronage. The affaire is this:

Since the late deplorable conflagration, in w^ch the Stationers have been exceedingly ruin'd, there is like to be an extraordinary penury & scarcity of Classic Authors, &c. us'd in our Grammar Scholes; so as of necessity they must suddainely be reprinted. My Ld: may please to understand, that our Book-sellers follow their owne judgement in printing the antient Authors according to such text as they found extant when first they entred their copy; whereas, out of MSS. collated by the industry of later Critics, those authors are exceedingly improved. For instance, about 30 yeares since, Justine was corrected by Isaac Vossius, in many hundreds of places most material to sense & elegancy; & has since ben frequently reprinted in Holland after the purer copy: but w^th us, still according to the old reading. The like has Florus, Seneca's Tragedys, & neere all the rest: which haue in the meane time been castigated abroad by severall learned hands, which, besides that it makes ours to be rejected, & dishonors our Nation, so dos it no little detriment to learning, & to the treasure of the Nation in proportion: The cause of this is, principaly the Stationer driving as hard & cruel a bargain with the Printer as he can; and the Printer taking up any Smatterer in the Tongues, to be the lesse looser; an exactnesse in this no wayes importing the stipulation: by which meanes errors repeate & multiply in every Edition, & that most notoriously in some most necessary Schole-bookes of value, which they obtrude upon the Buyer, unlesse men will be at unreasonable rates for forraine Editions. Y^r Lo^p: dos by this perceive the mischievous effects of this avarice, & negligence in them.

And now towards the removing these causes of the decay of Typography not onely as to this particular, but in generall: It is humbly propos'd to consider whether it might not be expedient: First, that

inspection be had, what Text of the Greeke & Latine Authors should be follow'd in future impressions: 2^{ly}, That a Censor be establish'd to take care and caution of all Presses in London, that they be provided with able Correctors, principaly for Schole-bookes, which are of large & iterated impressions. 3^{dly}, That the charge thereof be advanc'd by the Company, which is but just, and will be easily reimburs'd upon an allowance arising from better & more valuable copys; since 'tis but reason that whoever builds an house be at the charges of surveing: and if it stand in relation to the publiq (as this dos) that he be obliged to it.

My L^{d}; these reflections are not crudely represented, but upon mature advise & conference wth learned persons with whom I now & then converse; & they are highly worthy y^{r} Lo^{ps} interesting y^{r} power & authority to reforme it, & will be inserted into the glorious things of y^{r} story, & adorne y^{r} memory; greate persons heretofore did take care of these matters, & it has consecrated their names. The season is also now most proper for it, that this sad calamity has mortified a Company w^{ch} was exceedingly haughty & difficult to manage to any usefull reformation; & therefore (well knowing the benefit w^{ch} would accrue to y^{e} publiq by so noble an attempt) I could not but reco'mend it to y^{r} Lo^{p}: out of the pure sense of gratitude I have to wish y^{r} Lo^{p} all the happy occasions of increasing y^{r} honor, for the favors you always shew me, and the obligations I haue to y^{r} p^{r}ticular friendship & kindnesse. My L^{d}: if this Paper find acceptance, I would be bold to add some farther hints for y^{e} carying it on to some perfection; for besides all I have sayd, there will neede paines in reading, consulting MSS. & conference wth learned men, good Indexes, apt divisions, Chapters & Verses as the *Dutch Variorum*, embellishment of Roman and Italiq letters to seperate inserted speeches (especialy in Historians & sententious Authors) and which adds to the use and lustre, together with a choyce of succinct Notes after more terse & profitable copys. For 'tis a shame, that ever such as our owne countryman Farnaby has publish'd, should be sold us from other Countries; because our owne Editions are so much inferior to them. If y^{r} Lo^{p}: would set y^{r} heart upon other particulars, concerning the Reformation of our English Presse, I could give

instance in some of high reputation, & no meane advantage. But I would rejoice to see but this take effect. My L^{d}, I kisse y^{r} L^{ps} hands, &c.

Sayes-Court 27 Nov^{r}: 1666.

To Abraham Cowley, Esq.

S^{r}

You had reason to be astonish'd at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I who have so highly celebrated Recesse, and envied it in others, should become an Advocate for the Enemie, which of all others it abhorrs and flies from. I conjure you to believe y^{t} I am still of the same mind, & that there is no person alive who dos more honor and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorne by your example: But as those who prays'd Dirt, a Flea, and the Gowte*, so have I *Publiq Employment* in that trifling Essay †, and that in so weake a style compar'd to my Antagonists, as by that alone it will appeare I neither was nor could be serious; and I hope you believe I speake my very soule to you: but I have more to say which will require your kindnesse. Suppose our good friend were publishing some Eulogies on the Royal Society, and by deducing the originall, progresse, and advantages of their designe, would bespeake it some veneration in the world? Has Mr. Cowley no inspirations for it? Would it not hang the most heroic wreath about his temples? Or can he desire a nobler or a fuller Argument either for the softest Aires or the loudest Echoes, for the smoothest or briskest strokes of his Pindaric Lyre?

There be those who aske, What have the Royal Society done? Where their Colledge? I neede not instruct you how to answer or confound

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* Dornavius's "Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Socraticæ Joco-seriæ" contains a large Collection of those Facetiæ, in prose and verse, with which the Scholars of those times relieved their serious studies.

† Public Employment, &c. preferred to Solitude, 1667.

these persons, who are able to make even these informe Blocks and Stones daunce into order, and charme them into better sense. Or if their insolence presse, you are capable to shew how they have layd solid foundations to perfect all noble Arts, and reforme all imperfect Sciences. It requires an History to recite onely the Arts, the Inventions, & Phænomena already absolved, improved, or opened. In a word, our Registers have outdon Pliny, Porta, & Alexis, and all the Experimentists, nay the great Verulam himselfe, & have made a nobler and more faithfull Collection of real seacrets, usefull and instructive, than has hitherto been shewn.—S^{r}, We have a Library, a Repository, & an assembly of as worthy & greate Persons as the World has any; and yet we are sometimes the subject of Satyr and the songs of Drunkards; have a King to our Founder, and yet want a Mæcenas; and above all a Spirit like yours, to raise us up Benefactors, & to compell them to thinke the Designe of the Royall Society as worthy their reguards, & as capable to embalme their names, as the most heroic enterprise, or any thing Antiquity has celebrated; and I am even amaz'd at the wretchednesse of this Age that acknowledges it no more. But the Devil, who was ever an enemy to Truth, and to such as discover his præstigious effects, will never suffer the promotion of a designe so destructive to his dominion, which is to fill the world with Imposture & keepe it in Ignorance, without the utmost of his malice and contradiction. But you have numbers and charmes that can bind even these Spirits of Darknesse, and render their Instruments obsequious; and we know you have a divine Hyme for us; the luster of the R^{l} Society calls for an Ode from the best of Poets vpon the noblest Argument. To conclude: here you have a field to celebrate the Greate and the Good, who either do, or should favour the most august and worthy designe that ever was set on foot in the world: and those who are our real Patrons and Friends you can eternize, those who are not you can conciliate & inspire to do gallant things. — But I will add no more, when I have told you with very greate truth that I am,

S^{r} &c.

Sayes Court 12 March, 1666-7.

From Abraham Cowley to J. Evelyn, Esq.

S^r^ Chertsea, May 13, 1667.

I am asham'd of y^e^ rudenesse I have committed in deferring so long my humble thanks for y^r^ obliging Letter w^ch^ I received from yow at y^e^ beginning of y^e^ last month: my laziness in finishing y^e^ Copy of Verses vpon y^e^ Royal Society, for w^ch^ I was engag'd before by M^r^ Sprats desire, & encouraged since by yow, was the caus of this delay, haueing designed to send it to yow enclosed in my Letter; but I am told now y^t^ y^e^ History is almost quite printed, & will bee published so soon, y^t^ it were impertinent labour to write out y^t^ w^ch^ you will so suddenly see in a better manner, and in y^e^ company of better things. I could not comprehend in it many of those excellent hints w^ch^ yow were pleased to give mee, nor descend to the praises of particular persons, becaus those things affoord too much matter for one copy of verses, and enough for a Poem, or the History itself: some part of w^ch^ I have seen, & I think yow will bee very well satisfied w^th^ it. I took y^e^ boldness to show him y^r^ Letter, & hee says hee has not omitted any of those heads, though hee wants y^r^ eloquence in expression. Since I had y^e^ honour to receive from yow y^e^ reply to a book written in praise of a Solitary Life *, I haue sent all about y^e^ town in vain to get y^t^ author, haveing very much affection for y^e^ subiect, w^ch^ is one of the noblest controversies both Modern and Ancient, & you have delt so civily w^th^ your Adversary as makes him deserve to bee look'd after. But I could not meet w^th^ him, the books beeing all, it seems, either burnt or bought up. If yow pleas to do mee y^e^ favour to lend it to mee, & send it to my Brothers hous (y^t^ was) in y^e^ King's Yard, it shall bee return'd to yow w^th^in a few days w^th^ y^e^ humble thanks of y^r^ most faithfull obedient Serv^t^,

A. Cowley.

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* Sir George Mackenzie's "Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to Publlc Employment," &c. 1665.

To Henry Howard, Esq. of Norfolk, heir apparent to that Dukedom *.

S^r^

It is not without much regret and more concernement as it reguards y^r^ honorable & illustrious Family, that I have now so long a time beheld some of the noblest Antiquities in the World, & which y^r^ Grandfather purchased with so much cost & difficulty, lye abandoned, broken, & defaced in divers corners about Arundel House & the Gardens belonging to it. I know y^r^ Honour cannot but have thoughts and resolutions of repairing & collecting them together one day; but there are in the meane tyme certaine broken Inscriptions, now almost obliterated with age, & the ill effects of the weather, which will in a short time vtterly be lost & perish, vnlesse they be speedily removed to a more benigne & lesse corrosive ayre. For these it is, I should be an humble suitor that you would think fit to make a present of them to the University of Oxford, where they might be of greate vse and ornament, and remaine a more lasting record to posterity of your munificence, than by any other application of them whatsoever; and the University would thinke themselves oblig'd to inscribe y^r^ name, and that of y^r^ illustrious Family to all significations of gratitude.

I have also long since suggested to y^r^ Hon^r^ that you would cause the best of y^r^ Statues, Basso-relievos, & other Antiquities standing in y^r^ Gallery at Arundel House, to be exquisitely designed by some skillfull hand, and engraven in copper, as Mons: Liancourt did those of Rome by Perrier, & long before him Raphael himselfe, Sadeler, and other incomparable sculptors: because by this meanes they would be com'unicated to the world, and diuers greate & learned persons, studious of Antiquity, might be benefited by them: and if such a thing were added to the impression of the *Marmora Arundeliana* (which I

* This Letter procured all the Marmora Arundeliana, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Urnes, Altar Tables, &c. now at Oxon. J. E.

heare the University of Oxon are now preparing for a second impression) how greately would it adorne that admirable work, & do new honors to y^r^ illustrious name & family, as it has formerly, & yet dos to divers noble Italians, & others, who have not ben able to produce such a collection as you are furnished with; but which perish in obscurity, & yield not that to y^e^ publiq, who would be obliged to celebrate you, for want of a small expence! Methinkes, whilst they remaine thus obscur'd & neglected, the very Marbles are become vocal, and cry to you for pitty, & that you would even breathe life into them. S^r^, you will easily see, I have no other designe in this then to expresse the honour I have for y^r^ person and for y^r^ illustrious Family; and because I find this would be one of the most glorious instances to augment and perpetuate it, I cannot but wish that it might take effect. I have no more to add but that I am, &c.

Sayes Court, 4 Aug. 1667.

To Doctor Bathurst, President of Trinity College, Oxon.

S^r^,

I heartily wish I had the good fortune to be as serviceable to you in particular for the many favours I have received, as I doubt not but I shall be to a place, which for y^r^ sake as well as my owne, I have so much reason to honour, I meane the University; if at least it may be esteemed a service to have obtained of Mr. Henry Howard of Norfolk, the freely bestowing upon you all those learned Monuments which passe vnder the famous names of *Marmora Arundeliana.* This, S^r^, the interest w^ch^ that illustrious person has allowed me in his friendship has wrought for you; and I dare pronounce it highly worthy your acceptance. For you shall not onely be masters of some few, but of all; and there is nothing more to be don, than after you have taken notice of his munificence (which I desire, and wish may be speedily don in a publiq Addresse as from the body of the University) to take order for

their transportation to you; for which effect, I conceive it would be worth your while to delegate Mr. Obadiah Walker, or Dr. Wren (Sir Christopher), persons that I much honor, who may take care, and consult about the best expedients for their removall; for they being marble & some of them Basse-relievos rarely cutt, will deserve to be guarded from injuries: And when they are at Oxford, I conceive they can no where be more fittly placed than in some part about the new Theatre, except you should think fit to protect some of the more curious & small ones, as Urnes &c. in the Galleries next the Library, where they may remaine secure. I haue assured Mr. Howard that the University will not faile in their sense of this noble gift and munificence, by decreeing him a publiq and conspicuous Inscription which shall consecrate his memory: And if I have hinted it more particularly to Mr. Walker, it is what I think will become y^{r} justice & such gratefull Beneficiaries. I shall intreate you to acquainte Mr. Vice-Chancellor with what I have don, as also Dr. Barlow, & Dr. Pierce, the Warden & Presidents of Queenes & Magdalen Coll: my worthy friends, and beg that through your addresse this service of mine may be acceptable to the University from

S^{r}, your &c.

Lond: 9th Sept 1667.

To the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Ambassador in Spain, at Madrid.

My Lord,

I could hardly obtaine of my selfe to give y^{r} Exc^{y} this trouble, or dare to mingle my impertinencies amongst your publiq and weighty concernes, 'till reflecting on the greatnesse of y^{r} genius, I concluded it would neither be disturb'd, nor disdaine my humble addresse, that confident of y^{r} com'unicative nature, I adventur'd to supplicate y^{r} Exc^{s} favour in behalfe of a Worke of mine upon the Hortulan subject; and in particular, that y^{r} Ex^{cy} would vouchsafe by the meanest of y^{r} servants to

give me some short descriptions of the most famous Gardens and Villas of Spaine *, and what other singularities of that kind might occur to the adorning of a labour wherein I chiefely pretend to gratifie greate & illustrious persons, and such as like y^r L^p are the most worthy to cultivate and enjoy these amœnities. The Catalogue which I here presume to send y^r Ex^cy, and the paines I have already taken to render it no trifling or un-usefull speculation, will in some degree com'ute for this bold addresse ; especialy since I could never hope to receive so much light from any but y^r Ex^cy, to whom I am confident there can be nothing curious in this argument conceal'd, how close & reserv'd so ever the Spaniards are. I have heard that there is lately a German at Madrid, who pretends to a successful Invention for the setting of Corne by a peculiar sort of plow. This, I am sure cannot have escaped y^r Exc^y: and it will be due to the R: Society, the History whereof, now at last publish'd here w^th infinite applause, I doubt not is come to y^r hands, and that you will judge it worthy the most accurate Translation : But, my Lord, I shall leave that to the joynt request of the Society, and accumulate no more to these extravagances of mine, after I have supplicated your Ex^cys pardon, who am,

may it please y^r Ex^cy, y^r &c.

Says-Court 13 Dec^r 1667.

To the Rev. Joseph Glanvil, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and F. R. S. a native of Devonshire †, and a distinguished writer of the seventeenth century.

S^r

I received so wellcome, and so obliging a toaken from y^u by y^e hands of Mr: Oldenburgh, that after all I can say in this Lett^r in

* Which he sent me from Madrid, many sheets of paper written in his owne hand, together with the *Sembrador* or plough itselfe, w^ch I gave to y^e R: Society, & is describ'd in their "Transactions."—J. E.

† He sent me his Booke, intituled, "Plus Ultra ; or the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge, since the Days of Aristotle," octavo, Lond. 1668. J. E.—An account of this may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 36.

acknowledgement of that particular favour, I must continue to subscribe myselfe y^r^ debtor: For what have you seene in any of my productions, which should make you augure so favourably of that trifle of mine, upon so trite and humble a subject; or mention me amongst the Heros whom you so meritoriously celebrat! I cannot find any thing to support it, but your most obliging nature, of which the comely and philosophic frame is aboundantly conspicuous, by this worthy vindication both of y^r^ selfe and all usefull Learning, against the Science (falsely so called) of your snarling Adversary *. I do not conceive why the Royall Society should any more concern themselves for the empty and malicious cavells of these delators, after what you haue say'd; but let the Moon-dogs bark on, 'till their throats are drie; the Society every day emerges, and her good Genius will raise up one or other to judge & defend her; whilst there is nothing which dos more confirme me in the noblenesse of the Designe, than this spirit of contradiction which the Devil (who hates all discoveries of those false & præstigious ways that have hitherto obtain'd) dos incite to stirr up men against it. But, S^r^, you have discours'd this so fully in this excellent piece of yours, that I have no more to add, but the suffrage and subscription of, S^r^,

Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court 24 June 1668.

To the Earle of SANDWICH, Ambass^r^ Extraordinary in the Court of Spaine, at Madrid.

My Lord,

I am plainely astonish'd at y^r^ bounty to me, and I am in paine for words to expresse the sense I have of this greate obligation †.

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* Henry Stubbe, an inveterate enemy of the Royal Society, which he set forth in many Pamphlets. He also wrote an Answer to Mr. Glanvil, intituled, "The *Plus Ultra* reduced to a *Non Plus*; or a Specimen of some Animadversions upon the *Plus Ultra* of Mr. Jos: Glanvil." Quarto, 1670.

† Upon his communicating particulars of Horticultural matters in Spain.

And as I have ben exceedingly affected with the Descriptions, so have I ben greately instructed in the other particulars y^r^ Lo^p^ mentions, and especialy rejoice that y^r^ Ex^cy^ has taken care to have the draughts of the Places, Fountaines, & Engines for y^e^ irrigation & refreshing their plantations, which may be of singular use to us in England. And I question not but y^r^ Ex^cy^ brings with you a collection of Seedes; such especially as we may not have com'only in our Country. By y^r^ Lo^ps^ description, the *Encina* should be the *Ilex major aculeata*, a sucker whereoff yet remaines in his Ma^ties^ Privie-Gardens at White Hall, next the dore y^t^ is opposite to the Tennis-Court. I mention it the rather, because it certainly might be propagated with us to good purpose, for the father of this small tree I remember of a goodly stature; so as it yearely produc'd ripe Acorns; though Clusius, when he was in England, believ'd it to be barren: & happly, it had borne none in his tyme. I have sown both the Acorns of the tree, and the Cork with successe, though I have now but few of them remaining, through the negligence of my Gardiner; for they require care at the first raising, 'till they are accustom'd to the cold, and then no rigour impeaches them. What y^r^ Ex^cy^: meanes by the *Bama de Joseph*, I do not comprehend; but the *Planta Alois*, which is a monstrous kind of *Sedum*, will like it endure no wett in Winter, but certainely rotts if but a drop or two fall on it, whereas in Summer you cannot give it drink enough. I perceive their culture of choyce & tender Plants differs little from ours in England, and as it has ben publish'd by me in my *Calendarium Hortense*, which is now the third time reprinting. Stoves absolutely destroy our Conservatories; but if they could be lin'd with cork, I believe it would better secure them from the cold & moisture of the walls, than either matrasses, or reedes with which we co'monly invest them. I thinke I was the first that ever planted Spanish Cardôns in our country for any culinerie use, as y^r^ Ex^cy^: has taught the blanching; but I know not whether they serve themselves in Spaine with the purple beards of the Thistle, when it is in flower, for the curdling of Milk, which it performes much better than Reinet, and is far sweeter in the Dairy than that liquor, which is apt to putrifie.

Your Excell^y^ has rightly conjectur'd of y^e^ Pome-Granad: I have

allways kept it expos'd, and the severest of our Winters dos it no prejudice; they will flower plentifully, but beare no fruit with us, either kept in cases & in the repository, or set in y^e^ open ayre; at least very trifling, with y^e^ greatest industry of stoves & other artifices.

We have Aspargus growing wild both in Lincolnshire & in other places; but y^r^ L^p^ observes, they are small & bitter, & not comparable to the cultivated.

The red Pepper, I suppose, is what we call Ginny-Peper, of which I have rais'd many plants, whose pods resemble in colour the most oriental & polish'd corall: a very little will set y^e^ throat in such a flame, as has ben sometimes deadly, and therefore to be sparingly us'd in sauces.

I hope y^r^ L^p^ will furnish y^r^ selfe w^th^ Melon seedes, because they will last good almost 20 years; & so will all the sorts of Garavances, Calaburos, & Gourds (whatever Herrera affirme) which may be for divers oeconomical uses.

The Spanish Onion-seede is of all other the most excellent: and yet I am not certaine, whether that which we have out of Flanders & St. Omers, be all the Spanish seede w^ch^ we know of. My Lady Clarendon (when living) was wont to furnish me with seede that produc'd me prodigious cropps.

Is it not possible for y^r^ Ex^cy^ to bring over some of those Quince and Cherry-trees, which y^r^ L^p^ so celebrates? I suppose they might be secur'd in barells, or pack'd up, as they transport other rarities from far Countries. But, my Ld: I detaine y^r^ Ex^cy^ too long in these repetitions, & forget that I am all this while doing injury to y^e^ publiq, by suspending you a moment from matters of a higher orb, the Interest of States, & reconciling of Kingdomes: And I should think so of another, did I not know withall, how universal y^r^ comprehensions are, & how qualified to support it. I remaine, my L^d^,

Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 21 Aug. 1668.

To Doctor Beale.

S^{r},

I happn'd to be wth Mr. Oldenburg some time since, almost upon the article of his receiving the notice you sent him of y^{r} fortunate and usefull Invention; and I remember I did first of all incite him, both to insert it into his next Transactions, and to provoke y^{r} farther prosecution of it; which I exceedingly rejoice to find has ben so successfull, that you give us hopes of y^{r} farther thoughts upon *that*, and those other subjects which you mention*. You may happly call to remembrance a passage of the Jesuite Honorati Fabri, who speaking of Perspectives, observes, that an object looked on through a small hole appeares magnified; from whence he suggests, the casting of two plates neately perforated, & fitted to looke through, preferrable to glasses, whose refractions injure the sight. Though I begin to advance in yeares (being now on the other side of 40) yet the continuance of the perfect use of my senses (for which I bless Almighty God) has rendred me the lesse solicitous about those artificial aydes; which yet I foresee I must shortly apply my selfe to, and therefore you can receive but slender hints from me which will be worth y^{r} acceptance upon that argument: Onely, I well remember, that besides Tiberius of old (whom you seeme to instance in), Joseph Scaliger affirmes the same happned both to his Father Julius and himselfe, in their younger yeares. And sometimes methinkes, I my selfe have fansied to have discern'd things in a very dark place, when the curtaines about my bed have ben drawne, as my hands, fingers, the sheete and bed-clothes; but since my too intent poring upon a famous Eclipse of the Sun, about 12 yeares since, at which time I could as familiarly have stared with open eyes upon that glorious Planet in its full lustre, as now upon a glow-worme (comparatively speaking) I have not onely lost that acuteness of sight, but much impair'd the vigour of it for such purposes as it then serv'd me. But besides that, I have treated myne eyes

* The paper alluded to is intituled, "An Experiment to examine what Figure and Celerity of Motion begetteth or encreaseth Light and Flame." Philosophical Transactions, vol. I. p. 226.

very ill neere these 20 yeares, during all which tyme I have rarely put them together, or compos'd them to sleepe before One at night, & sometimes much later: that I may in some sort redeeme my losses by day, in which I am continually importun'd with visits from my neighbours & acquaintance, or taken up by other impertinencies of my life in this place. I am plainely asham'd to tell you this, considering how little I have improv'd myselfe by it, but I have rarely ben in bed before 12 o'clock as I sayd, in the space of 20 yeares; and yet I reade the least print, even in a jolting Coach, without other assistance * save that I now & then use to rub my shut eye-lids over with a spirit of wine well rectified, in which I distill a few Rose-marie Flowers, much after the processe of the Queene of Hungarie's Water, which dos exceedingly fortifie not onely my sight, but the rest of my senses, especialy my hearing and smelling; a drop or two being distill'd into the nose, or eares, when they are never so dull; and other κολλυριον I never apply. Indeede, in y^e^ sum'er-time, I have found wonderfull benefit in bathing my head with a decoction of some hot & aromaticall herbs, in a lixivium made of the ashes of vine-branches, and when my head is well washed w^th^ this, I im'ediately cause aboundance of cold fountain-water to be poured upon me *stillatim*, for a good halfe-hour together; which for the present, is not onely one of the most voluptuous and gratefull refreshments imaginable, but an incredible benefit to me the whole yeare after; for I never neede other powdering to my hair, to preserve it bright, and cleane, as the Gallants do; but which dos certainely greately prejudice transpiration by filling-up, or lying heavy upon the pores. Those therefore, who (since the use of Perrucqs) accustome to wash their heads, instead of powdering, would doubtlesse find the benefit of it; both as to the preventing of aches in their head, teeth, and eares, if the vicissitude & unconstancy of the weather, and consequently the use of their monstrous Perrucqs, did not expose them to the danger of catching colds. When I travell'd in Italy, and the Southern parts, I did sometimes frequent

* The Editor is thankful to God that he can and does do this at double the age of Mr. Evelyn, mentioned in the preceding page.

the publiq Bathes (as the manner is), but seldome without peril of my life, 'till I us'd this frigid affusion, or rather profusion of cold-water before I put on my garments, or durst expose my selfe to the ayre; and for this method I was oblig'd to the old and noble Rantzow, in whose booke *de conservanda valetudine* I had read a passage to this purpose; though I might have remember'd how the Dutch-men treate their labouring Horses, when they are all over in a froth, which they wash off with severall bucketts of cold water, as I have frequently observ'd it in the Low-Countries*.

Concerning other aydes; besides what the Masters of the Catoptrics, Phonocamptics, Otacoustics, &c. have don, something has ben attempted by the R: Society; and you know the industrious Kircher has much labour'd; as the rest of those artificial helps are sum'd up by the Jesuite And. Schottus. I remember that Mons^r Huygens (author of the Pendulum), who brought up the learned father of that incomparable youth Mons^r de Zulechum, was us'd to prescribe to me the benefit of his little Wax Taper (a type whereof is, with the history of it, in some of our Registers) for night elucubrations preferable to all other Candle or Lamp light whatsoever. And because it explodes all glaring of the flame, which by no meanes ought to dart upon the eyes, it seemes very much to establish your happy invention of *Tubes* instead of Spectacles, which have not those necessary defences.

Touching the Sight of Catts in the night, I am not well satisfied of the exquisitenesse of that sense in them. I believe their smelling or hearing dos much contribute to their dexterity in catching Mice, as to all those animals who are born with those prolix smelling haires. Fish will gather themselves in sholes to any extraordinary light in the darke night, & many are best caught by that artifice. But whatever may be say'd of these, and other senses of Fish, you know how much the sagacity of Birds & Beasts excelle us: how far Eagles & Vultures, Ravens & other Fowles will smell the Carcase; *Odorumq; Canum Vis*, as Lucretius expresses it, & we daily find by their drawing after the

* The common practice with Post horses in England, in the present day.

Game. Gesner affirmes that an Otter will wind a Fish four miles distance in the Water, and my Ld: Verulam, Cent: 8. speakes of that element's being also a medium of sounds, as well as ayre: Eeles do manifestly stirr at the cracking of thunder, but that may also be attributed to some other tremulous motion; yet Carps & other Fish are known to come at the call and the sound of a Bell, as I have ben inform'd. Notorious is the story of Arion, and of Lucullus's Lamprys which came *ad nomen**; and you have formerly minded me of Varro's Greeke-Pipe, of which Lucian and Cicero ad Atticum take occasion to speake. Pliny's Dolphin is famous, and what is related of the American Manati; but the most stupendious instance, that of the Xiphia or Sword-Fish, which the Mamertines can take up by no other stratagem than a Song of certaine barbarous words, as the thing is related by Thom. Fazellus. It is certaine, that we heare more accurately when we hold our mouthes a little open, than when we keepe them shut; and I haue heard of a dumb gentleman in England, who was taught to speake (and therefore certainely brought to heare in some degree) by applying the head of a Bass-Viole hard against his teeth, & striking upon the strings with the bow: You may remember the late effect of the Drum extending the Tympanum of a deafe person, to great improvement of his hearing, so long as that was beaten upon; and I could at present name a friend of mine, who though he be exceedingly thick of hearing, by applying a straite stick of what length soever, provided it touch the instrument, and his eare, dos perfectly, and with greate pleasure heare every tune that is playd: All which with many more will flow into your excellent Work, whilst the argument puts me in mind of one Tom Whittal, a Student of Christ Church, who would needes maintaine, that if a hole could dextrously be boar'd through the Skull to the Brain in the midst of the Fore-head, a man might both see, and heare, & smell without the use of any other organs; but you are to know, that this learned Problematist was brother to him, who preaching at St. Maries, Oxford, tooke his text out of the

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* And would lick the hand of Cæsar.

History of Balaam: Num. 22. "Am I not thine Asse?" Deare S^r^, pardon this rhapsody of S^r^,

Y^r^ &c.

Sayes-Court, 27 Aug. 1668.

To the Right Honourable Sir THOMAS CLIFFORD, Treasurer of his Majesty's Household, &c.*

Rg^t^ Honb^le^

In my conversation sometimes amongst bookes to redeeme my tyme from other impertinences, I think it my duty to give yo^r^ Ho^r^ notice of some pieces which have come to my hands, the subjects whereof I cannot but esteeme highly prejudicial to the honor of his Ma^tie^ and the whole Nation, especialy two Bookes, the *one* written in French, the *other* in Latine (not inelegantly) both with approbation of their Superiors, the States of Holland licencing their publication. The argument of them is a remonstrance to all the World of the Occasion, Action, and Successe of the late War betweene the English & the Dutch; but with all the topics of reproach and dishonor as to matter of fact; every period being filled with the dissembled instances of our injustice, ingratitude, cruelty and imprudence; and the persons of divers particular gallant men engag'd in that action, injuriously treated and accus'd, & in summ, whatever they can else suggest to render his Ma^tie^ and people cheap and vile, the subjects of derision and contempt. I should think in my poore judgment (under submission to a better) that there is nothing which ought to be more precious to a Prince, or his people, than their Reputation: sure I am, it is of more value with a man of honor, than his life; and certainely, a greate Kingdom, which comprehends so many individuals as have ben one way or other concern'd in the publiq interest, ought to be tender of their fame, and consequently oblig'd to vindicate it, and cannot with-

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* Afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England.

out a crime do lesse, without being wanting to themselves in a most necessary defence.

I know it may be say'd, that this is but a Paper quarell; but y^r^ Hon^r^ dos consider, what effects such malevolent suggestions do produce, & with what a black & deepe malice contriv'd, how far they flie, and how universaly understood the Latine & French tongues are, the one amongst the grave and more intelligent sort (not by way of pamphlet, but of a formal & close Treatise) and the other amongst y^e^ Vulgar; to which is also joyn'd, for the better fixing their injurious ideas, the several Types & Figures cut in Brasse, to represent our Misfortunes; as in particular our want of conduct (as they terme it) in the first encounter, our basenesse in surprising a few poore Fishermen, and the firing of Schelling, revenged in the dire conflagration of London, the Metropolis of our Nation, the descent they made on Sheer Nesse, and their glorious exploit at Chatham, where they give out we so ridiculously lost, or betraid the creame of our Fleete, and bullwarks of the Kingdom, by an unparallel'd supinenesse: nor this crudely, or in a trifling way of writing; but so as may best affect the passions, & prepossesse the judgement and beliefe of the Reader. I say nothing of some personal reflections on my L^d^ Arlington, S^r^ Rob: Holmes, and even the King himselfe, whom they represent deliberating in a paniq consternation of a flight to Windsor, &c. nor many other particulars pointed at; nor of a thousand other notorious indignities plainely insupportable: But I have sayd enough to inflame a breast sensible of honor, and generous as I know yours to be, to approve, or at least to pardon the proposal which I shall humbly submit to y^r^ consideration and encouragement, for the Vindication of his Ma^tie^ and the Nation's honor, and especialy, of an Action in which your Ho^r^ bore so greate & so signal a part: And that were doubtlesse by employing an able Pen, not to a formal, or studied Reply to any particular of this egregious Libell (which might now happly be thought unseasonable), but to compose a solid and usefull History of the late War, according to the truth of circumstances, and for the honor of those very many brave men who were actors in it, whose names deserve as well to be transmitted to Posterity as our meaner Antagonists; but which must

else dye in obscurity, and what is worse, with obloquy and scorn, not of Enemyes alone, but of all that shall reade what these men are permitted to scatter abroad in y^e^ world, whilst there is no care taken amongst us at home to vindicate them from it.

When I have mention'd to y^r^ Ho^r^ the employment of an able Pen upon this occasion, I prevented all pretences to it as relating to myselfe; who have neither the requisite talents, nor the least presumption for it*. But I would humbly suggest, how worthy, and glorious in y^r^ Ho^r^ it would be, to moove my L^d^: Arlington, and with him, to provoke his Ma^tie^, to impose this province upon some sober and well instructed person, who, dignified with the character of his *Royal Historiographer*, might be oblig'd to serve and defend his Ma^ties^ honor, and that of the publiq, with his pen; a thing so carefully and so industriously observed by y^e^ French King, and other greate Potentates, who have any reguards or tendernesse to their owne or their People's glory, the encouragement of gallant men, and prospect of their future stories, as there is nothing more notorious. It is History alone (however the writers of them may be esteem'd) which renders the greatest Princes, and the most deserving persons, what they are to the present age; which perfumes their names to posterity, inspires them to an emulation of their vertues, and preserves them from being as much forgotten as the co'mon dust in which they lie mingled. If y^r^ Ho^r^: thinke this worthy y^r^ thoughts, (and worthy of them I pronounce it to be) all that I shall humbly supplicate to you is, that through y^r^ favour, I may present his Ma^tie^: w^th^ a person highly deserving it; as being one, who has not onely ben a sufferer in his capacity, but one who is perfectly able and accomplish'd to serve his Ma^tie^: a learned industrious person, and who will esteeme himselfe gratified with a very modest subsistance, to be allways at hand, and allways laborious; and not to weare a title (as some triflers have

* Mr. Evelyn was however appointed to write this History, and had made considerable progress, when upon the conclusion of the war he was ordered to lay it aside. What he had written is unfortunately lost, except the Preface, which he published in 1674, as a distinct Treatise, under the title of "Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progresse:" this highly pleased the King, but because it gave great offence to the Dutch, it was for a time suppressed. See vol. I. pp. 404, 408, 409, 411, 432, 444; and succeeding Letters in this Volume.

lately don) to the reproch of it. If there be already a tollerable honorary appendant to the place of Historiographer, we have no more to beg, but the graunt of it; if not, that through y^r^ mediation, some encouragement may be procur'd. It will not be one of y^r^ least noble things, for which you will merit a just veneration of y^r^ memory. But I shall add no more at present because I will beg the grace of a particular permission to discourse this affaire to you, and with the joynt request of my worthy friend Mr. Williamson * (who will likewise present y^r^ Ho^r^: with a specimen of the persons abillities) bespeake y^r^ Ho'^rs^ favourable encouragement, who remaine,

Y^r^ Ho'^rs^: &c.

Says-Court, 1 Feb. 1668-9.

To my L^d^ Henry Howard of Norfolk.

My Lord,

I am not prompted by the successe of my first addresses to y^r^ Hon^r^, when, as much for y^r^ owne glory, as that of the University's, I prevail'd with you for the Marbles, which were Inscriptions in stone; to solicit you now on the same account for y^e^ Books, which are Inscriptions but in parchment: but because I am very confident y^r^ Hon^r^ cannot consult a nobler expedient to preserve them, and the memory of y^r^ Name & illustrious Family, than by wishing that the Society (on whom you have so generously bestow'd y^r^ Library) might exchange the MSS. (such onely, I meane, as concerne y^e^ Civile Law, Theologie, and other Scholastical Learning) for Mathematical, Philosophical, and such other Books, as may prove most usefull to the designe and institution of it: Especialy, since the University do not onely humbly desire it (as I can testifie by divers letters which I have seene from the Vice-Chancellor,

* Afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State.

and other eminent persons there), but desire it with a designe of owning it yours, and of perpetuating y^r^ munificence, by dignifying y^t^ apparti-ment where they would place them, with the title of *Bibliotheca Arundeliana*, than which, what can be more glorious and conspicuous? The learned Selden, S^r^ Ken: Digby, Archbp. Laud (not to mention S^r^ Tho: Bodley their founder, and severall others, who are out of all exception) esteem'd this a safer Repository, than to have consign'd them to their mansions and posterity; and we have seene that when their persons, families, and most precious moveables have suffer'd (some of them the uttmost violences and dispersion) their Bookes alone have escaped untouch'd in this sacred Asylum; and preserv'd the Names of the Donors through all vicissitudes. Nor in saying this do I augure lesse of the R^l^: Society, should they thinke fit to keepe them in their owne Library; but, because by thus parting with such as are foraigne to their studies to the University, your illustrious Name and Library will be reserv'd in both places at once with equal zeal, and no lesse obligation; when as many as shall have recourse to such bookes at Oxon: as are under the Arundelian title, will have occasion to mention it in their workes and labours to your eternal honour. For my part, I speake it with greate sincerity, and due veneration of y^r^ L^ps^ bounty, that if I would to the uttmost of my power consult the advancement of y^r^ L^ps^ glory in this gift, it should be by declaring my suffrage in behalfe of the Universitie's request. I sayd as much in the late Council, where I must testifie that even those who were of a contrary sense to some others of us, were yet all of them equally emulous of y^r^ Lo^ps^ hono^r^. But, since it was the unanimous result to submit this particular to y^r^ L^ps^ decision, I cannot, upon most serious reflection on the reasons which I have aledged, and especialy that of preserving y^r^ Name and Library by a double consignation, but implore y^r^ L^ps^ fa-your and indulgence for y^e^ Universities, where y^r^ munificence is already deeply ingraven in their hearts, as well as in their marbles; and will then shine in letters of a more refulgent lustre: For, methinkes I hear their Publiq Orator, after he has celebrated y^r^ Name amongst the rest of their glorious Benefactors and Heros, end his

panegyric in the resounding Theater, as once the noble Poet, in the person of the Young Arcadian

Ecl: 7: *Nunc te Marmoreum pro tempore fecimus—*
We yet, greate Howard, Thee but in Marble mould,
But if our Bookes increase, Thou shalt be Gold.

I am y^r^ L^ps^: &c.

Sayes-Court 14 Mar: 1669.

To Dr. Meric Casaubon, Is. F.
Prebend of Canterbury, &c.

Reverend S^r^

Tho' I am a stranger to y^r^ person, yet the name & the learning w^ch^ you derive both from inheritance, as well as acquisition, draw a just veneration to them. S^r^, whilst it has ben lately my hap to write something concerning the nature of Forest Trees, & their Mechanical Uses, in turning over many books treating of that & other subjects, I met with divers passages concerning Staves, which have in a manner obliged me to say something of them in a Treatise which I am adorning: but whilst I was intent on this, I began to doubt whether I should not *actum agere;* remembring this passage of y^r^ Father (τῦ μακαρίτῦ) in his Com'ent on Theophrastus, p. 172. Edit. 1638: *Sed hæc hactenus; nam de Baculis et eorum forma, multiplicique apud veteres usu, plurima quæ observavimus ad lucem multorum Scriptorum veterum, alibi,* ἐαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, *co'modius proferremus.* That which I now would entreate of you, S^r^, is to know whether y^r^ learned Father did ever publish any expresse Treatise concerning this subject, & if not, that you'l be pleased to afford me some short hints of what you find noted in his Adversaria about it: By which meanes you will infinitely oblige me, who shall not faile to let the world know to whose bounty & assistance I am indebted. S^r^, that worthy & communicative nature of yours, breathing in y^r^ excellent writings, prompts me to this greate confidence; but, however my request succeedes, be pleased to pardon the liberty of, R^d^ Sir, your most humble, tho' unknowne Servant &c.

Sayes-Court, 17 Jan. 1669-70.

To John Evelyn, Esquire.

S^{r},

You might have had a more speedy answer to your kind letter, but y^{t} soon after y^{e} receipt of it, I fell into my ordinary distemper, which is y^{e} Stone, but with more then ordinary extremities, which hath continued these 3 or 4 dayes already, and what will be ye end God knows; to whom, for either life or death, I heartily submit.

Presently after y^{e} reading of your's I set my selfe to search my Father's Adversaria and Papers, and after a little search I found a proper head, or title *de Baculis*, as an addition to what he had written upon Theophrastus; and under y^{t} title, many particular references to all kind of ancient authours, but soe confusedly y^{t} I thinck noe man but I, y^{t} have been used to his hand and way, can make any thing of it. There are 2 full sides in q^{rto}. S^{r}, if God grant me life, or some respite from this present extremitie, it shall be one of y^{e} first things I shall doe, to send you what he hath written, copyed out in y^{e} same order as I find it.

Whilst I was searching my Father's papers, I lighted on a note concerning Plants and Trees, which I thought fit to impart unto you, because you tell me you have written of trees; you have it here enclosed. Besides this I remember I have, but know not where to find it at this time, Wormij Literatura Danica, where, if I be not much mistaken, he hath somewhat *de Baculis*, there, or in some other treatise I am pretty confident. S^{r}, I desire you to beleeve y^{t} I am very willing to serve any Gentleman of your quality in soe reasonable a request. But if you be y^{e} Gentleman as I suppose, who have set out y^{e} first booke of Lucretius in English, I must needes confesse my selfe much indebted to you, though I never had y^{e} opportunitie to professe it, for y^{t} honourable mention which you were pleased to make of me in your preface. Whatsoever I should thinck of your work or translation, yet civility would engage me to say soe much. But truly S^{r}, if you will beleeve me, who I thinck was never accounted a flatterer by them y^{t} have known me, my iudgement is, y^{t} you have acquitted yourselfe of y^{t} knotty

business much better then I thought could be done by any man, though I thinck those excellent parts might deserve a more florid and proper subiect; but I submit to your better iudgement.

S^{r}, it hath been some taske to me to find soe much free time to dictate soe much: if there be any thing impertinent, I desire you will be pleased to consider my case. Soe I take my leave, and rest,

your very humble Servant,

MERIC CASAUBON*.

Jan: 24, 1669-70.

To Dr. MERIC CASAUBON, ISAACI Fil.

Rev^{d} S^{r},

There was no danger I should forget to return you notice of the favour I yesterday receiv'd, where I find my obligations to you so much improv'd, by the treasure they convey'd me; & that it is to you I am to owe the greatest and best of my subsidiaries. There are many things in y^{r} paper which formerly I had noted; but mroe which I should never have observ'd; and therefore both for confirming my owne, & adding so many more, & so excellent, I think my selfe sacredly engag'd to publish my greate acknowledgements, as becomes a Beneficiarie. As to the crude and hastie putting this trifle of mine abroad into the world, there is no danger†; since I should thereby deprive my selfe of those other assistances which your generous bounty has in store for me; nor are those materials which lie by me, brought into any tollerable order yet, as not intended for any worke of labour, but refreshment,

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* This Letter is not written by Mr. Casaubon, but only bears his signature.

† Amongst Mr. Evelyn's papers there is a small fragment of this Treatise in Latin, consisting only of 2 or 3 pages; it does not appear that it was ever finished. From an introductory paragraph, it should seem to have been intended as a jocular piece; but the small part which is written is grave and solemn. It begins with the Staff which Jacob used when he met his brother Esau.

when I am tired with other more serious studies. Thus, S^r^, you see me doubly oblig'd to returne you my thanks for this greate humanity of yours, and to implore the Divine goodnesse to restore you to your health, who am R^d^ S^r^

Y^r^ &c.

Sayes Court, 24 Jan. 1669-70.

To my Lord High Treasurer of England [CLIFFORD].

Rig^t^ hon^ble^.

I should much sooner have made good my promise of transmitting to y^r^ Hon^r^, y^e^ inclosed Synopsis (containing the briefe, or heads of the work I am travelling on) if, besides y^e^ number of bookes & papers that I have ben condemn'd (as it were) to reade over & dilligently peruse, there had not lately ben put into my hands a monstrous Folio, writen in Dutch*, which containes no lesse than 1079 pages, elegantly and carefully printed at the Hague this last yeare; and what fills me with indignation, derogating from his Ma^tie^ & our Nation: the subiect of it being principaly y^e^ Warr w^th^ England not yet brought to a period, which prompts me to believe there is another volume preparing on the same argument. By the extraordinary industrie used in this, and the choice pieces I find they have furnish'd the author with, his Ma^tie^ and y^r^ L^p^ will see that to write such an Historie as may not onely deliver truth & matter of fact to posterity, but vindicate our Prince & his people from the prepossessions & disadvantages they lie under (whilst, remaining thus long silent, we in a manner justify their reproches) will require more time to finish than at the first setting out could well have ben imagin'd. My Lord, I dare affirme it without much vanity, that had I been ambitious to present his Ma^tie^ with a specimen onely of my diligence, since first I received his com'ands, I could long ere this have prevented these Gent. who, I am told, are already upon the Dutch War.

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* "Saken van Stuet en Oorlogh door d'Heer Lieuwe Van Aitzema," &c.

There had nothing ben more easy than after a florid preamble to have publish'd a laudable description & image of the severall Conflicts, & to have gratified aboundance of worthy persons who were actors in them; but since my Lord Arlington and y^r L^p expect from me a solemn deduction and true state of all affaires & particulars from his Ma^ties first entring into Treaty with the States at his arival in England, to the yeare 1667, nay to this instant period (which will comprehend so greate & so signal a part of his glorious reigne), I easily believe his Ma^tie will neither believe the time long nor me altogether indilligent, if he do not receive this Historie so soone as otherwise he might have expected: All I will add in relation to myselfe is this; that as I have not for many moneths don any thing else (taking leave of all my delightfull studies), so by God's help I intend to prosecute what I have begun, with the same fervour & application. Your Lo^p will consider how irksome a taske it is to reade over such multitudes of Books, Remonstrances, Treatises, Journals, Libells, Pamphlets, Letters, Papers, & Transactions of State, as of necessity must be don before one can set pen to paper: It would affright y^r Lo^p to see the heapes that lie here about me, & yet is this the least part of the drudgerie & paines, which consists in the judgment to elect & cull out, and then to dispose & place the materials fitly; to answer many bitter & malicious objections, & dextrously, & yet candidly, to ward some unlucky points that are not seldome made at us; and after all this, the labour of the pen will not be inconsiderable. I speake not this to inhaunce of the instrument, but rather that I may obtaine pardon for the lapses I may fall into, notwithstanding all this zeale & circumspection: and that his Ma^tie will graciously accept of my endeavors, and protect me from the unkindnesses of such as use to decry all things of this nature, for a single mistake; or because some lesse worthy men find not themselves or relations flatter'd, and be not satisfied that (tho' they deserve not much) they are no where disoblig'd. As to the method, I have bethought myselfe of this (if y^r Lo^p confirme it) namely, to transmit the papers (as fast as I shall bring them to any competent period) to my Lo: Arlington and y^r Lo^p: that so being com'unicated (thro' both y^r favours) to his Ma^tie before they swell into enormous bulke, he may cast his royal eye over

them with lesse trouble, and animadvert upon them 'til they are refin'd and fit for his gracious approbation; since by this meanes I shall hope to attaine two greate things; the performing of his Ma^ties^ pleasure, and that part of a true Historian, which is to deliver Truth; and he (I think) who attaines to this, *omne tulit punctum.*—But, my Lord. there are yet divers considerable papers and pieces which I want; Letters, Treaties, Articles and Instructions to Ambassadors, &c. which I can only receive from Mr. Secretarie and from y^r^ Lo^p^, that so I may not be impos'd on by such Memoires and Transactions of State as I find to my hand (if I durst adventure on the coyne) in the books of our Antagonists publish'd w^th^ a confidence so frontlesse. But since I may not well hope for these and other personal and living assistances (as I shall also have neede of) 'till the more urgent afaires of Parliament are over, I do in the meane time employ my selfe in adorning a Preface (of which I here inclose y^r^ Lo^p^ a sum'arie) and go on in reading, and collection of materials, that when I shall have receiv'd those other desiderates, I may proceede to y^e^ compiling part, and of knitting together what I have made some progresse in.

I am, my Lord, y^r^ Ho^rs^, &c.

Says Court, 20 Jan. 1670.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

It is not my fault, but misfortune, that you have not 'ere this received a full account of the time which (by y^r^ particular favour to me) I acknowledge to be wholy yours: your L^p^ has sometime since justified y^e^ Quæries which I first drew up, that they were material, & promis'd I should not want y^r^ assistance in the solution of them; but the recesse of the Court, and consequently y^r^ Lo^ps^ absence, & otherways want of opportunity, & pressure of affaires, has depriv'd me of receiving those necessarie directions which so important a subject as that under my hand dos require: But tho' this might serve somewhat to extenuate

what may be thought wanting to my industrie, yet I hope I shall not be found to have trifled in that which I am preparing to put shortly into y^r^ hands; namely, the two former parts of the Historie, which (if y^r^ Lo^p^ likewise approve) I think of disposing into the following Periods. The First (giving a succinct account of their Original, for methods sake) comprehends the state of the Hollanders in relation to England, especially their defection from y^e^ Crowne of Spaine A^o^. 1586, til his present Ma^ties^ happy Restauration 1660; and herein, a deduction of all the notorious injuries & affronts which y^e^ English have suffer'd from the Dutch, and what rebukes they have received for them from the Powers who first made warr against them, & from his Ma^tie^, whom they compell'd to make another. The Second sets forth at large the course and progresse of the late differences, from his Ma^ties^ returne A^o^ 1660 to the year 1666 (inclusively) by which time (his Ma^ties^ Ambass^rs^ being recal'd from their respective ministeries abroad) the Warr was fully indicted. This period more especially relates his Ma^ties^ endeavor to have compos'd matters in dispute between his Subiects and the Dutch: answers all their cavells, vindicates his honor, states the aggression, treaties w^th^ Munster; describes the first battail, the action at Bergen; transacts with the Dane, with the French, the rupture with both: together with all the intercurrent exploits at Guiny, the Mediterranean, West Indies, and other signal particulars, in 169 paragraphs or sections; and thus far it is already advanced. The Third and last Period includes the *status* or height of the Warr (against the three greate Potentates we named) to the conclusion of it in the Treaty at Breda, 1667, in w^ch^ I shall not omit any of those numerous particulars presented to his Ma^tie^ thro' my Lord Arlington's hands in my first project of the work, nor any thing else which y^r^ Lo^p^ shall com'and me to insert.

The two former parts being already dispatch'd, want nothing save y^e^ transcribing, which I therefore have not thought convenient to hasten, 'til I receive your Lo^ps^ directions in the difficulties which I herewith transmit; upon returne whereof, I shall soone present his Ma^tie^ with the better part of this worke; and then, as his Ma^tie^ shall approve of my dilligence, proceede with the remainder, which I hope will not take up so long a time. If it shall be thought fit hereafter to cast it into

other languages, especialy Latine or French, it may be considerably contracted, so very many particulars in the English relating onely to companies & more domestiq concernes, in a legal style, full of tedious memorials and altercations of Merchants: which (tho' now requisite to deduce somewhat more at large for the justification of his Ma^{ties} satisfaction of his subiects, and as a testimonie publish'd from authentiq records amongst ourselves) will be of little importance to Forrainers, and especialy greate persons, curious & learned men, who are to be entertain'd with refin'd and succinct narratives, & so far with the cause of the Warr as may best imprint the sense of the wrongs we have sustain'd, take off the prejudices our enemies have prepossess'd them with, together with the most shining matter of fact becoming the style of Historie.

I now send y^{r} Lo^{p} my Preface; it is in obedience to a particular suggestion of my Lord Arlingtons, requiring of me a compleate deduction of the progresse of Navigation & Com'erce from its first principle to y^{e} present age: and certainly not without greate judgement: since (as his Lo^{p} well observ'd) all our contests & differences wth the Hollanders at Sea derive onely from that sourse: And if the Introduction (for a page or two) seeme lesse severe than becomes the fore-lorne of so rude a subject as follows it, I have this to say, That as no man willingly embarks in a storme, so I am perswaded y^{r} Lo^{p} will not condemne me when you have perus'd it to the end, & consider'd how im'ence an ocean I have pass'd to bring it home to the argument in hand, and yet in how contracted a space I have assembl'd together that multitude of particulars the most illustrious; taken in all that is material, and more (permit me to affirme) then is to be found in many Authors of greate bulke, much lesse any one single Treatise, antient or modern; by which y^{r} Lp. may perhapes a little estimate the dilligence has ben used, and that I can do nothing which your Lordshipe thinks fit to com'and me, superficialy. I confesse it were yet capable of politure, and would shew much brighter in another dresse among the curious, to whom singly it might happly prove no unacceptable entertainement: I could yet also add considerably to it, but some perhaps may think it already too large for a *Vestibule*, tho' that will best appeare when the superstructure is

finish'd, which, if my calculation abuse me not (from the model already fram'd & in good part advanc'd) will amount to at the least 800 or 1000 pages in folio, notwithstanding all the care I can apply to avoid impertinences, as far as consists with integrity, & the numerous particulars which necessarily crowd into so active and extensive a Warr. Sure I am (whatever may be objected,) 'tis apposite & proper to the subject and the occasion of it, & stands & falls by y^r^ Lo^ps^ suffrage. His Ma^ty^ has yet two sheetes, which I beseech y^r^ Lo^p^ to retrieve for me; and after y^r^ animadversions on this, I will waite upon your Lo^p^ & receive your farther directions to

My Lord, &c.

Sayes-Court, 31 Aug. 1671.

To the Same.

My Lord,

I was yesterday at Whitehall to waite on y^r^ Lo^p^, and a little to expostulate with you upon the work enjoin'd me, for want of that assistance which Mr. Secretary promis'd from time to time; so as unlesse y^r^ Lo^p^ interpose and procure those papers, I must desist, and go no further: 'Tis, my Lord, a grave and weighty undertaking in this nice & captious age to deliver to Posterity a Three-years War, of three the greatest Powers and Potentates of Europe against one Nation newly restor'd, and even at that period conflicting with so many calamities besides. If this deserve no application extraordinary, I have taken but ill measures when I entred on it; but I rely on y^r^ L^p^. whose com'ands first animated, & by whose influence onely I care to proceede. If the materials I have amass'd lie still in heapes, blame not me, who write not for glory, unlesse you approve of what I write, and assist the deferrent, for I am no more: Tis matters of fact his Ma^ty^ would have me deliver to the world; let me have them authentic then, and now especialy in this crisis of exinanition (with griefe & indignation I speake it), and that the whole Nation is sinking. As to the Action at Bergen, I am ready to

transmit what I have drawn up, but it shall go no further 'til you cast your eye upon it, since without y^r^ Lo^ps^ approbation (after the measures I have taken of y^r^ comprehensive and consum'ate judgement, *quorumq; pars ipse fuisti,* I neither can nor ought to like any thing I do: But this, either your modestie or buisenesse deneys me, & unlesse I overcome it, let all I have don wither & rise no more. Augustus Cæsar had weighty affaires on his hand, but he suffer'd nothing to pine of lesser concerne when he sometimes heard Poems recited; and Scipio would converse with Lælius, and often with Lucullus too; and will you let your Country suffer, and that which you with so much earnestnesse and vigour press'd might be publish'd with the greatest expedition, languish now for want of your assistance? My Lord, what you were wont to say was prediction, and we are already blown upon and profan'd without recovery. The Inscription * I here inclose will more than a little discover that it were high time to think of all imaginable ways to recover the dignity of the Nation; and I yet assure myselfe y^r^ Lo^p^ has ben inflam'd with a disdaine becoming you at the sound of this disgrace: I do protest solemnly, I have not in my life receiv'd a more sensible mortification. O that ever his Ma^tie^ and this glorious Country should in our time (and when y^r^ Lo^p^ sits at the helme) succumb under the reproch; see our selves buried alive, & our honor (which is ten thousand times more precious than life) borne thus away by a perfid and ungratefull people! To see our glory drag'd in triumph, and a pillar to our infamie set up on that foule turfe which had not ben a name but for our indulgence. I dare say, my Lord, your heart is as big as y^r^ breast can containe, and that you would be one of the first should even devote themselves to tare downe that impudent trophy, and take away our reproch; And if God Almighty do not shortly stir up amongst us some such generous indignation, I do not for my part desire to live, & see the ruines that are coming on us: But this is reserv'd for men of greate hearts, and for such as y^r^ Lo^p^. My part will be to represent it so, when I come to that cutting period. If it incite not all that call themselves English to rise as one man in rescue of our

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* Set up for De Witt on his exploit at Chatham.

honour, the whole world will blush at our stupid *lachetè*, and the ingratitude of our foes be styl'd a vertue. Let me therefore, my Lord, receive y^r^ further directions seasonably, that whilst you still incite me to dispatch, your Lo^p^ not furnishing me those pieces, render it impossible to advance.

I am, My lord, &c.

Sayes Court, 14 Nov. 1671.

Desiderata. — The particulars of the Treaty with the Dutch after the first war w^th^ y^e^ Parliam^t^, to be found (I suppose) in the Paper Office.

2. What com'ission was given De Ruyter when he went to Ginne, of which we charge the States?

3. Mr. Hen. Coventries instructions for Sweden, so far as concernes the action at Bergen.

4. Coll. Nicholis instruction, &c. with the Articles of the reddition of New Amsterdam.

5. Lord Fitz Harding's instructions, which I suspect are corrupted in the Dutch relations.

6. The instructions of S^r^ Walter Vane sent to the Duke of Brandenburg.

7. His Ma^ties^ treatie with the Bishop of Munster.

8. By whose importunitie was the saile slacken'd in the first encounter with the Dutch, or whether I am to blanch this particular?

9. What particular Gent. Volunteers, &c. am I more especialy to mention for their behaviour in the first engagement.

10. Was Mr. Boyle's head carried into the Sea from the trunk?

11. Did there no wound or bruse appeare upon my Lord Falmouth's body?

12. On whom is the breaking bulke of the E. India prizes to be realy charged?

13. Did Bastian Senten board the Earle of Sandwich, take downe the Blew flag, set up the Orange, & possesse him 3 houres, as the Dutch relations pretend?

14. Sir Gilbert Talbot's letter to the Commander in chiefe at Bergen, which I find not in y^r^ Lo^ps^ papers.

15. I desire the Order y^r Lo^p promis'd me to the Cleark of y^e Parliament, that I may search the Journals for those important particulars your Lo^p mentioned, &c.

To my Lord High Treasurer (CLIFFORD *.)

My Lord,

According to my duty I send y^r L^p the lett^rs and papers which your L^p has ben pleas'd to trust me withall for the compiling of that part of y^e History of the late Warr which (having receiv'd both his Ma^ties and y^r L^ps approbation) I designe to publish, and the rather because I have no other meanes to expresse my greate obligations to y^r L^p than to set that forth, in which y^r Lo^ps courage & virtue has ben so conspicuous. And now, my Lord, the greate abilitie, uprightnesse and integritie which y^r L^p has made to give lusture thro' the rest of those high Offices and Charges which you have rather dignified, than they your L^p, makes me perfectly deplore y^r L^ps so solemn, so extraordinary & so voluntarie a recesse. I am deepely sensible of my owne greate losse by it, because I have found y^r L^p has ever ben the most obliging to me; but much more of the publiq. I pray God to blesse y^r L^p, and humbly beg this favour, that you will still reguard me as y^r most gratefull beneficiary, & reckone me amongst the number of those who not onely make the sincerest professions, but who realy are what they professe, w^ch is to be

My Lord, &c.

Sayes-Court, 21 Aug. 1672.

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* Mr. Evelyn wrote a congratulatory letter to Sir Tho. Clifford on his being made a Peer, and in the margin added this note: "Who was ever a most obliging friend to me in particular, and after Treasurer (whatever his other failings were) a person of as cleane hands and generous a mind, as any who have succeeded in that high trust."

To the Lord Viscount Cornbery.

My Lord,

I think it is not unknown to y^r^ L^p^ that I have sometime since ben com'anded by his Ma^ty^ to draw up a Narrative of the occasions of the first Dutch Warr; in order to which my Lord Clifford acquaints me he did formerly and dos still continue to desire of you, that you would be pleas'd to give me the perusal of S^r^ Geo: Downings dispatches to my Lord Chancelor y^r^ Father, which (as I remember) you told me were at Cornbery, where now you are. My Lord, 'tis an extraordinary mortification to me that my un-toward employments here have not suffer'd me to waite upon you all this time of y^r^ sweete recesse, that I might also have seen how that place is adorn'd and improv'd since I was there, & where I might likewise have seene those papers without giving y^r^ Lo^p^ this trouble; but y^r^ L^p^ will consider my present condition, & may be assur'd that I shall make use onely of such particulars as conduce to y^e^ province impos'd on me by his Ma^tie^. I would likewise be glad to know what light y^r^ Lo^p^ can give me out of the Lett^rs^ & dispatches of my Lord Holles, Mr. Coventrie & S^r^ Gilbert Talbot, which have all of them an influence into that affaire, as it concern'd France, Denmark and Sweden, upon which I am also directed to touch, but shall not be able to do it with any satisfaction, unlesse y^r^ Lo^p^ favour me with the com'unication of the subsidiaries in y^r^ Cabinet, who am, my Lord, &c.

Whitehall, 17 Sep. 1672.

To the Duchesse of Newcastle, &c. at Bolsover*, (when she sent me her Works.)

May it please y^r^ Grace,

I go not into my study without reproch to my prodigious ingratitude whilst I behold such a pile of favours, & monuments of y^r^ incomparable

* This letter might be considered as a banter on this extraordinary lady (of whom see Vol. I. under the year 1667), were it not remembered, that the homage paid to high rank and riches at

spirit, without having yet had the good fortune, or the good manners indeede, to make my recognitions as becomes a person so immensely oblig'd. That I presume to make this small present to y^r^ Grace (who were pleas'd to accept my collection of Architects, to whom Timber & Planting are subsidiaries) is not for the dignitie of the subject (tho' Princes have not disdain'd to cultivate Trees & Gardens with the same hands they manag'd Scepters), but because it is the best expression of my gratitude that I can returne. Nor, Madame, is it by this that I intend to pay all my homage for that glorious present, which merits so many encomiums, or write a panegyric of y^r^ virtues, which all the world admires, least the indignitie of my style should prophane a thing so sacred; but to repeate my admiration of y^r^ genius, & sublime witt so comprehensive of the most abstracted appearances, & so admirable in your sex, or rather in your Grace's person alone, which I never call to mind but to rank it amongst y^e^ Heroines, and constellate with the Graces: Such of antient daies were Zenobia Queene of Palmyra, that writ the Historie of her Country, as y^r^ Grace has don that of my Lord Duke y^r^ husband, worthy to be transmitted to posteritie. What should I speak of Hilpylas, the mother-in-law of young Plinie, & of his admirable Wife! of Pulcheria daughter to the Emp. Arcadius, or of Anna who call'd Alexius father, & writ 15 books of Historie &c.! Your Grace has title to all their perfections. I passe Cornelia so neere the greate Scipio & mother of the Gracchi, to come to the later wits, Isabella Queene of Castile, wife of Ferdinand K. of Arragon, of which bed came the first Charles, & the mother of foure learned Daughters, of whom one was Catharine wife to our Henry the 8th; Mary of Portugal, wife to John Duke of Braganza (related to her Ma^tie^ the Queene Consort), rarely skill'd in the Mathematical Sciences; so was her Sister, espoused to Alexander Duke of Parma; Lucretia d'Esté, of the house

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that time of day was excessive; and that Mr. Evelyn was himself very profuse of compliment in his dedications and letters of acknowledgment. If the reader will turn to a very scarce and curious volume, entitled, "A Collection of Letters and Poems, written by several Persons of Honour and Learning upon divers important subjects to the late Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, London, 1678," he will find that not only learned men, but learned bodies of men, made use of the same terms in celebrating the talents and accomplishments of these noble authors.

of Ferrara; Dutchess of Urbin, a profound Philosopher; Vittoria Colonna wife of Ferdinand d'Avila Marquis of Pescaria, whose Poetrie equal'd that of y^e^ renowned Petrarch; Hippolita Strozzi, daughter to Fran: D: of Milan; Mary of Arragon; Marques de Vasco, Fabiala, Marcella, Eustochium, St. Catharine of Sienna, St. Bridget & Therese (for even the greatest Saints have cultivated the Sciences), Fulvia Morata, Isabella Andreini, Margarite of Valois (sister to Francis the First and grand-mother to the greate Henry of France) whose Novells are equal to those of y^e^ witty Boccaccio, & the Memoires of another Margarite wife of this greate Prince, that name having ben so fertil for Ladys of the sublimest Genius. Catharine de Roches of Poictiers was a celebrated wit, & Claudia de Cleremont Dutchesse of Retz, Mary de Gournay, & the famous Anna M. Schurman: And of our owne Country Queene Elizabeth, Queene Jane, the Lady Weston, Mrs. Philips our late Orinda, the Daughters of S^r^ Tho: More; the Queene Christina of Sweden, & Elizabeth daughter of a Queene also, to whom the renowned Des Cartes dedicated his learned worke, & the profound researches of his extraordinary talent: But all these I say, sum'd together, possesse but that divided which y^r^ Grace retaines in one; so as Lucretia Marinella, who writ a book (in 1601) *dell' Excellenzia delle Donne, con difetti é mancamenti de gli huomini,* had no neede to have assembled so many instances & arguments to adorne the work, had she lived to be witnesse of Margarite Dutchesse of Newcastle, to have read her Writings, & to have heard her discourse of the Science she comprehended: I do, Madame, acknowledge my astonishment, & can hardly think too greate of those soules, who resembling y^r^ Grace's, seeme to be as it were wholy separate from matter, & to revolve nothing in their thoughts but universal ideas. For what of sublime & worthy in the nature of things, dos not y^r^ Grace comprehend, and explaine! What of greate & noble, that y^r^ illustrious Lord has not adorn'd, for I must not forget the munificent present of his very usefull book of Horsemanship, together with y^r^ Graces Works upon all the profound as well as politer subjects, which I receiv'd of S^r^ Fran: Tapps from both y^r^ Graces hands; but this accumulation ought to be the argument of a fresh and more ample

acknowledgement, for which this paper is too narrow. My Wife (whom you have ben pleas'd to dignifie by the name of y^r^ Daughter, & to tell her that you looke upon her as your owne, for a Mother's sake of hers, who had so greate a veneration of y^r^ Grace) presents her most humble duty to you by, Madame,

Y^r^ Grace's, &c.

Says-Court, 15 June, 1674.

To Doctor Meric Casaubon, Isaaci Fil.

Rev^d^ S^r^,

I am infinitely oblig'd to you for y^r^ civil Reply to my Lett^r^; but am not a little troubl'd, that it should importune you in a time when you were indispos'd: The Stone is an infirmity, which I am daily taught to co'misserate in my poore afflicted & deare Brother who languishes under that torture, and therefore am much concern'd when I heare of any that are exercis'd under that sad affliction: I will therefore beg of you, that no impertinence of mine (for truely that trifle is no other) may engage you to the least inconvenience, & w^ch^ may prejudice your health. You have already greately oblig'd me, by the hints you are pleas'd to send me, & by the notice y^u^ are pleas'd to take of that poore essay of mine on Lucretius, so long since escaping me: You may be sure I was very young, & therefore very rash, or ambitious, when I adventur'd upon that knotty piece. 'Tis very true, that when I committed it to a Friend of mine (and one whom I am assur'd you intimately know) to inspect the printing of it, in my total absence from London, I fully resolv'd never to tamper more with that Author; but when I saw it come forth so miserably deform'd, & (I may say) maliciously printed & mistaken, both in the Latine copy (which was a most correct and accurate one of Stephens's) & my version so inhumanly deprav'd, shame & indignation together incited me to resolve upon another edition; & I knew not how (to charme my anxious thoughts during those sad & calamitous times) to go thro' the five

remaining bookes : but, when I had don, I repented of my folly, & that I had not taken the caution you since have given us in your excellent *Enthusiasme*, & which I might have foreseene. But, to commute for this, it still lies in the dust of my study, where 'tis like to be for ever buried.

Sir, I returne you a thousand thanks for the favour & honour you have don me, & which I should have sooner acknowledg'd, had I not ben from home, when your letter came to my house : I shall now beg of God to restore y^r^ health, not for the satisfaction of my impertinent enquiries, but for the universal Republiq of Learning, & the benefit which all good men derive from the fruits of y^r^ worthy labour, who am

S^r^, y^r^ &c.

Sayes-Court, 15 July 1674.

To the Countess of Ossorie, &c.

Madame,

I cannot account my self to haue worthily discharg'd my duty to the memorie of my noble Lord, without deepely condoling the losse y^r^ La^p^ has sustain'd in the death of that illustrious Person : never did a greate man go off this earthly stage with more regret & universal sorrow, never had Prince a more loyal Subject, never Nation a more publiq losse ; & how greate my owne were in particular, the vn-interrupted obligations of above thirty yeares (joyn'd with a most condescending & peculiar friendship) may serve to declare, that nothing could haue happen'd to me more calamitous. But all this dos but accumulate to y^r^ La^p's^ affliction, which were indeede deplorable, had you not, besides the greate & heroic actions of his life, the glorious name he has left behind, the hopefull branches that remaine to imitate his virtues, the consolation, above all, of his being safe, where he has receiv'd a Crown brighter than any earthly Prince. It was my duty (as well as honor) to be with him night & day till I clos'd his

eyes, & to joyne in those holy offices which were so devoutly perform'd by the Bishop of St. Asaph to the last article, & during all his Lord$^{p's}$ sickness; which was pass'd thro' with such Christian patience & resignation, as that alone ought to giue y^{r} La^{p} exceeding comfort; I am sure it dos to me, & y^{r} La^{p} is to blesse Almighty God for it, who after so many honourable hazards in this wicked world, would haue him to a better, & that he is departed hence as a greate man & a true Christian should do, tho' for the present to our infinite losse. And now, Madame, I should beg pardon for entertaining you so long on this mournfull occasion, did I not assure myselfe that the testimony I giue y^{r} La^{p} of the religious & pious circumstances of his sickness, would afford you some consolation, as well as to shew how sincerely devoted I was to his L^{ps} service, how much obliged for his constant & generous friendship to me, & how much I am

Madame, y^{r} &c.

White Hall, 5 June 1680.

To Mr. Pepys, &c. [after the Shipwreck in which the Duke of York escaped so narrowly, returning out of Scotland.]

Sir,

I have ben both very sorry, & very much concern'd for you, since your Northern Voyage, as knowing nothing of it 'till you were embark'd (tho' I saw you so few daies before) and that the dismal and astonishing Accident was ouer, which gaue me apprehensions & a mixture of passions not realy to be express'd 'til I was assur'd of your safety, and I gaue God thanks for it with as much sincerity as any Friend you haue aliue. 'Tis sadly true there were a greate many poore creatures lost & some gallant persons with them; but there are others worth hundreds saved, and Mr. Pepys was to me the second of those some, and if I could say more to expresse my joy for it, you should haue it vnder the hand & from the heart of

S^{r}, y^{r} &c.

Says Court, 5 June 1681.

To Dr. Morley, Bp. of Winchester.

1 June, 1681.

* * * * Father Maimbourg has had the impudence to publish at the end of his late *Histoire du Calvanisme,* a pretended letter of the late Dutchesse of York*, intimating the motives of her deserting the Church of England; amongst other things to attribute it to the indifference, to call it no worse, of those two Bishops, upon whose advice she wholly depended as to the direction of her conscience, and points of controversie. 'Tis the universal discourse that y^r^ L^p^ is one of those Bishops she mentions, if at least the letter be not supposititious, knowing you to have ben the most domestic in the family, and one whom her Highnesse resorted to in all her doubts and spiritual concernes, not only during her former circumstances, but all the time of her greatnesse to the very last. It is therefore humbly and earnestly desired (as well as indeede expected) amongst all that are concerned for our Religion and the great and worthy character which yo^r^ L'p beares, that your L'p would do right to it, and publish to all the world how far you are concerned in this pretended charge, and to vindicate your selfe and our Church from what this bold man would make the world believe to the prejudice of both. I know your L'p will be curious to reade the passage your selfe, and do what becomes you upon this signal occasion, God having placed you in a station where you have no greate ones frownes to feare or flatter, and given you a zeale for the truth and for his glory. With this assurance I humbly beg your L'ps blessing.

A Note added:—"This letter was soon followed with the Bishops full vindication published in print."

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* This letter is printed in a small collection of Letters of Eminent Persons, in 2 vols. 12mo.

To Mr. William London, at Barbados.

S^r^,

I find my selfe so exceedingly oblig'd for the greate civilitie of y^r^ Letter (abating onely for the encomiums you are pleas'd to bestow upon me, & which are in no sort my due), that having nothing to returne you but my thanks and acknowledgements, I was not to delay that small retribution, for so many usefull & excellent notices, as both your Letter & the Papers inclos'd haue com'unicated to me. I haue indeede ben formerly more curious in y^e^ culture of Trees & Plants, & blotted a greate deale of paper w^h^ my crude observations (& some of them I have had the vanitie to publish), but they do in no degree amount to y^e^ accuratenesse of your designe, which I cannot but applaude, & wish you all the successe so excellent an undertaking deserves. I do not know that euer I saw a more pertinent & exact enumeration of particulars, & if it please God you liue to accomplish what you have drawn the scheme of, I shall not doubt to pronounce it the most absolute & perfect Historie that we haue any where extant of either oure owne, or other Plantations. So that I cannot but highly encourage & augure you all the prosperity imaginable; and I shall not faile, in order to it, to impart y^r^ papers to the Royall Society, who I am very confident will be ready to do you any service; although I do not see that your designe is any where defective. And I perswade my selfe that you will be curious to adorne y^r^ work with true & handsome draughts of the Animals, Plants, & other things that you describe in y^e^ Natural part. This I am bold to mention, because most of those Authors (especialy English) who haue giuen us their relations, fill them with such lame & imperfect draughts & pictures, as are rather a disgrace than ornament to their books, they hauing no talent that way themselues, and taking no course to procure such as can designe; & if now & then you sprinkle here & there a prospect of the Countries by y^e^ true and naturall Landskipe, it would be of infinite satisfaction, & imprint an Idea of those places you passe thro', which are so strange to vs and so desirable. Gaspar Barlæus (in his elegant Historie of

Brasile) has giuen an incomparable instance of this; in which work the Landskips of divers parts of that Country are accurately exhibited and grauen in copper, besides the Chorographicall Mapps, & other illustrations: But, S^r^, I beg y^r^ pardon for mentioning a thing, which I am sure you haue well thought of, & will provide for. In your account of Plants, Trees, Fruits, &c. there are abundance to which we are here utter strangers, & therefore cannot but be desirable to the curious. I am told there is newly planted in Barbados an Orange of a most prodigious size; & such an improvement of the China as by far exceedes these we haue from Portugal, which are of late yeares much degenerated. As for Flowers, I think I have heard that y^e^ *Narcissus Tuberosos* grow wild, & in plenty with you. I haue not the impudence to beg for my selfe any of those rarities you mention, but wish with all my heart I had any thing of my owne worthy y^r^ acceptance. I had at the beginning of last spring some forraine, & exotic seedes which I imparted to my friends, & some I sow'd & set, but with very little succesce; & as rightly you complaine there is no trust in our mercenarie Seedes men of London for any thing. In the meane time concerning Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloues, & those other Aromatics you so reasonably covet, I feare it will be a very difficult province to obtaine such of them from the East Indies, they being mostly in possession of the Hollanders, who are (you know) a jealous people, & as I have ben informed make it capital to transport so much as a single Nutmeg (I meane such a one as being set would produce a Tree) out of their Countrie: the late S^r^ John Cox, who had often ben at Nova Batavia told me he could not procure one handfull but such as were effoete and depriv'd of their sprouting principle, upon any tearmes; much lesse could he obtain a plant; & yet I haue ben told by a confident Broaker about the Custome house (whose name occurs not) & who has himselfe ben in the Indies more than once (pretending to curiosities), that he brought away 2 or 3 plants of the true Nutmeg Tree belonging to a certaine Dutch Merchant; I suppose for the learned D^r^ Munting of that Countrie, who has brought vp both Nutmegs & Cinnamon Plants in his garden in Holland, but to what improvement I cannot tell. It were not to be despair'd but that some subtil & industrious person

(who made it his buisinesse) might ouercome this difficultie among some of their plantations, & why not? as well as that a Countrie man of ours, who some yeares since brought home the first heads of Saffron out of Greece (whence it was death to transport it) in the holow head or top of his Pilgrime Staff, if what our Hollingshed writes be true: some such contrivance or accident will doubtlesse at last inrich your Western, & propitious Climate with those precious deficients; as it has don Suggar, Ginger, Indico, & other beneficial Spices & Drougs: & I know not whether the Jamaica Peper be not already comparable to many of those we haue enumerated. I am sure it gratifies the tast & smell with most agreeable qualities, and little inferior to the oriental Cinnamon. There is a Wallnut in Virginia whose nuts prosper very well with us, but we want store of them. It is in the meane time deplorable that the Bermudas Cedar, of all others the most excellent & odoriferous, is (as I am told) almost worne out for want of propagation: if it will thrive in other Countries 'tis pitty but it should be vniversally cultivated. But, S^r^, I tire you. The *Hortus Malabaricus* presents us with the most stupendious & vnheard-of Plants in that elaborate work; the Cutts being in copper are certainely (of any publish'd) the most accurately don, nor are their shapes & descriptions lesse surprizing. S^r^, the Royal Society have lately put their Repositorie into an excellent method, & it euery day encreases, thro' the fauour & benevolence of sundry Benefactors, whose names are gratefully recorded. If any thing incurr to you of Curious (as certainely there daily do innumerable) you will greately oblige that Assembly of Virtuosi in communicating any productions of the places you trauell thro', vpon the occasion of the returne of vessells from those parts. The particulars they collect are Animals and Insects of all sorts, their Skinnes and Sceletons, Fruits, Stones, Shells, Swords, Gunns, Minerals, & whateuer Nature produces in her vast & comprehensive bosome. S^r^, your Letter came to me from Mr. Harrwell the 23^d^ of Sept. & by the same hand & fauour I returne you the hearty thanks & acknowledgments of

S^r^, y^r^ &c.

Sayes-Court, 27 Sep. 1681.

To Sam. Pepys, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

In compliance with y^r^ co'mands I have already transmitted to you the two large Sea Charts, & now I send you the sheetes I have long since blotted with y^e^ Dutch Warr, for which I should now make another apologie (besides its preface) were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford, who would not indure I should lenifie my style, when a war with Holland was the subject; nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, tho' in justice to truth as evident as the day, I neither would, nor honestly could, conceale (what all the world might see) how subdolously they dealt & made us their propertie all along. The interception of De Lyonne's letters to his Master, p. 266, is sufficient to make this good: and I am plainely astonished it should not long since have opened our Statesmens eyes: unlesse it be, that we designe to truckle under France, and seeke industriously the ruine of our Country. You will, Sir, pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot think of it without perfect indignation. As to the Compiler's part, 'tis not easy to imagine the infinite fardles of Papers, Treaties, Declarations, Relations, Journals, original Letters, & other volumes of print and writing, &c. which I was obliged to reade & peruse (furnish'd & indeede imposed on me from the Secretaries of State and others) for this small attempt, and that which was to follow; I am onely sorry that I was so hasty to returne some pieces to my Lord Treasurer, which I might honestly have kept, and with better conscience than his carying them away into Devonshire, *vnde nulli retrorsum.*

I had drawn a Scheme of the intire work down to the Treaty at Breda, and provided y^e^ materials; but the late Lord Treasurer Danby cutting me short as to some just pretensions of another nature I had to his more particular kindnesse, I cared not to oblige an ungratefull age; and perhaps the world is delivered by it from a fardle of impertinences.

Clifford (his predecessor) was, with all his other imperfections, a generous man, and I verily believe of cleane hands; I am sure I was oblig'd to him; the other had ben sometimes so to me & mine, but that's all past. Clifford had greate failings, but was gratefull and firme to his friend.

As to y^r^ other Queries, I have not any thing relating to the Prize Office; and for that Discourse wherein I did attempt to shew how far a Gentleman might become learned by the onely assistance of the modern languages, (written at the request of Sir Sam^l^ Tuke for the Duke of Norfolk) to my griefe I feare I shall never recover it; for, sending it to the person I nam'd sometime since, he tells me he cannot find it; and so for ought I see it is lost. There is a List in it of Authors, and a method of reading them to advantage, besides something in y^e^ discourse which would not have displeased you; nor was it without some purpose of one day publishing it, because 't was written with a virtuous designe of provoking our Court Fopps, and for encouragemeut of illustrious persons who have leasure & inclinations to cultivate their minds beyond a Farce, a Horse, a Whore, and a Dog, which, with very little more, are the confines of the knowledge and discourse of most of our fine Gentlemen and Beaus. I will desire Sir James to make another search for it, when next I see him.

In the meane time the particulars w^ch^ here I send you are,

The battle of Lepanto: A description of the Armada in [15]88, I suppose authentiq.

A Paper written in French touching the severitie of their Marine Laws.

Trajan's Column with Alphonso Ciaconius's notes, referring to the Bass-relieue by the figures. Such as concerne Ships and Gallies, &c. you will find by the figures 57. 243. 260. 153. 24. 236. 239. 152. 155. and especially 303. 235. where he speakes of copper or brass instead of iron-work; and the best season for the felling of timber; and there is, as to other notices, subject of a world of erudition beyond what Ciaconius has touched, which would deserve an ampler volume.

A Discourse concerning the Fishery, & Duty of the Flag.

A large volume of S^{r} R. Browne's Dispatches from 1641 to 1644, &c. during his publiq ministrie and character in the French Court. Besides which I have Two folio's more that continue it longer.

I also send you the Journal of Martin Frobisher and Capt. Fenton.

That of Drake I cannot find as yet, so many papers and things there are to be removed and turned over in my confused Study.

Item, a Map of an Harbour, whose name I find not to it.

Also an old Map of a Sea fight.

Also a packet of original letters belonging to the former of my L. of Leycesters, in number 14, which are all I have remaining.

With a Declaration of the old Prince of Orange, William of Nassau, who was assassinated at Delft.

The Earle of Leycester's Will.

Another packet of Letters & other matters, and Transactions of State relating to the late times, in number 88, and of which I have thousands more that you may command sight of, but these I think are most material.

A particular of wages due to the Deputy, Army, & other State Officers and affaires relating to Ireland, An^{o} 1587—1588.

A Packet of 38 papers containing Instructions and matters of State to severall public Ministers abroad, &c.

Item, another Packet of 33 originall Lett^{rs} to & from greate persons during the late Rebellion here.

A Scheme of the action of the Hollanders at Chatham, 1667, when they burnt our ships, and bloq'd up the Thames.

Order of Council of State (then so called) for the apprehension of Charles Stewart, his present Majesty, so named by the Regicides.

Lastly, a Relation of his Ma^{tys} action & escape at Worcester, when he came out of Scotland with his Army, being as far as S^{r} R. Browne wrote out of the then Queen Mother's lett^{rs} at Paris; that which he tooke from his Ma^{ties} owne dictating (when he, after that escape, came into France at Paris) was sent to Mons^{r} Renodaut, & was publish'd by him in the Weekly Extraordinarie A^{o} 1651, where you'l find it in French among the volumes of his Gazettes. I am sorry the original was not retriv'd from him.

Thus, Sir, you see how diligent I have ben, since I came home, to answer your queries, as I shall in all other your com'ands as far as is in the power of,

Sir, y^r &c.

These papers*, mapps, lett^rs, books and particulars, when you have don with, be pleas'd to take your owne time in returning.

Sayes Court, 5 Dec. 1681.

To the Bishop of Oxford (Doctor Fell).

My Lord,

It cannot but be evident to your Reverend Lordship, to how greate danger & fatal consequences the *Histoire Critique*, not long since publish'd in French by Pere Simon, & now lately translated (tho' but ill translated) into English, exposes not onely the Protestant & whole Reformed Churches abroad, but (what ought to be dearer to vs) the Church of England at home, which with them acknowledge the Holy Scriptures alone to be the Canon & Rule of Faith; but which this bold man not onely labours to vnsettle, but destroy. From the operation I find it already begins to haue amongst diuers whom I converse with, especialy the young men, & some not so young neither, I euen tremble to consider what fatal mischiefe this piece is like to create, whilst they do not look vpon the booke as coming from some daring Wit, or young Lord Rochester revived, &c. but as the work of a learned Author, who has the reputation also of a sober and judicious person. And it must be acknowledged that it is a master-piece in its kind; that the man is well studied in the Oriental tongues, & has carried on his project with a spirit and addresse not ordinarie amongst *Critics;* tho' after all is don, whether he be realy a *Papist*, *Socinian*, or meerely a *Theist*, or something of all three, is not easy to discouer; but this is evident—as for the Holy Scriptures, one may

* *In the margin*—w^ch I afterwards never asked of him.

make what one will of them for him. He tells the world we can establish no Doctrine or Principles vpon them, and then, are not we of the Reform'd Religion in a blessed condition! For the loue of God, let our Vniversities, my Lord, no longer remaine thus silent: It is the Cause of God, & of our Church! Let it not be said, your *Chaires* take no notice of a more pernicious plot than any that yet has alarm'd vs. Whilst euery body lets it alone, men think there's nothing to be said against it; & it hugely prevails already, & you will be sensible of its progresse when 'tis too late to take off the reproch. I most humbly therefore implore y^r^ Rev. L^p^ to consider of it seriously; that the Penns & the Chaires may openly & on all occasions assert & defend the com'on Cause, & that Oxford may haue the honor of appearing first in the field. For from whom, my Lord, should we expect reliefe, if not from you the Fathers of the Church, & the Scholes of the Prophets? It is worthy the publiq concerne to ward the deadly blows which sap the rootes, & should by no meanes be abandon'd to hazard, or the feeble attempts of any single champion, who, if worsted, would but add to the triumph of our enemies, *Papists* & *Atheists*. My Lord, he who makes bold to transmitt this to y^r^ Lo^p^, tho' he be no man of the Church, is yet a son of the Church, & greately concern'd for her; & tho' he be not learned, he converses much with books, & men that are as well at Court, as in towne & the country; & thinks it his duty to giue y^r^ Lo^p^ an account of what he heares and sees, & is expected & call'd for from you, who are the superintendents & watchmen that Christ has set ouer his Church, & appointed to take care of his flock. S^r^ John Marsham's booke * would likewise be consider'd farther than as yet it seemes to haue ben, & the obnoxious passages in it not put

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* "Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, Hebraicus, et Græcus, cum Disquisitionibus Historicis et Criticis." fol. Lond. 1672. He travelled into France, Italy, and part of Germany; studied the Law, and was one of the Six Clerks in Chancery. He suffered as a partizan of King Charles the First, but on the Restoration was restored to his situation, and soon after created a Baronet. He was one of the greatest Antiquaries and most learned Writers of his time. Father Simon calls him the Great Marsham of England. He wrote the Preface to the Second Volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, besides the Diatriba above-mentioned. Sir John was ancestor of the present Earl of Romney.

off to Prefaces & accidental touches onely; whilst neither to *that*, nor yet to *Spinosa* (made also vulgar) we haue had any thing publish'd of expresse, or equal force in a just volume, fitted either for domestic or forraine readers. I know that the late Bishop of Chester*, Dr. Stillingfleet, Huetius, & some few others, haue said aboundantly to confute our modern Atheists; but as these start new & later notions, or rally & reinforce the scatter'd enemie, we should, I think, march as often out to meete & encounter them. For the men of this curious & nicer age do not consider what has ben said or written formerly, but expect something fresh, that may tempt & invite them to consider, that for all the bold appearances of the enemie, they are no stronger than heretofore, & can do vs no more hurt, vnlesse we abandon and betray ourselves and giue up the Cause. 'Tis not (my Lord) sufficient to haue beaten doun the heade of the *Hydra* once, but as often as they rise to vse the club, tho' the same weapon be vsed, the same thing repeated; it refreshes the faint, & resolves the doubtful, & stirrs-up the sloth-full, & is what our adversaries continualy do to keepe up & maintaine their owne party, when euer they receiue the least rebuke from vs: —*fas est et ab hoste doceri.* Nor, my Lord, whilst I am writing this, do I at all doubt of y^r^ L^ps^ greate wisedome, zeale, & religious care to obviate & prevent this and all other adversaries of our most holy Faith, as built vpon the Sacred Scriptures of the Prophets & Apostles, Jesus Christ himselfe being the chiefe corner-stone; But if the excesse of my affection for the Vniversitie (which I haue sometimes heard perstring'd, as not taking the alarme so concernedly vpon these occasions) haue a little too far transported me, I most humbly supplicate y^r^ L^ps^ pardon for my presumption, & for my zeale & good-wishes to the prosperity of our Sion, your Lo^ps^ blessing,

Who am, my R^d^ Lord,

Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 19 Mar: 1681-82.

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* Dr. Wilkins.

To Sam. Pepys, Esq. late Secretary of the Admiralty.

S^r^

In answer to your Queries, I will most ingenuously declare my thoughts upon second meditation since I publish'd my Treatise of Commerce, & what I have ben taught, but was not there to speake in publiq without offence. I will therefore reply in the method you seeme to hint; and then say what I have concerning our pretence to Dominion on the Seas. To the first:

Boxhornius has written an historie of the Ansiatic Townes; where you'l find in what condition & credit Holland was for traffiq & com'erce, & in the Danish Annales. It would be enquir'd when the English Staple was remov'd into Brabant, being 100 years since, & now fixed at Dort. How far forth Charles the Fift pursued or minded his interest at sea? As to Henry the 4th of France, 'tis evident he was not negligent of his interest there, by his many projects for trade, & performances at Marseilles; all that Richelieu and his successors in that ministrie produc'd was projected by their Greate Henry, as is plaine out of Claude B. Morisot his Preface. And now

To our title of *Dominion* & the Fishery (which has made such a noise in this part of the world) I confesse I did lately seeke to magnifie & assert it as becomes me *pro hic & nunc* (to speake with logicians), and as the circumstances you know then requir'd. But betweene friends (and under the rose as they say), to tell you realy my thoughts, when such like topics were us'd sometimes in Parliament, 'tis plaine they were passed over there upon important reasons. To begin with the very first. Supposing the old Britains did prohibite forainers to come into their country, what inferrs that to any claime of Dominion in the *Narrow*, but a jealosie rather over their proper coasts? Nor reade we that they euer practis'd it ouer the Gauls. The Chinezes we find forbad all to enter their countrie: are they therefore Lords of the Oriental seas? As for King Arthur (abating what is fabulous, *viz.* his legendarie dominion) the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, &c. stretch'd to Den-

mark, Sweden, Norway, & Iseland, infers either too much or nothing. Haue we therefore any right of clayme to those realmes at present? Why then to the Seas? Againe, admitt the most, may not Dominion be lost or extinguish'd? Was not his rather a momentarie conquest or excursion, rather than an establish'd dominion? Was it not lost to the Danes? Had they not all the characters of domination imaginable— Lords of our seas, Lords of our shores too, & the Tribute of *Danegelt* from England & Ireland both? If euer there were a real dominion in the world, the Danes must be yielded to haue had it; and if their title cannot be extinguish'd by subsequent revolutions, I greately question whether ours will euer be euinced. In short, the story of King Edgar is monstrously romantic, & the pretended deede I doubt will appeare but spurious. Truely, if forraine chronicles had ben as much stuff'd with the renowne of this Prince as w^th^ K. Arthur, I should giue more credit to it. In the meane time, what they report of Athelred is totaly against vs, since tis plaine he pay'd the *Danegelt* as a tribute to them, & settled it to y^e^ end. One may querie whether the Scots Seas, & Scotland to boote, be not a fee to England; for with as much reason we might challenge it, if the producing Rolls, Records, & Acts of Parliament, & of Statutes to that purpose, were of any importance; because we can shew more to the purpose than in the other case: but how would then that Nation take it, & what become of their Laws about Fishing? 'Tis declar'd in our Laws that we are the Lords of the *Foure Seas*, & so adjudged in our Courts, as to those born upon those Seas; and yet the Parliament of Scotland can impose a Tax on our Fishermen, which is a shrewd argument against vs. Who euer read that the Kings of England prohibited any to fish on the coast of Scotland? Or charg'd them with vsurpation for taking Toll and Custome for the Herring-fishery? The truth is, the Licences (which I speake of in my book, from Scarbrough) were onely to fish on the Dogger-bank. Such English as were to fish in the Scottish Seas about Orkney, & Shetland, Iseland, & Fero, &c. did take Licences to fish from the Kings of Norway at Bergen & Northbarum; & this jurisdiction & sovreignty vndoubted of the Norwegian Kings is recognis'd by our owne Parliament in a Statute 8 Hen. 6. c. 2., & by in'umerable Treaties betwixt

the two Crownes, euen within a century of yeares; and if so, consider how feeble a proofe is that famous Roll *pro hominibus Hollandiæ*, & how it is to be limited in itselfe (by the historie & occasion that caused it) to the Narrow or Chanell onely. 'Tis also to be considered that the Danes protested at Breda, that the cession of the Scots Fisherie about Orkney & Shetland was neuer made to our King James vpon his marriage of Q. Ann (as our tradition is), nor any time before to any Scotish King; and supposing there were any such authentiq deede, it were better to fix y^e^ Fisherie (we contend about) euen in the Dutch, then either permit it to be regulated by the decrees of a Scotch Parliament, or transferr it to that Nation. Now as to y^e^ greate Trade, & multitude of English vessels, by the historie of y^e^ Haunse Townes, their privileges & power in England, one shall find, that for y^e^ bulk our Navies consisted most of hired Ships of the Venetians, Genoezes, & Ansiatics, till Queene Elizabeth, tho' her father Henry the 8. had a flourishing fleete. The Right of Passes, and Petitions thereupon, were formed vpon another part of the *Jus Gentium*, then our pretended Dominion of the Seas; which (to speake ingenuously) I could neuer find recognis'd expressly in any Treaty w^th^ forrainers. As to returne to the Fishery, that of the Dutch fishing without Licence, the *Intercursus magnus* (so boasted) was a perpetual treaty, and made as well with all the People as the Princes of Burgundy, & so as to be obligatorie, tho' they rejected their Gouernors, as we see most of them did, & as perhaps they might according to the *Lætus Introitus*. And that the Dutch are still, & by Q. Eliz. were so declar'd to be, a *Pars contrahens*, after their Revolt & abjuration of Spaine, dos as much invalidate that proceeding of K. James, & Charles the First, who both sign'd that *Intercursus*, & were in truth included thereby tho' they had not sign'd it.

But besides all this, the nature of Prescription would be enquir'd into as well when it makes against vs, as for vs; & therefore it should be demanded whether Queen Elizabeth did not first assert the *Mare Liberum* in opposition to y^e^ Danes, and whether his present Ma^tie^ has not don it at Jamaica against the Spaniard; Pray consider the seale of that Admiralty. To speake plaine truth; when I writ that *Treatise*, rather as a *Philological* Exercise, & to gratifie the present circum-

stances, I could not clearely satisfie myselfe in sundry of those particulars, nor find realy that euer the Dutch did pay Toll or tooke License to fish in Scotland after the contest, from any solid proofes. Indeede (as there I relate) they surpriz'd Brown who came to exact it, & detain'd him in Holland seuerall months; but I think they neuer payd peny for it, tho' the Papers I haue pervs'd speake of an *Assize Herring;* nor did I find that any Rent (wheroff in my 108 page I calculate the arreres) for permission to fish, was euer fixed by both parties; & so cannot properly be call'd a settl'd Rent. This would therefore be exquisitely enquir'd into, and perhaps, both for these & many other particulars, a thro' search in his Ma^tie's Paper Office may afford clearer light, if there haue any due care been taken to collect & digest such important matters. As for the yeares 1635 and 1637, you cannot but espie an intreague in y^e equipping those formidable fleetes; & that they were more to awe the French than terrifie Holland (see how the times & interests change! but no more of that, 'tis now a tender point) I fancy were no difficult matter to prove, and that any Licenses were taken in those yeares, I could neuer be assur'd of: that of 1636 being but a single act of force on some particular men, the States neuer owning them in it; and you know the Admirall Dorp was casheer'd for not quarrelling it with our Northumberland, & our conduct & licences flatly rejected in 1637, when Capt. Field came. Lastly,

When K. James fixed his Chamber, did he not either renounce y^e *English Sovereignety* of the *Seas*, or violate therein his League with Spaine? (as that Nation vrged, pleading that the British Seas were *Territorium Domini Regis);* but he did not the latter, wherefore I am not single in this declaration. In a word, the intire argument of this Fish'ry is too controvertable to be too peremptory decided by the penn, & vpon many other accounts (of which the plenty & wantones of our full fed vnfrugal people, which deterrs them from hard labour, is not the least) a project wholy vselesse as circumstances be, and therefore might with much more benefit, ease, & facility be supplied by increasing our Fishery at New-found-land. Finaly,

As to the Co'merce in generall of this Nation: from all that I could observe during my short being of that noble & honorable Council, &

informing myselfe as I was able by books & discourses of experienc'd persons; I say, after all this, I considered it a very vaine thing to make any (the most probable, certaine, or necessarie) proposal about Trade, &c. Not that it might not be infinitely improv'd, if Princes & People did unanimously, & with a true publiq spirit, & as our naturall advantages prompt us, apply themselves honestly and industriously about it; but for that, as things now are & have hitherto ben manag'd since the renown'd Quëene Elizabeth (for that *encomium* I must give her), the whole advantage this Nation receives thereby is evidently carried on more by antient methods & the sedulitie of private men, than by any publiq encouragement: and as to the present, it certainely languishes vnder insupportable difficulties. And thus, Sir, I choose to convey you my second more digested thoughts, of a point which in your excellent designe & work cannot escape the ample handling as one of the most considerable, when you come to speake of the importance of our Shipping & Trade, or pretence of Dominion, &c. And I do it, you see, with all *selfe denyall* imaginable (& not without some reproach) after what I have publish'd to the contrary, by which you may conclude how suspicions wise men should be of other Histories & Historians too, how confident & specious soever, vnlesse it were almost demonstration, that the Authors had no interest of their owne to serve, & were not influenc'd by their superiors, or the publiq cry. Let this ingenuous confession com'ute for my faults in that Treatise, & be put amongst the retractations of

S^r^, your &c.

Sayes-Court, 19 Sep^r^: 1682.

To Samuell Pepys Esq^r^. Secretary of y^e^ Admiralty.

S^r^

I were very unworthy of y^r^ late & former favours should I not render you some assurances, that I am often meditating on them; & that I shall ever (according to my small force & capacitie) obey your

com'ands. Without more ceremonie then—I am in the first place to give you an account of *Colours*. But you will be better pleas'd to receive it from the learned Gisbertus Cuperus's *Apotheosis, vel consecratio Homeri* *, in his curious conjectures upon an antique *Sculpture;* where speaking of the Rhapsodists that were vs'd to sing the Ballads of Vlysses' Errors & Maritime Voyages, they were wont to be clad in *Blew;* when his Iliads & fighting Poems, in *Red;* & were so superstitious, as allways to cover those bookes or *Rolls* in Parchment of those two colours. He pretends that one Oenomanus first invented distinctions of colours in the *Ludi Circenses*, where *Greene* was y^e^ ensigne of Combatants by Land, & *Blew* at Sea: so as when those who were clad in *Greene* gain'd the prize, they look'd on it as presage of a fruitfull harvest: if the *Blew-Coates* prevail'd, successful expeditions and exploits at *Sea:* the first, it seemes, concern'd the Husbandman, the other the Mariner. He farther observes, that when there was any com'otion or rebellion in the parts of Italy or Gaule, the General of Horse carried a *Blew Cornet*, for as much as that generous creature was produc'd by Neptune's trident, & first manag'd by that Sea God; & that whoever signaliz'd his courage on that element, was honor'd w^th^ a Flag of the same colour; which Suetonius gives a remarkable instance of, in the Life of Octavius Augustus: *M. Agrippam in Sicilia, post navalem Victoriam Cœruleo Vexillo donavit*, after the naval victory obtain'd against young Pompey. It were ostentation to cite more Authors, Statius, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch in Vit. Themist. &c. Enough to give you an impatient desire of that excellent entertainement Cuperus will afford you, not on this subject onely, but in a world of other choice & curious erudition.

S^r^, I do not remember you charg'd me with any other particular of this sort: but as I am both dispos'd & esteeme myselfe very happy in seruing you, thô but as a *Pioner* to dig materials for a more skillfull hand to square & polish & set in work, so if in my desultory course of reading & among the rubbish I lite on any thing which is worthy your

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* Printed at Amsterdam in 1683, 4to.

notice, & may contribute to it, reckon that you have in me a ready & faithfull servant: acquir'd by many obligations, but (I assure you) by none more than that singular love of virtue, & things worthy an excellent person, which I discover & highly honour in you.

In the notes of Isaac Vossius upon Catullus, *Sive utrumque Jupiter simul secundus incidisset in pedem*, &c. he has many learned observations about *Navigation*, particularly, that of sailing to several parts opposite to one another by the same wind, *ijsdem Ventis in contrarium navigatur prolatis pedibus*, as Pliny expresses it; & it was (you may remember) on this hint that I inform'd you Vossius had by him a Treatise Περὶ Ταχυπλοίας. I enquir'd of him (when last I was at Windsore) whether he would publish it; to which he gave me but an uncertaine answer. In the meane time you'l not be displeas'd at what he tells us of a certaine Harmonie produc'd by the snapping of Carters' Whips, vs'd of old at the Feasts of Bacchus & Cybele; & that the Tartars have to this day no other Trumpets, & are so adroit, as at once to make the Whip give three distinct clapps, & that so loude as to be heard very far off; and then speakes of a Coachman at Maestricht who plays severall Tunes with his Lash. To a Louer of Musiq & Harmonie I could not omit this scrap, thô I know you'l laugh at me for it, & pay me with the Tongues and Gridiron. But ere I leave Dr. Vossius, I dare say you have perus'd what he writes in his late Opusculum touching the Reformation of *Latitudes* & *Eclipses;* and his asserting the Mediterranean & other places to be much larger than our Geographers report. He has something also of the North Passage to the Indies, of the construction of Gallies, the Pico Teneriffe, &c.; of all which you best are able to judge, & doubtlesse have form'd y^r^ remarkes thereon. Whilst I was running on, comes Mr. Dum'er to give me a visite; and I am so charm'd with his ingenuity, that I looke vpon it as a new obligation to you; & if you find I cultivate it for my owne sake a little, you will let him understand (by all that I am to speake to you of him vpon this short taste) how much I wish him the improvements of y^r^ favours, who am for so many myselfe,

S^r^, Y^r^ &c.

Says-Court, 23 Sep^r^ 1685.

From Mr. Samuel Pepys.

S^r^, Thursday night, 2 Oct. 1685.

Very sorry I am that I was not in y^e^ way to enjoy you to-day, being gone (the only time I have beene able to doe it this summer) to make a visit to good Mrs. Ewer at Clapham. But I have 2 reasons to desire you will give mee yo^r^ company to-morrow noone, first because wee will bee alone, & next I have something to shew you, that I may not have another time. Yo^r^ most obe^t^ Serv^t^, S. Pepys.

To this letter Mr. Evelyn has subjoined the following curious note:

"That which was shew'd mee were *two papers** attested by his present Ma^ties^ hand to be a true Copie of the Originals which some day before he had shewed Mr. Pepys privately: — That his late Brother Charles y^e^ Second was of long time since a Roman Catholique. The papers contained severall *points* of Religion, labouring to cast Heresy, Schism, &c. on the Church of England, but on my judgement without any force or reason, & a thousand times confuted."

* The following is extracted from the Life of King James II. published by the Rev. J. S. Clarke.

"Some few days after the late King's death, his Majesty looking into the papers he had left behind him, found two relateing to Controversie, one in the strong box, the other in the Closet, both writ in his own hand: they were short but sollid, and shewed that tho' his Conversion was not perfected til a few houres before his death, his conviction was of a longer date. The King thought fit to shew them one day to the Archbishop of Canterburie in his Closet, no body being by, who seem'd much surprised at the sight of them, and pawsed almost half a quarter of an houre before he said any thing: at last tould the King, He did not think his late Majesty had understood controversie so well, but that he thought they might be answer'd: "If so," sayd the King, "I pray let it be done gentleman-like and sollidly, and then it may have the effect you so much desire of bringing me back to your Church:" to which the Archbishop reply'd, "It would perhaps be counted a disrespect in him to contradict the late King:" but his Majesty reassured him in that point, by telling him the change it might produce in himself (if answer'd efectually) was of that consequence as to out-ballance any other consideration; and therefore desired he might see a reply either from him or any other of his perswasion: but tho' he, my Lord Dartemouth and others, were several times reminded of this matter, and earnestly press'd to it, never any formal reply was produced during his Majesty's reign in England. It is true there was something of an answer published by an unknown hand, but the drift of it was rather to proue that the papers were not the late King's (which was a libel in reality upon the present) than any reply to the arguments of it, and it is probable the Archbishop dispair'd of answering it so efectually as to bring back his Majesty to their Communion, whereas the publishing a reply would have own'd and published the papers too: and he had reason to apprehend, that the authority and arguments of their dying Prince would influence more persons to that Religion, than his answer would perswade to relinquish it." Vol. II. page 8. See also the Diary, Vol. I. 1685.

To the Countesse of SUNDERLAND (Lady ANNE SPENCER).

Madame,

I am not un-mindfull of the late com'and you lay'd vpon me, to give you a Catalogue of such Books as I believ'd might be fit to entertaine your more devout & serious hours: and I looke vpon it as a peculiar grace & fauour of God to y^r La^p, that amidst so many temptations, and grandeur of Courts, the attendants, visites, diversions (& other circumstances of the Palace, and the way you are ingag'd in) you are resolu'd that nothing of all this shall interrupt your duty to God, & the Religion you professe, when euer it comes in competition with the things of this world, how splendid soever they may appeare for a little & (God knows) uncertaine time: Madame, 'tis the best, & most gratefull returne you can make to Heaven for all the blessings you enjoy, amongst which there is none you are more happy in, then in the vertue, early & solid piety of my Lady Anne, and progresse of y^r little Son. Madame, the foundation you haue lay'd in those two blessings, will not onely build, but establish y^r illustrious Family, beyond all the provisions you can make of gallant and greate in estimation of the world; and will find the comfort of it, when all this noise & hurry shall vanish as a dreame, & leaue nothing to support vs in time of neede. I am persuaded you often make these reflections, from your owne greate judgment and experiences of the vicissitudes of things present & prospect of future, which is onely worth our solicitude.

I am, &c.

Says-Court, 12 Sep. 1686.

To my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Dublin Castle.

[HENRY Earl of CLARENDON.]

My Lord,

I had ere this giuen y^r Exc^y my most humble thanks for yours of the 7^th past, but that I was expecting the event of some * extraordinary things then in suspence; and when I haue sayd this, I neede not tell y^r

* The Co'miss. of Ecclesiastical Affaires which suspended the Bp. of Lond. &c. and gaue greate offence to all the nation. J. E.

L^p^ what I am assur'd you have receiu'd from better hands, nor make any farther reflections on it, than to acquaint y^r^ Ex^y^, that I know of no new Com'issions, which y^r^ L^p^ desires to vnderstand y^e^ meaning of, & that make (it seemes) no lesse noise with you than they do here. The character y^r^ Ex^y^ giues of the huffing greate Man* is just: how the noyse he makes will operate I know little of; what it dos with you (and would euery where do else) is sufficiently evident; but God is above all, and your L^ps^ prudence, courage, & steady loyaltie, will, if it not surmount all malevolence, purchase you the estimation of all good Subjects, & I doubt not, but of his Ma^tie^ also. I am plainely amaz'd at what y^r^ Ex^y^ tells me of Ireland, which country we haue seene giuen twice conquer'd into his Ma^ties^ Father's & Brother's (our late Souraines) hands, at no small expense of blood & treasure; & therefore question not but his present Ma^tie^ dos both see & well consider the infinite importance of cherishing its improvements and tranquillitie.

My Ld. Teviot, I think, has quite abandon'd vs; 'tis neere 4 moneths since we haue receiu'd any assistance from him at the *Seale;* so as I haue not ben able to make any excursion as yet this Sum'er, & when I shall now make my flight to Swallow-field, I am uncertaine. I haue agen ben to enquire out my Lord Cornbery; but his Lo^p^ is still so employ'd twixt the Court & his Military Charge, that I cannot expect the happinesse I promis'd my selfe of accompanying him thither, and to go without him would be a melancholy thing. The Ladys are still at Tunbridge, tempted by the continuance of this Paradisian season; whilst we are here mightily in the dark, & curious (if lawfull) to vnderstand, whether a certaine new Countesse came lately ouer hether with his Ma^ties^ knowledge & permission. I tell the inquisitiue, I know nothing of it, but that I am sure your Ex^y^ dos nothing saue what becomes you, & with good advise. Now that Buda is taken, all our eyes are on Hambrow & Denmark: — I pray God giue peace to Christendome, and continue it in little England, with all prosperitie & blessing on y^r^ Ex^y^ & illustrious Family: these are the assiduous prayers of, my L^d^, Y^r^ Ex^y^, &c.

Says-Court, Sep. 1686.

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* Lord Tyrconnel.

To my Son, &c.

Son,

I just now receiv'd the narrative of the Princes march, and the political remarks you have made upon the occurrences where you have ben. My Lord Clarendon would gladly have conferred with you on several points seasonable at that juncture; but all have now it seemes submitted, and the bells and the bonefires proclaime as much joy & satisfaction as those are capable of, who have beheld so many changes & revolutions, without being able to divine how all this will conclude at last, & remembring that precept of the *wisest of kings*, (Proverbs, ch. xxiv. v. 21) which I neede not repeate to you. It will be no newes (I perceive) to you, to acquaint you w^th^ his Majesty's late recesse, nor of his being stop't at Feversham, &c. But of his coming back to White-Hall, and what has since intervened, you may not yet have heard. On Friday last there went thither my Lord Midleton, Earle of Alesbury, L^d^ Feversham, S^r^ Step: Fox, and M^r^ Grahame, where the rabble had detain'd the King (the vessel wherein he was embark'd with S^r^ Ed. Hales, & Ralph Sheldon, w^ch^ were all his attendance, coming in for want of balast), till the newes of it being brought to the L^ds^ of the Council, those Lords & Gent: I named were sent to perswade his Ma^ty^ to returne, or if not prevailing, to conduct and waite upon him w^th^ two troopes of horse, to what other port or place he should please to go. The King, at last induced to come back to London, arrived at White-Hall on Sonday evening, went to masse at his Chapel on Monday, three priests officiating; the usual number of Roman Catholics, & a world more, filling the bedcham^r^ and all the roomes with extraordinary acclamation. In this manner his Ma^ty^ went thence to dinner (a Jesuite saying grace), and all things seemed to passe in such order, as the *eclipse* the Court suffered, by his Ma^tys^ four dayes absence, was hardly discernable, all the clouds (as we thought) were vanishing, and a bright day againe appearing. So soone as he was retired, he sent my L^d^ Feversham with a letter under his owne hand to invite the P: of Orange to St: James's: the message was accepted, but

the *messenger* arested & made prisoner at Windsor; upon which politicians make reflexions. But 'tis pretended, that a *general* of an enemy ought not by the law of armes to come into the quarters of his antagonist without a trumpet & a passeport: others say, that his Hig^sse was much displeased at the Earle's disbanding his Ma^tys forces under his co'mand, without disarming them, and un-payed, as thereby leaving them in danger of seeking some desperate resolution, of disturbing the measures he had taken; and there are who believe upon some other account, which time will discover. Tuesday morning came the Marq: of Halifax (who with the L^d Godolphin had ben sent commissioner to the Prince) from Windsor, to let his Ma^ty know, the Prince would be the next day at St: James's; but withall (foreseeing it might be dangerous to have his army quarter'd about the towne, so necessary to his safety whilst the King's guards were so neere) he desires his Ma^ty that he would make choice of Hampton Court, or some other place about that distance, to repaire to, for the avoiding jealousies & inconveniences, which might happen betweene the guards of different interests. You will easily believe this was not very kindly taken, after so generous an invitation; & that it was the more surprizing for its coming to him at one o'clock in the morning, when he was weary & fast asleepe. The King upon this rises, & goes immediately to Council, where severall things being propos'd (but what I undertake not to say) & altogether rejected; and whilst by this time White-Hall and all its environs were crowded with Dutch souldiers, his Ma^tie put himself into his barge, accompanied w^th my Lord Alesbery (now in waiting), the L^ds Dumbarton, Arran, & one or two more, follow'd w^th three other barges & small boates, filled with a Dutch guard, & a troop of horse by land, steering their course towards Rochester againe, from whence he so lately had return'd. Thus have you the second recesse, or something more *dismaly boading:* which, whilst I my selfe, with S^r Chas: Cotterell & S^r Step: Fox, beheld from one of the windows of the new buildings—*vix tempero à lachrymis.*—I should have told you that the Prince being yesterday at Syon sent S^r Rob: Howard & Hen: Powle with a letter to the Citty, acquainting them with his approach, with other complements of course. This was read before the L^d Mayor

& Com: Council, and was answer'd with all submission & respect, & with an invitation that his Hig^sse would honour their Citty by vouchsafing to lodge in it, rather than at St: James's. On this there stood up an Alderman, & moved that an Addresse might first be made to congratulate his Ma^tys gracious returne to White-Hall. But the proposal was not approv'd of, one of them saying, "*they had given a good pail of milke, & that this were to kick it downe againe.*"

Thus, Son, I have given you as minute an account of the *Proteus* here as I am able for the present. The hero is now at St. James's, where I have seene him, and severall of my old acquaintance. I dined at the E: of Clarendons, whom I did not find altogether so well satisfied as I expected, considering that his son my L^d Cornebery tooke so considerable a stroke in this turne. I wish he do not πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. —By what I collect, the ambitious & the covetous will be canvassing for places of honour, & rich employment; and that my Lord will withstand the mercat, and neglect, if not slight his applications, upon confidence of his neere relation, & the merites of my L^d his son, if not upon other principles. If none of this happen, and that successe do not quite alter the principles of men in power, we are to expect *Astrea* upon earth againe: But as I have often told you, I looke for no mighty improvement of mankind in this declining age & Catalysis. A Parliament *(legaly cal'd)* of brave & worthy *Patriots*, not influenc'd by faction, nor terrified by power, or corrupted by selfe interest, would produce a kind of new creation amongst us. But it will grow old, and dissolve to *chaos* againe, unlesse the same stupendious Providence (which has put this opportunitie into mens hands to make us happy, dispose them to do just & righteous things, and to use their empire with moderation, justice, piety, & for the publiq good. Upon the whole matter, those who seeke employment, before the grandees are served, may suspend their solicitation, the Queene having ('tis sayd) carried away the *Greate Seale:* most of the *writs* being burnt by his Ma^ty, it will cost time, & excogitation of expedients how legaly to supply them, if his Ma^ty should designe to travell againe, or the doore (which I feare most likely) be shut after him. These, and sundry other difficulties will render things both uneasy and uncertaine. Onely I think Popery

to be universaly declining, and you know I am one of those who despise *not prophesying;* nor, whilst I behold what is daily wrought in the world, believe *miracles* to be ceas'd.

S^r^ Ed: Hales & Obadiah (his old tutor) are both in gaole at Maidstone. C. Justice Herbert, Rob: Brent, & Peters above all, are not yet heard of. Poore *Roger* (for want of better *observation)* is carried to New-gate, & every houre is pregnant of wonders.

Anno Mirabil. Lond. 18 Dec. 1688.

To Mr. Pepys.

Sir,

I was on Wednesday last (afternoone) to kisse your hands; but finding you abroad, and my selfe obliged to returne that evening, that I might receive the Countess of Sunderland, who sent me word she would call at my house the next morning early before her embarkment for Holland, I do now write, what I should have said to you, if time had permitted; and that is to let you know, that upon your late communicating to me your desire of adorning your choice Library with the Pictures of men illustrious for their parts & erudition, I did not in the least suspect your intention of placing my shallow head amongst those heroes, who knowing my unworthynesse of that honour, will in spight of your good opinion of Mr. Kneller for his skill of drawing to the life, either condemne his colouring, that he made me not blush; or me for impudence that I did not. But this is not all: for men will question your judgment, or suspect you of flattery, if you take it not downe; for in good earnest, when I seriously consider how unfit I am to appeare in the classe of those learned Gentlemen, I am perfectly asham'd, & should say with much more reason than Marullus (after a recension of the famous Poets)

Nos, si quis inter cæteros locat Vates,
Onerat, quam honorat verius.

'Tis pitty and a diminution, so elegant a place & precious collection should have any thing in it of vulgar, but such as Paulus Jovius has celebrated, and such as you told me you were procuring; the Boyles, the Gales, & the Newtons of our Nation: what, in God's name, should a planter of Colewort do amongst such Worthies? Setting him aside, I confesse to you I was not displeas'd with the fancy of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, when to adorne his stately Palace (since demolished) he collected the Pictures of as many of our famous Countrymen as he could purchase or procure, instead of the heads and busts of Forreiners, whose names, thro' the unpardonable mistake or (shall I call it) pride of painters, they scorne to put to their pieces, imagining it would dishonour their art should they transmit every thing valuable to posterity besides Faces, which signifie nothing to the possessor (vnlesse their Relations were to live for ever, & allways in being), so as one cannot tell whether they were drawn from any of their Friends or Ancestors, or the picture of some Porter or squalid Chimney sweeper, whose prolix beard and wrinkled forehead might passe him for a Philosopher. I am in perfect indignation at this folly, as oft as I consider what extravagant sums are given for a dry scalp of some (forsooth) Italian painting, be it of Raphael or Titian himselfe; which would be infinitely more estimable, were we assured it was the picture of the learned Count of Mirandula, Politian, Guicciardini, Machiavel, Petrarch, Ariosto, or Tasso; or some famous Pope, Prince, Poet, or other Hero of those times. Give me Carolus Magnus, a Tamerlaine, a Scanderbeg, Solyman the Magnificent, Matt: Corvinus, Lorenzo, Cosimo Medicis, Andrea Doria, Ferdinando Cortez, Columbus, Americus Vespusius, Castracani Castruccio, and a Sforza; the effigies of Cardan, and both the Scaligers, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, and Galileo: I say give me the portraits of an Isabella of Arragon or Castile, and her foure Daughters; Lucretia d'Este (to whom our Queene is related), Victoria Colonna, Hippolita Strozzi, Petrarch's Laura, A. Schurman, and above all Hellen Cornaro, daughter of a Procurator of St. Marco (one of the most illustrious families of Venice) who received the degree of Doctoresse at Padua for her universal knowledge & erudition, upon the importunity of that

famous University prevailing on her modesty. She had ben often sought in honorable marriage by many greate persons, but preferring the Muses before all other considerations, she preserved herselfe a virgin, and being not long since deceased had her obsequies celebrated at Rome by a solemn procession, & Elogie of all the Witts of that renowned citty. Nor may I forget the illustrious of our owne Nation of both sexes: the Westons, Moores, Seymours, Sir J. Cheke, Ann Countess of Oxon (whose monument is in Westminster Abbey), the late Mrs. Philips, & Princesse Elizabeth eldest daughter to the unfortunate Queene of Bohemia, to whom the greate Des Cartes dedicates his bookes, with a world of more renowned memorie famous for armes & arts, rather than the most beautiful Courtezan or Prostitute of them all, who has nothing to commend her but her impudence & that she was a painted strumpet. Did it ever prejudice the glory of the inimitable Holbein, for putting the names of our greate Duke of Norfolk, Henry the Eighth when lesse corpulent, Edward the Sixth & Treasurer Cromwell, Jane Seymour, Anne Bulleyn, Charles Brandon, Althea Talbot Countesse of Arundel, Card. Wolsey, S^{r} Thomas More & his learned Daughters, S^{r} Brian Tuke, D^{r} Nowel, Erasmus, Melancthon, and even honest Frobenius, among innumerable other Illustrious of that age for learning & other vertues? I aske if this were the least diminution to the fame of one who realy painted to the life beyond any man this day living? But, in truth, they seeme from the beginning jealous of their owne honour, & afraid of being forgotten: hence we find ΓΑΥΚΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟC ЄΠΟΙЄΙ insculpt on the Farnesian, Hercules, and *Michael Angelo fecit*, *P. P. Rubens pinxit*, *Marc. Antonio cælavit*, &c. There is not that wretched print but weares the name of the no-Artist, whilst our Painters take no care to transmitt to posterity the names of the persons whom they represent; through which negligence so many excellent pieces come after a while to be dispers'd amongst Brokers & Vp-holsters, who expose them to the streetes in every dirty & infamous corner. 'Tis amongst their dusty lumber we frequently meete with Queene Elizabeth, Mary Q. of Scots, the Countesse of Pembroke, Earles of Leycester and Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, S^{r} Philip Sidney, Cecil, Buckhurst, Walsingham, Sir Francis

Bacon, King James & his favourite Buckingham, and others (who made the greate figure in this nation), of John Husse, Zisca, Luther, Calvine, Beza, Socinus, William & Maurice Princes of Orange, Charles the Fifth, Philip the Second, Francis the First: the Dukes of Alba, Parma, Don John of Austria, and Count Egmont: Authors of Sects, Greate Captaines and Politicians (famous in our historie in other countries), flung many times behind the hangings, covered with dust & cobwebs. Upon this account it is, men curious of books & antiquities have ever had Medals in such estimation, & rendered them a most necessary furniture to their Libraries, because by them we are not onely inform'd whose real image & superscription they beare, but have discovered to us, in their reverses, what heroical exploits they perform'd; — their famous Temples, Bazilicæ, Thermæ, Amphitheaters, Aquæducts, Circus's, Naumachias, Bridges, Triumphal Arches, Columns, historical & other pompous Structures & Erections by them; and which have ben greately assistant to y^e^ recovery of the antient & magnificent Architecture, whose real monuments had ben so barbarously defac'd by the Goths & other truculent invaders, that without this light (& some few ruines yet extant that justifie those types) that so vsefull order and ornament of columns & their concomitant members were hardly to be known by the text of Vitruvius, and all his learned Commentators: and till Daniel Barbaro, Leon Alberto, Raphael, M. Angelo, & others, rais'd it out of the dust & restor'd that noble art, by their owne and other learned men consulting & comparing the reverses of Medals & Medalions: besides what they farther contribute to the elucidation of many passages in Historie, Chronologie, & Geography. So as I do not see how Mr. Pepys's Library can be long without this necessary adjunct. It is amongst the Medals we meete the antient legislators, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, &c. There we find Orpheus, Linus, & the old Bards, and there is mention of *Numus Homericus* by Strabo, & (if I well remember) by Aristotle himselfe too; as there is stil extant those of the brave Hector & Achilles: so as among them we may see what kind of persons were Aristides, Themistocles, Epaminondas, Miltiades, Alexander, & Cyrus, Darius, &c. The grave Philosophers Socrates, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Zeno, and

Demosthenes, shew their faces to this day revered in our Medals. Those of the Hebrew represent to us the rod of Aaron & pot of Manna, & shew how Juda was led captive. We come by Medals to understand the antient Weight & Measures, and the value of Monies: You will see there when it was that Princes assum'd the radiant Crownes, and what the Diademe was. I might proceede to y^e^ Punic Hanibal, Juba, &c. to the Consular & Imperial of the Romans from Romulus, the Scipios, Catos, down to this age of ours, if after Pertinax, and decline of that empire, Sculpture & all good arts had not fall'n with it. You will therefore be curious of having the first Cæsars, the greate Julius (after his Pharsalian Victorie) being the first honour'd with having his effigies, old, leane & bald as he was, in medal, or rather in monie, which are rare to procure in gold or small copper. There are of these and the other Emperors with Greeke inscriptions also. Who is not delighted to behold the true effigies of the famous Augustus, cruel Nero & his Master Seneca? Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Severus, the greate Constantine & his devout mother Helena? For we have in Medals the beautiful Cleopatra & her paramour; Drusilla, Livia, Julia, Agrippina, Antonia, Valeria, Messalina, Octavia, Sabina Poppæa, all of them Augustas; and sundry more of the faire sex, who rul'd the world. I have seene a series of the Popes from St. Peter, & amongst the reputed Heresiarcs, that Medalion of John Huss & Hierome of Prague's Martyrdome, with the memorable inscription *Post centum annos vos Cito*, which fell out at the appearing of Martin Luther exactly at that period. But, Sir, I am sensible I have quite tir'd you by this time with Medals, & therefore I will say nothing concerning those observations in the filing, sharpnes, & due extanic vernish, & other markes, necessary to be critically skill'd in to prevent the being cheated & impos'd upon by copies & counterfeits for antique & original: (tho' yet all copies, if well dissembled, stamp'd, or cast, are not to be rejected), because you will both for this and all the rest, consult Fulvius Ursinus, Goltzius, Mons^r^ St. Amant, Otto, D^r^ Spon, Vaillant, D^r^ Patin and *(instar omnium)* the most learned Spanhemius in that Treatise *de præstantia et usu Numismatum Antiquorum.* You will likewise make vse of your friends D^r^ Gale, M^r^. Henshaw, Hill,

and Mr Justell, vpon whose skill & judgment you may relie; tho' even the most skillfull may now & then be mistaken: But you shall be sure not to be paied with trash, such as I do not (as I say'd) call the *Antiquo Moderno* if well imitated. These persons yr Friends whom I mention'd, will I am sure be ready to assist you in this laudable curiositie. And if they can be purchas'd together, as accidentaly they sometimes may, it will save you a greate deale of paines, & enrich you at once. But otherwise, they are likeliest met withall amongst the goldsmiths, & casualy as one walkes the streetes on foot, & passes by the stalls. Mr. Ashmole, our common friend, had collected all the antient & modern Coines of this Kingdome, which were very rare, together with seuerall Medalls of our British, Saxon, & other Kings vpon occasion of Births, Coronations, Marriages, & other solemnities. I know not whether they escap'd the burning of his study at the Middle Temple. But for the most accurate ordering & disposing of Medals, so as one may more commodiously take them out of their repositories, Mr. Charleton * of that Society, has a peculiar method, as he is the most elegant & rarely furnish'd in all his other Collections. In the meane time, the curious of this sort of erudition (I meane of Medalls) were formerly, & I belieue at present, very few in England. For besides Sr Robert Cotton, Mr Selden, Sr Simon D'Ewes, Sr Tho. Hanmer of Hanmer, Sr Willm Paston, and the late Mr Hervey, I find hardly any. That greate lover of antiquity Thomas Earle of Arundel had a very rich collection as well of Medalls as other Intaglias, belonging to the Cabinet he purchas'd of Daniel Nice at the cost of ten thousand pounds, which with innumerable other rarities, haue ben scatter'd & squander'd away by his Countesse when she got that treasure to Amsterdam, whilst my Lord was in Italy, where he died, Aboundance of them she bestow'd also on the late vnhappy Vicount Stafford, her beloved son; & such as remained, Lely, Wright, & the rest of the Painters, *Panders* and *Misses*, haue cheated the late Duke of Norfolk of. The same fate befell a noble Collection of Medals belonging to the then curious Sr Simon Fanshaw of Ware-park; they were after his decease thrown about the house (as that worthy gent: his son Sr Richard, Ld Ambassr in

* See vol. I. under the year 1686.

Spain, from whom I had the relation, has told me) for children to play at counter with: as were those elegant Types of S^r^ Henry Savills at Eaton, which that learned Knight procur'd with greate cost for his edition of St. Chrysostome, & as it com'only fares with such curiosities where the next heire is not a Virtuoso. So vaine a thing it is to set ones heart vpon any thing of this nature with that passion & mania, that unsatiable Earle whom I mention'd did, to the detriment of his estate and family;—*mediocria firma.* The Medals in our Universitie Libraries are not yet at all considerable, tho' Obadiah Walker were an industrious promoter of it, & not vnskillfull in them. Mr. Ralph Sheldon of Weston in Warwickshire, left a very handsome Collection both of Gold, Siluer, & Copper, antient & moderne, part of which were bequeathed to a Sister of my Lady Tuke's, who not long since offer'd to haue sold them. I brought Mons^r^ Justell to see them, but they were much ouer-valued, & whether she haue since dispos'd of them I neuer inquir'd. At present I know of none who can show a better chosen set of Medals than the Earle of Clarendon, to whose late Father (after all this tedious parenthesis) I returne, & haue a mind to entertaine you a while longer with what I had begun, where I spake of his purpose to furnish all the roomes of state & other apartments with the Pictures of the most Illustrious of our Nation, especialy of his Lo^ps^ time & acquaintance, & of diuers before it. There were at full length, and as I doubt not but you well remember to haue seene, the greate Duke of Buckingham, the brave S^r^ Horace & Francis Vere, S^r^ Walt. Raleigh, S^r^ Phil. Sidney, the greate Earle of Leicester, Treasurer Buckhurst, Burleigh, Walsingham, Cecil, L^d^ Chan^r^ Bacon, Elsmere, & I think all the late Chancelors & graue Judges in the reignes of Q. Elizabeth, & her successors James & Charles the First. For there was Tress^r^ Weston, Cottington, Duke Hamilton, the magnificent Earle of Carlisle, Earles of Carnarvon, Bristol, Holland, Lindsey, Northumberland, Kingston, and Southampton: Lords Falkland and Digby (I name them promiscuously as they come into my memorie), & of Charles the Second, besides the Royal Family, the Dukes of Albemarle and Newcastle, Earles of Darby, Shrewsbery, St. Alban's, the brave Montrosse, Sandwich, Manchester, &c. and of

the Coife, S^r^ Ed. Coke, Judge Berkeley, Bramston, S^r^ Orlando Bridgman, Jeofry Palmer, Selden, Vaughan, S^r^ Rob. Cotton, Dugdale, Mr. Camden, Mr. Hales of Eton. The Archbishops Abbot & Laud, Bishops Juxon, Sheldon, Morley, and Duppa: Dr. Sanderson, Brownrig, Dr. Donne, Chillingworth, & seuerall of the Cleargie & others of the former & present age. For there were the Pictures of Fisher, Fox, S^r^ Tho. More, Tho. Lord Cromwell, Dr. Nowel, &c. And what was most agreeable to his Lo^ps^ general humor, Old Chaucer, Shakspere, Beaumont & Fletcher, who were both in one piece, Spencer, Mr. Waller, Cowley, Hudibras, which last he plac'd in the roome where he vs'd to eate & dine in publiq, most of which, if not all, are at the present at Cornebery in Oxfordshire; together with the Library, which y^e^ present Earle has considerably improv'd, besides what Bookes he has at Swalowfield not contemptible, & the Manuscript Copies of what concernes the Parliam^tary^ Records, Journals, & Transactions which I haue heard both himself & the late vnfortunate Earle of Essex (who had also the same curiosity) affirme cost them 500^l^ transcribing & binding, & indeede furnish a prety large roome. To compleate & encourage this noble and singular Collection, I sent his Lo^p^ a List of the names following; Cardinals Pole and Wolsey: Gardner Bp. of Winchester, Cranmer, Ridley, old Latimer, Bp. Usher, Mr. Hooker, Occham, Ripley, John Duns, Roger Bacon, Suisset, Tunstal Bp. of Duresme (correspondent with Erasmus), Tompson, Ven: Bede, if at least to be met with in some ancient Office or Masse Booke, where I haue seene some of those old famous persons accurately painted either from the life or from copies: S^r^ John Cheke, S^r^ Tho. Bodley, Smith, Jo. Berkeley, Mr. Ascham, S^r^ Fulk Greuil, Buchannan, Dr. Harvey, Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, S^r^ Hen. Wotton (I still recite them promiscuously & not like an Herauld), S^r^ Fra. Drake, S^r^ Rich. Hawkins, Mr. Cavendish, Martine Frobisher, &c.; some of which his Lo^p^ procured, but was you know interrupted, and after all this apparatus and grandeure, died an exile, & in the displeasure of his Majestie & others who envied his rise & fortune—*tam breves Populi Romani amores!* But I shall say no more of his ministrie, and what was the pretence of his fall, than that we haue liued to see greate Revolutions. The Buffoons, Parasites, Pimps, & Concu-

bines, who supplanted him at Court, came to nothing not long after, & were as little pittied. 'Tis something yet too early to publish the names of his Delators, for fear of one's teeth. But Time will speake Truth, and sure I am the event has made it good. Things were infinitely worse manag'd since his disgrace, & both their late Ma^{ties} fell into as pernicious counsels as euer Princes did: whilst what euer my L^{d} Chancel^{rs} skill, whether in Law or Politics, the offices of State & Justice were filled with men of old English honor & probitie; lesse open bribery & ostentation; there was at least something of more grauity and forme kept up (things, howeuer railled at, necessary in Courts): magnificence & antient hospitalitie in his Ma^{ties} houses, more agreeable to the genius of this Nation than the open & avowed luxurie & prophaness which succeeded, *a la mode de France*, to which this Favorite was a declared enemy vpon my certaine knowledge. There were indeede heinous matters laied to his charge, which I could neuer see prov'd; & you & I can tell of many that haue fall'n and yet suffer under that calamitie.

But what's all this, you'll say, to our subject? Yes, He was a greate Lover at least of Books, & furnish'd a very ample Library, writ himselfe an elegant style, fauour'd & promoted the designe of the Royal Society; and it was for this, and in particular for his being very kind to me both abroad & at home, that I sent Naudæus to him in a dedicatory Addresse, of which I am not so much asham'd as of the Translation. There be some, who not displeas'd with the style of that Epistle, are angrie at the application. But they do not consider that Greate Persons, & such as are in place to doe greate & noble things, whateuer their other defects may be, are to be panegyrized into the culture of those vertues, without which 'tis to be suppos'd they had neuer ariv'd to a power of being able to encourage them. *Qui monet vt facias*—you remember the sequel. And 'tis a justifiable figure; nor is it properly adulation, but a civilitie due to their characters. As for the Translation, it has ben so insufferably abus'd at the presse, that the shame any uncorrected copy should come abroad has made me suppresse as many as I could light on, not without purpose of publishing a new Edition, and which now perhaps might

be more seasonable, since the humor of exposing Books *sub hastâ* is become so epidemical, that it may possibly afford some direction to gentlemen who are making their collections out of them. Besides, the first impression is I heare prety well worne out, and I should be very unfortunate it should miscarry twice, or meete with such another accident as happen'd, it seemes, to the blotted Manuscript at Oxford: the circumstances whereof I will not now trouble you withall.

And so I haue don with my L^d^ Chancelor. But not so soone with my worthy friend Mr. Pepys, to whose learned & laudable curiosity of still improving his choice Collection I should not aduise a solicitous expense of hauing the Pictures of so many greate persons painted in oyle, which were a vast & unnecessary charge; tho' not so extraordinary a one to my L^d^ Chancel^r^ as one may imagine, because when his designe was once made known, euery body who either had them of their owne or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by these presents; by which meanes he got many excellent pieces of Vandyke, and other originals of Lely, & the best of our modern Masters hands. But if, insteade of these, you think fit to add to your title-pages, in a distinct Volume, the Heads & Effigies of such as I haue enumerated, and of as many other as either in this or any other age have ben famous for Armes or Arts, in *taille douce*, and with very tollerable expense to be procur'd amongst the Print-sellers, I should not reprove it; I am sure you would be infinitely delighted with the assembly, and some are so very well don to the life, that they may stand in competition w^th^ the best paintings. This were a cheape and so much a more vsefull curiosity, as they seldome are without their Names, Ages, and Elogies of the Persons whose Portraits they represent: I say you will be exceedingly pleas'd to contemplate the Effigies of those who haue made such a noise & bustle in the world, either by their madnesse & folly, or a more conspicuous figure by their wit & learning. Nor would I yet confine you to stop here, but to be continualy gathering as you happen to meete w^th^ other instructive types. For vnder this classe may come in Batails, Sieges, Triumphs, Justes & Tournaments, Coronations, Cavalcads, & Enteries of Ambassadors, Processions, Funebral & other Pomps, Tombs, Tryals & Executions: stately Edifices,

Machines, Antique Vases, Spoiles, Basse Relievos, Intaglios, & Cameos taken from Achates, Onyxes, Cornelians, & other precious stones; Ruines, Landskips, if from real subjects, not fancies which are innumerable & not necessary, but such as relate to Historie, and for reasons specified more at large in my Treatise of Chalcographie. Your Library being by this accession made suitable to your generous mind & steady virtue, I know none liuing master of more happinesse, since besides the possession of soe many curiosities, you vnderstand to vse & improue them likewise, & haue declar'd that you will endeauour to secure * what with so much cost & industrie you haue collected, from the sad dispersions many noble Libraries & Cabinets haue suffer'd in these late times: one Auction, I may call it diminution, of a day or two, hauing scatter'd what has ben gathering many yeares. Hence it is that we are in England so defectiue of good Libraries among the gentlemen & in our greatest townes: Paris alone, I am persuaded, being able to shew more than all the three Nations of Greate Brittaine: those of Mem'ius, Puteane, Thuanus, Cordesius, Seguire, Colbert, Condé, & others innumerable of Bishops, Abbots, Advocates, Antiquaries, & a world of learned persons of the Long Robe; besides the Publiq Libraries at St. Victoire, the Sorbonne, & aboue all, that of Mazarin (now with Richlieu's & sundry others swallow'd vp in the present King's), far exceeding any thing we can shew at home, tho' we have as much (if not greater) plenty & variety of the best books as any Country in the learned world. But, as I said, they are in private Cabinets, & seldome well chosen, vnlesse in the Vniversities, where, if one may judge by the few productions of so many learned men as are there at leasure, they signifie so very little to the learned world. This greate & august Citty of London, abounding with so many witts and letter'd persons, has scarse one Library furnish'd & indow'd for the publiq. S^{r} John Cotton's, collected by his noble Vnkle, is without dispute the most valuable in MSS. especialy of Bri-

* This Mr. Pepys did, giving his Books and collection of Prints to Magdalen College, Cambridge, where they now are under the name of the Pepysian Library, in the original book-cases and presses, placed in a room which they exactly fit.

tish & Saxon Antiquities; but he refuses to impart to vs the Catalogue of this Treasure, for feare, he tells me, of being disturb'd. That of Westminster is not much considerable: still lesse that of Syon Colledge. But there is hope his Ma^ties^ at St. James's may emerge & be in some measure restor'd againe, now that it comes vnder the inspection of the learned Mons. Justell, who you know was owner of a very considerable one at Paris. There are in it a greate many noble Manuscripts yet remaining, besides the *Tecla;* and more would be, did some royal or generous hand cause those to be brought back to it, which still are lying in mercenary hands for want of two or three hundred pounds to pay for their binding; many of which being of the Oriental Tongues will soone else find Jewes & chapmen that will purchase & transport them, from whence we shall neuer retrieue them againe. For thus has a Cabinet of ten thousand Medals, not inferior to most abroad, & far superior to any at home, which were collected by that hopefull cherisher of greate and noble things Prince Henry, been imbezild and carried away during our late barbarous Rebellion, by whom & whither none can or is like to discouer. What that collection was, not onely of Bookes and Medals, but of Statues & other elegant furniture, let the learned Library-keeper Patritius Junius tell you in his notes ad Epist. S^ti^ Clementis ad Corinthos: *quem locum,* (speaking of St. James's) *si vicinam pinacothecam Bibliothecæ celeberrimæ conjunctam, si Numismata Antiqua Græca ac Romana, si statuas & signa ex ære et marmore consideres, non im'erito Thesaurum Antiquitatis et ταμιεῖον instructissimum nominare potes,* &c.

Were not this losse enough to break a Lover's heart? The Royal Society at Gresham Colledge has a mixture, tho' little apposite to the institution & designe of that worthy assembly, yet of many excellent Books & some few MSS. given them at my instance by the late Duke of Norfolck, w^h^ is but a part of that rare collection of good Authors which by the industrie & direction of Francis Junius, the learned son of the learned Patrick, Mr. Selden, & the purchase of what was brought at once out of Germanie, was left neglected at Arundel House before it was demolished & converted into tenements. I now mention Mr. Selden. There is a Fragment of that greate Antiquarie's Librarie at

the Middle Temple; but his Manuscripts & best collections were bequeath'd to the Bodleian at Oxford, to which both himselfe & especialy Arch-Bishop Laude were the most munificent Benefactors: tho' with all these, so poore in Manuscripts that they were ashamed to publish their Catalogue with that of the *Impressorum*, but which might yet have ben equaly inriched with any perhaps in Europe, had they purchas'd what was lately offer'd them by the executors of Isaac Vossius, tho indeede at a greate price, who have since carried them back into Holland, where they expect a quicker mercate. I wish'd with all my heart some brave and noble Mæcenas would have made a present of them to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, where that sumptuous structure (design'd for a Library) would have ben the fittest repository for such a treasure. Where are our Suissets, Bodleys, Lauds, Sheldons, Bishops & opulent Chancelors? Will the *Nepotismo* neuer be satisfied.—*Sed præstat motus componere.* The next to that of the Bodleian are the Librarys of Magdalen Coll., Christ Church, Vniversity, & Baliol, which last is furnish'd with diuers considerable MSS. & lately (thro' the bounty of S^r^ Tho. Wendie) with a number of other curious books. But to returne againe neerer this citty: That at Lambeth, replenish'd at present with excellent books, ebbs & flows like the Thames running by it, at euery Prelat's succession or translation: there's at present a good assembly of Manuscripts in a roome by themselues. The Bishop of Ely has a very well stor'd Library; but the very best is what Dr. Stillingfleete, Deane of St. Paule's, has at Twicknam, ten miles out of towne. Onely that good & learned man (Dr. Tennison) of St. Martine's, neere you, has begun a charity, for so I reckon it as well as that of his two Scholes, &c. worthy his publiq & generous spirit, and the esteeme of all who know him. Our famous Lawyer S^r^ Edw. Coke purchas'd a very choice Library of Greeke & other MSS. which were sold him by Dr. Meric Casaubon, son of the learned Isaac; & these, together w^th^ his delicious Villa Durdens, came to y^e^ possesison of y^e^ present Earle of Berkeley from his Vnkle S^r^ Robert Cook. He has sometimes told me he would build a convenient repository for them, which should be publiq for the use of the Cleargie of Surrey; but what he has don, or thinks to do herein, I know not. Why is not such provision made by a publiq

Law & Contribution in euery County of England. But this genius dos not allways preside in our representatiues. I haue heard that S^r^ Henry Sauill was master of many precious MSS. & he is frequently celebrated for it by the learned Valesius, almost in euery page of that learned man's Annotations on Eusebius & the Ecclesiastical Historians publish'd by him. The late Mr. Hales of Eton, whom I mention'd, had likewise a very good Library; and so had Dr. Cosin (late Bishop of Duresme), a considerable part of which I had agreed with him for my selfe during his exile abroad, as I can shew under his owne hand*; but his late daughter, since my Lady Garret, thought I had not offer'd enough, & made difficulty in deliuering them to me 'till neere the time of his Ma^ties^ restauration, & after that, the Deane her father, becoming Bishop of that opulent See, bestow'd them on the Library there. But the L^d^ Primate Usher was inferior to none I haue named among

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* The following Letter from Dr. Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, to Mr. Evelyn, is probably here alluded to:

Sir,

I haue here set y^e^ Prices (w^ch^ I paid) to y^e^ Bookes w^ch^ you have added. but there be 4 or 5 of them (marked w^th^ – +) w^ch^ I desire to keep, because I haue written some notes in y^m^ of my owne. The remaynder of y^e^ whole summe (as you will see at y^e^ foote of y^e^ inclosed paper) wilbe 105*l.* And truly, S^r^, I thought I had p^e^vented any further motion of abatem^t^, by the large offer y^t^ I made to you, of putting yo^r^ Wives Confident [friend] (for it concernes her only) to lose the third part of what her fr^d^ paid: specially considering that she is now forced to pay very neere 200*l.* for y^e^ Library, besides what it cost at first. I doe not conceive that it wilbe any great charge to you to have y^m^ brought to London, where they wilbe subject to lesse hazard then in other places, & to no more there then all other worldly things are in all other places besides. If you consider their number, I desire you would be pleased to consider likewise, that they are a choice-number, & a company of y^e^ best selected Books among y^m^ all. When these & others of y^e^ like sort are gone, I haue good hope, y^t^ those who come to buy the remaynder & y^e^ worst of y^m^ all, will not desire to have above a third part of the price abated them; & therefore the better sort (such as you haue chosen) might in reason goe at a better rate; & indeed I haue advised her, not to abate above a 4^th^ part for most of them, & for some to hold y^m^ at y^e^ same or a greater price then they cost; as for example, There is in yo^r^ note Plinie's Naturall Historie in Engl^sh^ priced at 36^s^ w^ch^ is worth 3*l.* Camden's Errors pric'd at 5^s^ 6^d^ for w^ch^ I have seene 20^s^ given; Paulus Jovius at 20^s^, w^ch^ sells now in Paris at 4. pistols, & Pol. Virgil at 10^s^, w^ch^ sells here for 10*l.* Will^m^ Malmesbury at 15^s^. for w^ch^ they demand here 30*l.* & Asser. Menev. &c. at 14^s^. w^ch^ they will not part with here nor elsewhere abroade for 20*l.* In regard whereof I made accompt, that you would rather have said y^e^ abatem^t^ had ben too large then too little, w^ch^ was made & offered so freely by

This 18^th^ of July, 1651.

Yo^r^ humble Serv^t^.

TC.

the Cleargie for rare MSS. a greate part of which being brought out of Ireland, & left his son-in-law S^r^ Timothy Tyrrill, was dispos'd of to giue bread to that incomparable Prelate during the late fanatic War: such as remain'd yet at Dublin were preserv'd, and by a publiq purse restored & placed in the Colledge Library of that Citty. I haue already mention'd what Isaac Vossius brought ouer, that had ben his learned Father's, & many other Manuscripts which Isaac had himselfe brought from Queene Christina out of Sweden in recompense of his honorarie, whilst he was invited thither with Salmasius, Des Cartes, Blundel, & others, by the heroic & royal errant. But those birds, as I sayd, haue taken their flight, & are gon. I forbeare to name the late Earle of Bristol's & his kinsman's S^r^ Kenelm Digby's Libraries, of more pompe than intrinsiq value, as chiefly consisting of modern Poets, Romances, Chymical, & Astrological books, for I had the Catalogue in my possession before they were disposed of, put into my hands by my Lord Danby, then Treasurer, who desir'd me to giue my opinion of them, which I faithfully did. As for those of S^r^ Kenelm's, the Catalogue was printed, & most of them sold in Paris, as many better haue lately ben in London. The Duke of Lauderdaile's is yet intire, choicely bound, & to be sold by a friend of mine, to whom they are pawn'd: but it comes far short of his relation's, the Lord Maitland's, which was certainely the noblest, most substantial, & accomplished Library that euer pass'd vnder the speare, and it heartily grieu'd me to behold its limbs, like those of the chaste Hippolytus, separated & torne from that so well chosen & compacted body. The Earle of Anglesey's, & severall others since, by I know not what invidious fate, pass'd the same fortune, to what euer influence & constellation now reigning malevolent to Books & Libraries, which can portend no good to the future Age.

And now I haue in good earnest don with Libraries; but yet not quite with Mr. Pepys. For I mention none of all these as if I thought it necessary euery private gentleman's study should be made common, but wish we had some more communicatiue & better furnish'd with good Books, in one of the greatest Citties of the Vniverse (London); & for that end that a stately Portico were so contriu'd at the West end

of St. Paule's, as might support a Palatine, capable of such a designe; & that every Company and Corporation of the Citty, euery Apprentise at his freedom, assisted at first by a general Collection thro-out the Nation, a Copy of euery Booke printed within the Citty & Vniversities, did cast in their symbals for a present stock & a future ample funde. But this we are to expect when Kings are Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings; which I think may happen not in this but in Plato's Revolution. All that I shall add concerning Gentlemens being furnish'd with competent Libraries & for most part residing in towne is, how obliging a thing it were, & of infinite effect to the promoting a noble and vsefull conversation of Learned Gentlemen, if, as there is a Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, and which was fit should be first, since Things were before Words, so there were an Academie for that of Art & Improvement of speaking & writing well; of which sort there are (you know) some in Paris, & almost in euery considerable Citty of Italy, which go under the devises of *La Crusca*, *Humoristi*, *Insensati*, &c.; as that of the *Beaux Esprits* in France, set vp by the late greate Cardinal de Richelieu, for the polishing & in-riching of the Language, publishing those many accurate pieces which it has from time to time produc'd. It is in these Assemblies, where a select number of learned men, persons of the first qualitie, not onely come to heare, but esteeme it an honour to haue their ingenious exercises passe the test & censure of so many ciuil & polish'd Wits. And all the apparatus for this is onely the use of one competent roome in the Gentleman's house, where there are chaires & a table, where the person who declaimes being seated with a little more eminency, like the Roman Rostrum, & choosing his subject in prose or verse, recites or reades his composures before the company. This, for being but one halfe day or afternoone in the weeke, & retiring in due houre, is of very little inconveniency to the master of the house. Here it is, I say, Gentlemen & Scholars bring their Essays, Poems, Translations, & other oratorious productions vpon a thousand curious subjects. Here they giue Law to Words & Phrases, & the *Norma Loquendi*. These passe censure & bring Authors to the touch, reject or entertaine, & indenizon Exoties, &c. I neede not inlarge to Mr. Pepys the benefit & noblenesse

of such assemblies, who has himselfe seene what illustrious persons vs'd to honour Mr. Justell: how many greate Dukes & blew-ribbons, Ambassadors as well as Bishops, Abbots, Presidents, and other Learned men & Trauellers, this brought together into conversation the most humane & obliging in the world; & how exceedingly to be wish'd some noble & worthy Gent. would give a diuersion so becoming & usefully entertaining as it would be. We should not then haue so many crude and fulsome Rhapsodies impos'd vpon the English World for gẽnuine Witt, Language, & the Stage, as well as on the Auditors & Spectators, which would be purg'd from things intollerable. It would inflame, inspire, & kindle another genius and tone of writing, with nervous, natural strength & beauty, genuine and of our owne growth, without allways borrowing & filching from our neighbours. And indeede such was once design'd since the Restauration of Charles the Second (1665), and in order to it three or fowre Meetings were begun at Gray's Inn, by Mr. Cowley, Dr. Sprat, Mr. Waller, the D. of Buckingham, Matt. Clifford, Mr. Dryden, & some other promoters of it. But by the death of the incomparable Mr. Cowley, distance & inconvenience of the place, the Contagion, & other circumstances intervening, it crumbled away & came to nothing: what straw I had gather'd towards the bricks for that intended Pyramid (having the honour to be admitted an inferior labourer) you may command & dispose of, if you can suffer my impertinences: and that which I haue not shew'd you, the Plan I drew & was laying before them for that designe, which was, I said, the polishing of the English Tongue, & to be one of the first intentions & chiefest subjects of the Academists.

And now for shame haue don! Methinks I heare you cry out, "What a ramble has Mr. Evelyn made! what a deale of ground, for so little game!" Well, you see what the setting up an empty noddle has produc'd, what a deale of inke is run to waste. And indeede I had ben criminaly vnanswerable of detriment to the publique as well as to your owne repose, should I haue dar'd to debauch you with so tedious & intemperate a scribble, whilst you were not *(tuo jure)* your owne man. But if for all that, this prove an affliction also, as I haue cause to apprehend it may, the onely expedient to rid yourselfe of such im-

pertinents will be, to assume your late buisy & honourable charge againe; when no man can be so impudently uncivil as to expect you should reade his long letters, when he considers how many you will then be obliged to write.

Says Court, 12 Aug. 1689.

To the Countesse of Sunderland.

Madame,

I had prepar'd a Lett^r, to congratulate my young Lorde & y^r Ladys^p, & all y^r illustrious Families happy arival & returne to Althorp, when just as I was writing came the sad tidings of the death of that excellent lady y^r daughter the Countesse of Arran, which struck such a damp in me that I was forc'd to breake off from a gratefull subject, to condole with y^r La^p, and those whom I thought it my obligation to endeavour the comforting; And this was the more afflicting, that after such assurances of her Lap^s perfect recovery, vpon which I was meditating to write to you, this fatal newes should dash our hopes againe without any reserue. But so is the will of God, & this the constitution of all things here: no true satisfaction, no permanent felicity to be found on this side Heaven: whateuer other circumstances of happinesse, as far as we can reckon any such thing in the power of this world to giue us, may seeme to promise of more lastingnesse & stabilitie, 'tis all but a seeming, a meere shew & false appearance; for either the things which we hope to enjoy are taken from vs & perish in the fruition, or we are taken from them when we think ourselues most secure. Surely if in this life any thing were desirable, the hauing & the leauing virtuous & gracious Children behind us (such as might be examples of virtue, adorne & improue the age,) were to be esteemed the most valuable of blessings. But as such blessings are rare, so when God bestows them they are soonest taken from vs againe. They can no more liue in so corrupt an age than a healthfull body in a vitiated aire. What then are we to do when we loose them? Not to consider them as lost, but

happily absent. Madame, you know how easy 'twere to say aboundance of fine things on this subject—no topiq more fruitefull; but what's all this? The wound is deepe and in a sensible part, and tho' time and reason mitigate the present smart, I cannot say it has healed what I often times suffer when the losse of some deare Children & Friends come into my thoughts. One onely consideration remaines, that as I said they are so far from being lost or dead, that they liue & are now immortal, & would not for all the world be with us againe. Why then grieue we for them? Why, plainely for ourselues, whom we loue more than God, whose will it is we should part with them, and whateuer He pleases to take from vs heare, & depend on Him alone, who alone will neuer faile, neuer forsake vs, but giue us that which shall neuer be taken from vs. Live we then, Mad^{me}, in this religious indifference & resignation. But still God has not left y^{r} La^{p} without those blessings. He has but in part eclips'd, & rather borrowed for a while than taken them away. Besides my Lord y^{r} Husband, whom you haue seene restored, & which to see so, you esteemed so greate a mercy; you haue a Daughter & a Son, who are & ought to be all that you can wish or desire in children. And him will Almighty God preserue: in both you will see the fruites of y^{r} pious care & reward of your submission to the will of God, and receiue all the discipline you haue past thro' as a greater mark of his favour & loue than if you had neuer suffer'd y^{e} least checq or diminution of y^{r} former prosperity. This I am so well perswaded of you feele already, howeuer now by this lugubrous accident as by others sometimes interrupted, that you would not exchange y^{r} inward consolation, for the returne of all those external fugitiues you once injoy'd to be depriv'd of this. Mad^{me}, this is a seacret knowne onely to those who feele it, which, since I am sure you do, I leaue y^{u} to that God who giues it, who is y^{r} stay, y^{r} refuge, and may He be all that you can want & desire to supply this losse, & more than you can wish.

Says Court, 25 July 1690.

To Lady Sunderland.

Deptford 4 Aug. 1690.

As for the "Kalendar" y^r^ L^p^ mentions, what ever assistance it may be to some Novice Gardiner, sure I am his Lo^p^ will find nothing in it worth his notice but an old inclination to an innocent diversion, & the acceptance it found with my deare (and while he liv'd) worthy friend Mr. Cowley, upon whose reputation only it has survived seaven impressions, & is now entering on the eighth with some considerable improvements, more agreeable to the present curiosity. Tis now, Mad^me^, almost fourty yeares since first I writ it, when Horticulture was not much advanc'd in England, and neere thirty since first 'twas publish'd, which consideration will I hope excuse its many defects. If in the meane time it deserve the name of no un-usefull trifle, 'tis all it is capable of.

When many yeares ago I came from rambling abroad, observ'd a little there, & a greate deal more since I came home than gave me much satisfaction, & (as events have prov'd) scarce worth one's pursuite, I cast about how I should employ the time which hangs on most young men's hands, to the best advantage; and when books & severer studies grew tedious, & other impertinence would be pressing, by what innocent diversions I might sometimes relieve my selfe without complyance to recreations I took no felicity in, because they did not contribute to any improvement of the mind. This set me upon Planting of Trees, & brought forth my "Sylva," which booke, infinitely beyond my expectations, is now also calling for a fourth impression, and has ben the occasion of propagating many Millions of usefull Timber-trees thro'out this Nation, as I may justifie (without im'odesty) from y^e^ many letters of acknowledgment receiv'd from gentlemen of the first quality, and others altogether strangers to me. His late Ma^ty^ Cha. the 2d. was sometimes graciously pleas'd to take notice of it to me, & that I had by that booke alone incited a world of planters to repaire their broken estates & woodes, which the greedy Rebells had wasted & made such

havock of. Upon this encouragement I was once speaking to a mighty man, then in despotic power, to mention the greate inclination I had to serve his Ma^ty^ in a little office then newly vacant (the salary I think hardly 300^l^) whose province was to inspect the Timber trees in his Ma^ties^ Forests, &c. and take care of their culture & improvement; but this was conferr'd upon another, who, I believe, had seldom ben out of the smoke of London, where tho' there was a greate deale of timber, there were not many trees. I confesse I had an inclination to the imployment upon a publique account as well as its being suitable to my rural genius, borne as I was at *Wotton*, among the Woods.

Soon after this, happen'd the direfull Conflagration of this Citty, when taking notice of our want of Bookes of Architecture in the English tongue, I published those most usefull directions of Ten of the best Authors on that subject, whose works were very rarely to be had, all of them written in French, Latine, or Italian, & so not intelligible to our mechanics. What the fruite of that labour & cost has ben (for the sculptures which are elegant were very chargeable) the greate improvement of our workmen, & several impressions of y^e^ copy since, will best testifie.

In this method I thought properly to begin with planting Trees, because they would require time for growth and be advancing to delight & shade at least, & were therefore by no meanes to be neglected & deferr'd, while building might be raised and finish'd in a sum'er or two if the owner pleas'd.

Thus, Madame, I endeavour'd to do my Countrymen some little service, in as natural an order as I could for the improving & adorning their estates & dwellings, &, if possible, make them in love with these usefull & innocent pleasures, in exchange of a wastfull & ignoble sloth which I had observ'd so universally corrupted an ingenuous education.

To these I likewise added my little History of Chalcography, a treatise of the perfection of Paynting, & of erecting Libraries, ... Medals, with some other intermesses which might divert within dores, as well as altogether without.

To Mr. Anthony a Wood.

S^r^

Having lately received an account from Mr. Aubrey (as formerly by the Specimen & Proposals you have publish'd) of the progresse of y^r^ intended Historie (Athenæ Oxonienses), and that you desire to be inform'd who one Mr. Welles (sometime since of Deptford) was: the best light I can give you will be from the Inscription vpon his Wife's Monument in that Parish-Church. Of what county, or family of that name, he originally was, I cannot say; but it might happly be conjectur'd by the Armes, had not the Cleark (whom I order'd to send me the inclos'd note) forgotten that circumstance. Thus much onely I can add, that Mr. Welles the husband married into a very antient & worthy family of the Wallengers & Gonstones, of which the last (namely Benjamine) had ben Treasurer of the Navy Royal during the reignes of Hen. VIII. K. Edw. VI. Q. Mary & Eliz. a place of greatest trust & honour. And to these two families, my wife has a neere relation. — But to returne to Mr. Welles. He was the author of a booke of *Shadows* or *Dialing*, an excellent mathematician, well acquainted with Mr. Gunter, Gelibrand, Doc^r^ Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, & other famous mathematicians of his time: I have several Horoscopes, & other schemes of his, among my papers. He had two sons (whom I well knew), whereof the eldest succeeded in his Father's office of Store-Keeper in the Naval Arsenal, a place of good credit, & requiring extraordinary application: His second son, Ben. Welles, Physitian, formerly fellow of All Soules in Oxon, a very good scholar, lately deceased at Greenewich, leaving onely two daughters.

This, S^r^, being all I can at present learne of Mr. Welles, I take the opportunity to superadd something which more immediately concernes my-selfe: 'Tis some time since that Dr. Plot, communicating to me your noble designe, required me (as from y^r^ selfe) to give him some account of my owne family, &c.: what then I writ I do not now so well approve of: & divers circumstances since that intervening, both as to

my fortune (which may possibly transfer my hitherto abode here at Sayes-Court in Kent to the seate of my ancestors in Surry) and an honorable charge, which his late Majestie conferr'd on me, of one of the Commissioners of the Privie-Seale, seemes to require some other account from me than that which Dr. Plot exacted of me, which I desired he would intreate you to manage, not as written by me in my owne person (which were a vanitie insupportable), but that you would vse the sponge, as you thought fit, & as becomes the modestie of one who has no other ambition in this, than that (if needes you will take notice of an inconsiderable man) thô I can contribute little to your worthy labour, I may yet endeavor, that the honour you intend me, and the glorious Vniversitie who is pleas'd to owne me, may not suffer thrô your too greate civilitie, or reproch me of presumption, or ingratitude. I am,

S^r^, y^rs^ &c.

Says-Court, May 29, 1691.

S^r^,

If I may be so bold I should esteeme it a greate favour, if at least y^u^ have prepar'd any thing concerning me, that you would transmitt me a copy thereoff before you print it.

To my L^d^ Bishop of Lincoln. (D^r^. Thomas Tennison.)

My Lord,

Whatsoever my opinion had been concerning the cause of Earthquakes, I am sure it had become me to haue submitted to y^r^ Lo^ps^ better judgement. But, indeede, I haue long had no other sentiments of it than what I find confirm'd by y^r^ L'^p^ with so greate reason, by so many experiments, & pregnant instances of the irresistible effects of niter, which no chaines can bind. An experiment which was long since made at Gressham Colledge, were enough to convince one. They pre-

par'd a ball of solid yron, about the thicknesse of a pretty cannon bullet, which was hammer'd both hot and cold, to render it as hard & tough as possible. In this they drill'd a small hole to the center, and after having dropp'd in a few graines of gunpowder, and stopping them up by forcing in a screw, exceedingly well riveted at the top, they set it on a pan of charcoale, in a large quadrangle of the Colledge, which no sooner thereby heated, but with a terrible explosion it brake the ball into a thousand pieces. Now tho' this was com'on gunpowder, yet 'tis not the sulphur, but the niter which operates with this pernicity, & breakes all bands whatsoever. The sulphur & coale which enter into the composition and blacken the cornes, are onely (y^r^ L^r^ knows) in order to its speedily kindling, adding little else to its force. The consideration whereof frees me from all questionings of the being and power of spirits (I meane intellectual ones), & of creatures & beings invisible. The dire effects of compressed and incarcerated aer, when the turn-key fire [sulphur] unlocks the prison-doors, are not to be express'd but with astonishment; nor passe I by a wind-mill without wonder, to see a stone of that magnitude, & so ponderous, & of so many tuns weight, whirl'd about with that swiftnesse by something which we do not see, & sometimes hardly feele, for a very little breath will set it going. Indeede it was to this pent-up vapour, which the antient meteorologists attributed those coliques & convulsions of the earth; but they did not dreame of niter, which tho' no more than aer contracted, has so much the more violent operation when expanded, as inclines me to think it has raised all the famous fires we meete with, & not onely the *vulcanos* at present burning (such as Hecla, Vesuvius, Ætna, Stromboli, &c.) but perhaps most of the mountaines of the world, which I fancy might have ben thrust up by the force of subterranean fires. Powder'd alabaster, chalke & sand being put into a vessell, & set on the fire, will (when hot) boile, & bubble up to some pretty & odd resemblances of such protuberances. Nor is it unlikely that where the hills are highest, the caves are as profound underneath them; & that there are vast ones under those Alpes & Sierras from whence our rivers derive their plentifull streames, and haue their supplies from some such capacious cisterne & *Hydrophylatia* as Kircher mentions.

Besides these, may there not also be many dry & empty *Cryptas*, sometimes above, & sometimes beneath these water receptacles, where Vulcan and the Cyclops are perpetualy at work? And that in processe of time, the fire arriving at a bed of niter & sulphure blowing up all incumbences, not onely cause these concussions, but frequently spew out greate quantities of water? 'Tis evident that the very glebe & soile all about Naples is natural fuel, where I have in many places taken up *sulphur vivum*, both under and above the surface. All the ground both under that noble citty & country about it, sounds hollow like a tub. The hot bathes, natural stoves, & other extraordinary things of this kind thro' all that territorie, are the effects of subterranean fires, which feeding on the bituminous & other unctuous & inflammable matter (which it copiously finds) when it comes once to meete with a *stratum* of *niter*, it forces up all above & about it, & makes that prodigious havock, however thick, deepe & heavy be the incumbent weight or matter. Thus did Vesuvius A° 1630, and now since (more terrible) at Catanea, ejecting stones and huge rocks of monstrous bulk; belching out flames, & scattering ashes some hundred leagues distance from the eruption. Now when this niter has don its execution, and one thinks it quite at rest (for so it seem'd to be for about a thousand years, nay I think ever since the elder Plinie perish'd there*) emitting only a little smoke, it was all this while, it seemes, lurking 'till it came to another *stratum*, and then up went all againe, and thus 'tis evident haue ben made those deepe & dreadfull *Calderras* both of Vesuvius & Ætna. Whither at first these fires were kindled by lightnings from without (as y^r^ L^d^ well conjectures) or from corruscations within, or by the collision of *Pyrites* & other stones of the arched caverns, the prepar'd matter soone conceives a kindling, which breaking into a flame, rarifies the stagnant aer, which bursts those rocky barrs, which 'till it breaks out puts oftentimes a whole country in those paroxisms and ague fitts which we call earthquakes. The noise, explosion & inconceivable swiftnesse of its motion, affecting so distant places

* For in this confidence they built citties and palaces, & planted viniards & places of pleasure. J. E.

in the same moment almost of time, shewes thro' what recesses, long extended channels & hollow passages (as in so many mines) this sulphrous niter lies in traine, ready for the *Lin-stock*. These furnaces are doubtlesse the *laboratories* where minerals are concocted into metals; *fluors* sublimated, *salts* and juices condens'd, & precious stones, the several ferments imparting various qualities to earths and waters, & promoting vegetation; nay who knows (& I pray God we may never know) whether local Hel be not the central fire: or whether this vast terraqueous globe may not one day breake like a granado about our eares, & cast itselfe into another figure than the deluge did according to the ingenious Doctor's * theorie?

But, my Lord, from philosophising and conjecture, I am rambling I know not whither, when all that I would signifie is my full assent to your L^ps^ reasoning; very believing the cause of Earthquakes to proceede from the ingredient mention'd, mutualy inkindled, & then in searching vent, teares all up, where it finds the obstacle, & shaking all about it. 'Tis observable that Ægypt and the lower regions seldome feel these concussions, whilst the mountainous countries are most obnoxious, as most cavernous; especialy in hot climats. Sad instances of this are the yet ruines of old Antioch, Smyrna, &c. and in our days Ragusa, Benevento, Smyrna againe, & that terrible one of Jamaica, which had its operation & was felt as far as England but a few days since. All the mountainous countries of Sicily & Greece & along Dalmatia's side are hollow, perhaps for thousand of miles, even under the very sea itselfe; as I believe from Vesuvius to Ætna, and thence to other further remote mountaines & *Vulcanos*, perhaps as far as Iseland, China, & the Andes of Peru, which are full of *picos*, whereof Potosi (that inexhaustible magazine of silver and other metalls) seemes to be no other. Those furious ravages may also probably have made so many rugged rocks, cliffs, *hiatus's* & *Peloponesus's*, & have seperated those many Ilands, & scatter'd, nay, as it were sow'd about the ocean, & divided from the continent; & what if raised in the very sea itselfe, as the Terceras were & Teneriffe in the grand Canaries, not to insist

* Dr. Burnet of the Charter-House.

on the new mountaine neere the Baiæ: So that (my L^d^) I am in no distresse at all to solve this *phænomenon*, at least to my owne satisfaction. But when all is said, tho' all proceede from natural causes, yet doubt I not their being inflicted & directed, by the Supreme Cause of causes, as judgements upon a sinfull world, and for signes of greate calamities, if they work no reformation: if they do, of chastisements. Upon these accounts I looke on them as portentous & of evil præsage, and to shew us that there is no stabilitie under heaven, where we can be safe & happy, but in Him alone who laied the foundations of the earth, the rock of ages that shall never be removed, when heaven & earth shall passe away.

As to our late Earthquake here, I do not find it has left any considerable marks; but at Mons 'tis said it has made some demolitions. I happen'd to be at my brother's at Wotton in Surry when the shaking was, & at dinner with much companie; none of us yet at table sensible of any motion. But the mayd who was then making my bed, & another servant in a garret above her, felt it plainely, and so did my wife's laundry mayd here at Deptford; and generaly wherever they were above in the upper floores they felt the trembling most sensibly, for a reason I neede not explaine to y^r^ Lo^p^. In London & particularly in Dover street (where my son's house is) they were greatly afrighted. But the stories that go about in this neighbourhood, by many who are lately return'd from Jamaica, are many, & very tragical. I doubt not at the next meeting of Gressham Coll. (which will now shortly be after their usual recesse during summer) we shall have ample & authentic histories & discourses on this subject from several places of their correspondents. I cannot in the meane time omitt acquainting of y^r^ Lo^p^ with one very remarkable, which we have received here from credible hands: that during this astonishing & terrible paroxysme, multitudes of people running distractedly out of their tottering houses, & seeing so many swallow'd up & perishing; divers of them espying the Minister of the towne at some distance, ran and compass'd him all about, desiring him to pray for them, as im'ediately he did, all falling on their knees, when all the ground about them suddenly sinking, the spot onely upon which they were at prayer remained a firme & steady iland, all the rest

of the contiguous ground turning into a lake, other places into gulphs, which drown'd & buried all that stood upon them, & which were very many. And now, my Lord, 'tis time to implore your pardon for this tedious paper, together with your blessing.

Says-Court, 15th Octr. 1692.

To Doctor Plot.

Worthy Dr,

Our com'on and extt friend Mr Pepys acquaints me, that you would be glad to know upon what I am at present engaged relating to *Coines*, there being (it seemes) a designe of publishing something about that subject as they concerne the Monye of this Nation. It is true indeede (& as I remember to have told you) that I had blotted some sheetes upon an argument of that nature, but without the least reference to current mony antient or modern, but on such *Medals* as relate purely to something historical, which dos not at all interfere with other coines, unlesse it be such as our *Spur-Royal* as they call it, being a single stamp of gold, and, as you know, suggesting something of our storie here in England, beside its intrinsic value, upon which account I may have occasion to mention it. For the rest, I meddle not with them. But this prompts me to send my request to you, for the assistance you promis'd, by imparting to me what you had of this kind, which might contribute to what I am now preparing, & by which you will very much oblige

Sr, yr, &c.

Says Court, 27th Aug. 1693.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

Thredneedle Street, London, Octob. 2nd, 1693.

Hond Sr,

According to yor desire I have look't out all the Historicall Medalls I have in my possession, which I have laid aside for your use, whenever

you please to call for them. In the mean time I must begg a favour of you in behalf of the University of Oxford, who are now publishing a Tract of Plutarch's concerning Education, & would gladly ad another of St. Chrysostom publish't in France by Combefis in Greek, could they meet with the book. Pauls Church yard & Little Britain have been search't for it without success, nor is there now any hopes left but in you, who it seems have translated it into English, wherefore they presume you must have the Greek copy, which they promise themselves (upon my importunity) you will be pleased to accommodate them with. Wherein you are also desired to be very speedy, because they designe to have both tracts out before Christmass. Our common and most excellent friend Mr. Pepys told me this day he hoped to see you this week, w^th^ whom, should I be out of towne (as I guess I may on Wensday & Thursday in quest of some Roman Antiquities now under my consideration) I desire you would leave the book, wherein you will very much oblige the whole University, and amongst them more particularly

Yo^r^ most humble and obliged serv^t^,

Rob. Plot.

To my Lord Spencer.

My Lord,

Tho' I have not the opportunitie of waiting on y^r^ L^p^ so often as I ought and should do, was I perfectly at my owne disposure (which by reason of many impediments in my circumstances of late I neither have ben, nor as yet am); yet my worthiest thoughts & inclinations are never absent from you; and I often revive my selfe with the meditation of y^r^ virtues, & some very few noble young persons more, when that of the sad decadence of the age we live & converse in interposes its melancholy prospect.

I was with greate appetite coming to take a repast in the noble library which I heare you have lately purchas'd (& by the catalogue I have seene, must needes be a very chosen collection), when at the

same time I understand you are taking a journey with resolution of making a toure about England, thereby joyning to books and paper-descriptions, experience; and to speculation, the seeing of the things themselues. It has certainely ben a greate mistake & very preposterous in our education, the usualy sending our young gent: to travell abroad, & see forraine countries, before they have seene or known any thing of their owne. Your L^p^ remembers who says it, *Ne sis peregrinus domi;* & therefore worthily don & memorable in my L^d^ Tress^r^ Burleigh, to hinder the Council, who in those days it seemes us'd to give passes to trauel, from granting them to any who had not first seene and could giue a good account of their owne countrie. Your L^p^ therefore has taken the best & most natural method; & I know not what can now be added to the rest of y^r^ accomplishments, but the continuance of your health, which I shall pray may attend all your motions, who am,

My L^d^, Y^r^ &c.

Deptford, 4 Sept^r^ 1693.

To Mr. Gibson *, &c. (afterwards Bishop of London.)

S^r^,

To the notes & papers you desired of me, I have since endeavour'd to informe my selfe in those particulars you mention'd, & which I presume are come to you; & now by this let^r^ from a friend of mine, well acquainted with the *trustees* of *Dog Smith* (as he is call'd), I send you the particulars of that extraordinary benefactor to this County. You may please to take notice, that besides what I writ to you of Geo: Abbot Ab^p^: of Canterbury, & his bro: Robert Bishop of Salisbury, he had at the same time Moris another bro: who was L^d^: Mayor of London; all sons of the same cloathier, & natives of Guildford. Also that Hammond whom I mention'd, was not onely a benefactor to the schole

* The learned person who published the Saxon Chronicle, and was now setting forth a new edition of Camden's Britannia with additions. J. E.

there, but founder of a felowship at Balliol Coll. Oxon. Io. de la Haye died about 300 years since, about whom & other particulars expect in my next, for I would not retard the printer longer than is necessary, who remain

Yr &c.

Wotton, 31 May 1694.

To the Bishop of Lincolne (Dr. Tennison.)

My Ld,

It is none of the least mortifications, that besides other circumstances obliging me to be at this distance from my old abode, I cannot haue the opportunitie of waiting on yr Lp, & receiving those advantages & improvements, which I allways return'd with whenever I came from my Ld of Lincolne. We are here in no unpleasant solitude: some good books which I find here, with a cart load which I brought along with me, serve to aleviate the tediousnesse of sitting still; but we know nothing of new, but what our friends from your side impart to us. Mr. Pepys sent me last week the Journal of Sr Jo. Narbrough & Capt. Wood; together with Mr. Wharton's preface to his intended history of the Life of A:Bishop Laude. I do not know whether I might do the learned *editor* (for it seemes he onely publishes a Mss: written by that greate Prelate of his owne life) any service, by acquainting him with a passage relating to that person, namely the *Jubile* which the sacrifice of the bishop caus'd among some at Rome; it being my hap to be in that citty, and in company of divers of the English *fathers* (as they call them) when the newes of his suffering & the sermon he made upon the scaffold ariv'd there; which I well remember they read & com'ented on, with no small satisfaction, & (as I thought) contempt, as of one taken off who was an enemy to them, and stood in their way; whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was (we may well calle to mind) his being popishly affected. I know not, I say, whether the *Memoirs* may be of any import to Mr. Wharton, with whom I haue no

acquaintance; I therefore acquaint y^r^ L^p^ w^th^ it, and in the formes almost that I haue mention'd & subjoin'd it to my Discourse of *Medals* under that of this Arch-Bishop's figure, which together with my copy, I haue now sent Ben: Tooke to print (as he desires) if it be worth his while. I add nothing more but that of my Wife's humble service to y^u^ & my lady, & that there is still a part of our small family at Says-Court, where my daughter Draper & husband are the young *Œconomists*, & all of us concern'd to beg y^r^ L^ps^ blessing and prayer, especialy

Y^r^ &c.

I should rejoice to heare how Mr. Bentley proceedes with y^e^ Library at Whitehall. I hope y^r^ L^p^ will mind him of the Sermons he owes us & the publiq; I heare nothing of the Bish: of Chichester, who is likewise in our debt.

Wotton, 29 May, 1694.

To Mr. Benjamin Tooke (Printer.)

Mr. Tooke,

Tarde, sed tandem. At last I send you the copy you have so long expected; never the worse, I hope, for coming no sooner. I wish it may answer the paines I have taken in compiling; for it would amount to the value of many Medals. I was indeede unwilling it should scape from me without something more than an ordinary treatise. It will therefore require a more than ordinary supervisor. You tell me, such a one you have; if not, pray make use of the poore man I directed to you, who is also acquainted w^th^ my hand, & will be ready to assist you. There being aboundance of writers on this subject in all other polite European languages, & but one very short & partial one in ours, will I hope render this the more acceptable, & give ferment to the curious. I expect attaques from some peevish quarter, in this angry age, but so it make for y^r^ interest, & satisfy equitable judges, I shall not be much concern'd.

The *Medàls* which are here sent you, pray take care of, & deliver but one by one to y^r^ Graver, nor supply him with any other till he returnes y^u^ that he is graving with the plate. You'l find I have mark'd the paper, wherein you must keepe the plates, & apply to the pages as directed, by which you'l avoid mistakes, easily fallen into without some such method. Such as you are to have from the Earle of Clarendon, D^r^ Plot, &c. I will take care to procure you by the time these are dispatch'd. As for the graving, so the contours and outlines be well design'd, I am not solicitous for the hatching (as they call it), since we have laudable examples of the other in Gruter, Spanheim, & other excellent authors. M^r^ White, if he have leisure, will be y^r^ best man; & for the Volume, I should think a thin moderat folio, with a faire letter, most desireable. As for the Title, Epistle & Preface, I shall provide you in good time, & as I see cause; onely I pray take special care of the insertions & paragraphs which I have marked [: when all this is finish'd, I purpose a very accurate Index. This being all at present, I wish you good successe, and am

Y^r^ &c.

Wotton, 2 June 1694.

To Mr. Wotton.

S^r^,

I most heartily beg y^r^ pardon for detaining your books so unreasonably long after I had read them, which I did with greate satisfaction, especialy the Life of Descartes. The truth is, I had some hopes of seeing you here againe, for methought (or at least I flatter'd myselfe with it) you said at parting you would do us that favour before my going to London, whither I am, God willing, setting out to-morrow or next day for some time; not without regret, unlesse I receive y^r^ co'mands, if I may be any ways serviceable to you, in order to that noble undertaking you lately mention'd to me, I meane your gene-

rous offer & inclination to write the Life of our late illustrious philosopher Mr. Boyle, and to honor the memory of a gentleman of that singular worth & vertue. I am sure if you persist in that designe, England shall never envy France, or neede a Gassendus or a Baillet to perpetuate & transmit the memory of one not onely equaling but in many things transcending either of those excellent & indeede extraordinary persons, whom their pens have render'd im'ortal. I wish my selfe was furnish'd to afford you any considerable supplys (as you desir'd) after my so long acquaintance with Mr. Boyle, who had honor'd me with his particular esteeme, now very neere fourty yeares; as I might have don, by more duly cultivating frequent opportunities he was pleas'd to allow me. But so it is, that his life & virtues have ben so conspicuous, as you'll neede no other light to direct you, or subject-matter to work on, than what is so universaly knowne, and by what he has don & publish'd in his books. You may perhaps neede some particulars as to his birth, family, education, & other lesse necessarie circumstances for Introduction; and such other passages of his life as are not so distinctly knowne but by his owne relations. In this if I can serve you, I shall do it with greate readinese, & I hope successe; having some pretence by my Wife, in whose grandfather's house (which is now mine at Deptford) the father of this gentleman was so conversant, that contracting an affinity there, he left his (then) eldest Son with him whilst himselfe went into Ireland, who in his absence dying, lies buried in our parish church, under a remarkable monument *. I mention this because my Wife's relation to that family giving me accesse to divers of his neerest kindred; the Countesse Dowager of Clancartie (living now in an house of my Son's in Dover-streete) and y^e^ Countess of Thanet, both his nieces, will I question not be able to informe me what they cannot but know of those & other circumstances of their uncle, which may not be unworthy of your notice; especialy my Lady Thanet, who is a greate *Virtuosa*, and uses to speake much of her uncle. You know she lives in one of my L^d^ of Nottingham's houses at St. James's, and therefore will neede no introductor there. I will waite upon my Lord

* A Tent and Map of Ireland in relievo.

Burlington if there be occasion, provided in the meane time (and after all this officiousness of mine) it be not the proffer of a very uselesse service; since my Lord Bish[p] of Salisbury, who made us expect what he is now devolving on you, cannot but be fully instructed in all particulars.

It is now, as I said, almost fourty yeares since first I had the honor of being acquainted with Mr. Boyle; both of us newly return'd from abroad, tho' I know not how, never meeting there. Whether he travell'd more in France than Italy, I cannot say, but he had so universal an esteeme in forrain parts, that not any stranger of note or quality, learn'd or curious, coming into England, but us'd to visite him with the greatest respect and satisfaction imaginable.

Now as he had an early inclination to learning (so especialy to that part of philosophy he so hapily succeeded in), he often honor'd Oxford, and those gentlemen there, with his company, who more peculiarly applied themselves to the examination of the so long domineering methods & jargon of the scholes. You have the names of this learned *Junto*, most of them since deservedly dignified in that elegant History of the Royal Society, which must ever owne its rise from that Assembly, as dos the preservation of that famous University from the phanatic rage & avarice of those melancholy times. These, with some others (whereof Mr. Boyle, the Ld. Vicount Brouncker, S[r] Robert Morray, were the most active) spirited with the same zeale, and under a more propitious influence, were y[e] persons to whom the world stands oblig'd for the promoting of that generous and real knowledge, which gave the ferment that has ever since obtain'd, and surmounted all those many discouragements which it at first incounter'd. But by no man more have the territories of the most usefull philosophy ben inlarg'd, than by our *hero*, to whom there are many trophys due. And accordingly his fame was quickly spread, not onely among us here in England, but thro' all the learned world besides. It must be confess'd that he had a mervailous sagacity in finding out many usefull and noble experiments. Never did stubborn matter come under his inquisition but he extorted a confession of all that lay in her most intimate recesses; and what he discover'd he as faithfully register'd, and frankly com'unicated;

in this, exceeding my L^d^ Verulam, who (tho' never to be mention'd without honor and admiration) was us'd to tell all that came to hand without much examination. His was probability; Mr. Boyle suspicion of successe. S^r^, you will here find ample field, and infinitely gratifie the curious with a glorious and fresh survey of the progresse he has made in these discoveries. Freed from those incumbrances which now & then render the way a little tedious, 'tis aboundantly recompensing the pursuite; especialy those noble atchievements of his, made in the spring and weight of the two most necessary elements of life *Aer* & *Water*, and their effects. The origin of formes, qualities, and principles of matter: histories of cold, light, colours, gems, effluvias, & other his works so firmely established on experiments, polychrests, & of universal use to real philosophy; besides other beneficial inventions peculiarly his; such as the dulcifying sea-water with that ease & plenty, together with many medicinal remedys, cautions, directions, curiosities & arcana, which owe their birth or illustration to his indefatigable recherches. He brought the phosphorus & anteluca to the clearest light that ever any did, after inumerable attempts. It were needlesse to insist on particulars to one who knows them better than my selfe. You will not, however, omitt those many other treatises relating to Religion, which indeede runs thro' all his writings upon occasion, and shew how unjustly that aspersion has ben cast on Philosophy, that it disposes men to Atheisme. Neither did his severer studys yet soure his conversation in the least. He was the furthest from it in the world, and I question whether ever any man has produc'd more experiments to establish his opinions without dogmatising. He was a *Corpuscularian* without Epicurus; a greate & happy analyzer, addicted to no particular sect, but as became a generous & free philosopher, preferring Truth above all; in a word, a person of that singular candor & worth, that to draw a just character of him, one must run thro' all the vertues, as well as thro' all the sciences *. And tho' he tooke the greatest care imaginable to conceale the most illustrious of 'em, his charities & the many good works he continualy did could not be hid. It is well known how large his bounty was upon all

* See Bishop Sanderson, De Juramenti promissorii obligatione, 2d edit. dedicated to him.

occasions :—witness the Irish, Indian, Lithuanian Bibles, to the translations, printing & publishing of which he layd out considerable summs; the Catechisme, & Principles of the Christian faith, which I think he caus'd to be put into Turkish, & dispers'd amongst those infidels. And here you will take notice of the Lecture he has endow'd and so seasonably provided for.

As to his Relations (so far as I have heard) his father Rich[d] Boyle was *faber fortunæ;* a person of wonderfull sagacity in affaires, & no lesse probity, by which he compass'd a vast estate & greate honors to his posterity, which was very numerous, & so prosperous, as has given to the publiq both divines & philosophers, souldiers, politicians, & statesmen, and spread its branches among the most illustrious and opulent of our nobility. Mr. Robert Boyle, born I think in Ireland, was the youngest, to whom yet he left a faire estate; to which was added an honorary pay of a troop of horse, if I mistake not. And now, tho' amongst all his experiments he never made that of the maried life, yet I have ben told he courted a beautifull & ingenious daughter of Carew, Earle of Monmouth; to which is owing the birth of his 'Seraphic Love,' and the first of his productions. Descartes* was not so innocent. In the meane time he was the most facetious & agreeable conversation in the world among the ladys, whenever he happen'd to be engag'd; and yet so very serious, compos'd & contemplative at all other times; tho' far from moroseness, for indeede he was affable & civil rather to excesse, yet without formality.

As to his opinion in Religious matters and discipline, I could not but discover in him the same free thoughts which he had of Philosophy; not in notion onely, but strictly as to practise an excell[t] Christian and the greate duties of that profession, without noise, dispute, or determining; owning no master but the Divine Author of it; no religion but primitive, no rule but scripture, no law but right reason. For the rest, allways conformable to the present settlement, without any sort of singularity. The mornings, after his private devotions, he usualy spent in philosophic studys & in his laboratory, sometimes extending them to

* Who confesses he had a bastard daughter. See M. Baillet in Vita Descartes. J. E.

night; but he told me he had quite given over reading by candle-light, as injurious to his eyes. This was supply'd by his *Amanuensis*, who sometimes read to him, and wrote out such passages as he noted, and that so often in loose papers, pack'd up without method, as made him sometimes to seeke upon occasion, as himselfe confesses in divers of his works. Glasses, potts, chymical & mathematical instruments, books & bundles of papers, did so fill & crowd his bed-chamber, that there was but just roome for a few chaires; so as his whole equipage was very philosophical, without formality. There were yet other roomes, and a small library (and so you know had Descartes *), as learning more from men, real experiments, & in his laboratory (which was ample & well furnish'd), than from books.

I have said nothing of his style, which those who are better judges think he was not altogether so happy in as in his experiments. I do not call it affected, but doubtlesse not answerable to the rest of his greate & shining parts; and yet, to do him right, it was much improv'd in his "Theodora" & later writings.

In his diet (as in habit) he was extreamely temperate & plaine; nor could I ever discern in him the least passion, transport or censoriousnesse, whatever discourse or the times suggested. All was tranquill, easy, serious, discreete and profitable; so as besides Mr. Hobbes, whose hand was against every body, & admir'd nothing but his owne, Francis Linus excepted, (who yet with much civility wrote† against him) I do not remember he had the least antagonist.

In the afternoones he was seldom without company, which was sometimes so incom'odious that he now & then repair'd to a private lodging in another quarter of the towne, and at other times (as the season invited) diverted him selfe in the country among his noble relations.

He was rather tall & slender of stature, for most part valetudinary, pale & much emaciated: nor unlike his picture in Gressham Colledge; which, with an almost impudent importunity, was, at the request of the

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* One at Egmond desiring to see his library, he brought him into a roome where he was dissecting a Calfe. J. E.

† Viz. Tract: de Corporum Inseparabilitate, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1661. J. E.

Society, hardly extorted or rather stolen from this modest gentleman by S^r^ Edmund King, after he had refus'd it to his neerest relations.

In his first addresses, being to speake or answer, he did sometimes a little hesitate, rather than stam'er, or repeate the same word; imputable to an infirmity, which, since my remembrance, he had exceedingly overcome. This, as it made him somewhat slow and deliberate, so after the first effort he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse. And I impute this impediment much to the frequent atacques of palsys, contracted I feare not a little by his often attendance on chymical operations. It has plainely astonish'd me to have seene him so often recover when he has not been able to move, or bring his hand to his mouth: & indeede the contexture of his body, during the best of his health, appear'd to me so delicate, that I have frequently compar'd him to a *chrystal* or *Venice glasse;* which tho' wrought never so thin and fine, being carefully set up, would outlast the hardier metals of daily use; and he was withall as clear & candid; not a blemish or spot to tarnish his reputation; & he lasted accordingly, tho' not to a greate, yet to a competent age; threescore yeares I think; & to many more he might, I am persuaded, have ariv'd, had not his beloved sister, the Lady V. C^sse^ Ranalagh, with whom he liv'd, a person of extraordinary talents & suitable to his religious & philosophical temper, dyed before him. But it was then that he began evidently to droope apace; nor did he, I thinke, survive her above a fortnight. But of this last scene I can say little, being unfortunately absent, & not knowing of the danger 'til it was past recovery.

His funeral (at w^ch^ I was present) was decent, and tho' without the least pomp, yet accompanied with a greate appearance of persons of y^e^ best & noble quality, besides his owne relations.

He lies interr'd (neere his sister) in the Chancell of St. Martin's Church; the L^d^ Bi^p^ of Salisbury preaching the Funeral Sermon, with that eloquence natural to him on such & all other occasions. The Sermon, you know, is printed, with the panegyric so justly due to his memory. Whether there have ben since any other monument erected on him, I do not know, nor is it material. His Name (like that of Joseph Scaliger) were alone a glorious Epitaph.

And now, S^r^, I am againe to implore y^r^ pardon for giving you this interruption with things so confus'dly huddl'd up this very afternoone, as they crowded into my thoughts. The subject you see is fruitfull, & almost inexhaustible. Argument fit for no man's pen but Mr. Wotton's. Oblige then all the world, and with it

S^r^, y^r^ &c.

Wotton, 30 Mar. 1696.

To my Lord Godolphin, one of the L^ds^ Justices, and first Commiss^r^ of the Treasury.

My Lord,

There are now almost foure yeares elaps'd, since looking over some papers of mine, I found among other things divers notes which I had taken relating to *Medals;* when reflecting upon the usefullnesse of the historical part of that noble study, and considering that there had ben little, or indeede rather nothing at all written of it among us here in England (whilst other countryes abounded in many excellent books & authors of greate name on this subject), I began to divert my solitary thoughts by reducing & putting my scatter'd collection into such method as grew at last to a formal Treatise. Among other particulars (after I had more at large dispatch'd what concern'd the Greeke & Roman, and those of the Lower Empire) I endeavor'd the gath'ring up all such Medals as I could any where find had ben struck before and since the Conquest (if any such there were) relating to any part of good history. Now tho Mony and Coines during the severall reignes of almost all our Kings, from the British to this present time (as may be seene in what Mr. Walker has added to the late edition of Cambden) be forraine to my subject; and that I could meete with none which deserved the name of Medal 'til the two last centuries; yet I could not well avoyd speaking

something of the Mint, where Medals were coin'd as well as mony. The copy being thus prepar'd for the presse, I two yeares since deliver'd to a book-seller, who after he had wrought off almost 80 pages in folio (emulating what had ben don and publish'd by Jaques de Bie & Mons. Bizot in their Histoire Metaliq of France & Holland) would needes be at the charge of ingraving an hundred stamps to adorne a chapter relating to our English Medals. This requiring time (& far better artists than any I perceive he is like to find) retarding the publication of his book, I thought it might not be either unseasonable or unagreeable to y^r^ L^p^, if on this conjuncture of affaires (and when every body is discoursing of these matters) I did present y^r^ L^p^ with a part of that chapter concerning Mony which (tho' passing thro' the same *mechanisme)* I distinguish from *Medal* at the beginning of my first chapter, proceeding in the VII^th^ to that of the *Mint.* It is there that I shew (after all the expedients offer'd and pretended, for the recovery & security of this Nation from the greate danger it is in by the wicked practices of those who of late have so impudently ruin'd the publiq credit & faith of all mankind among us by clipping, debasing, & all other unrighteous ways of perverting the species) what is it which can possibly put a stop to the evil & mischiefe, that it go no farther; if at least it have not ben so long neglected as to be irremediable.

But, my L^d^, this is not all. There are severall other things of exceeding greate importance, which had neede be taken care of, & to be set on foote effectualy, for the obviating the growing mischiefs, destructive to the flourishing state of this Mercantile Nation. Amongst the rest:

There is certainely wanting a Council of Trade, that should not be so call'd onely, but realy be in truth what it is call'd; compos'd of a wise, publiq-spirited, active & noble President, a sellect number of Assessors, sober, industrious & dextrous men, & of consum'ate experience *in rebus agundis;* who should be arm'd with competent force at sea, to protect the greater Com'erce & general Trade; if not independent of the Admiralty, not without an almost co-ordinate authority, as far as concernes the protection of trade; and to be maintained chiefely by those who, as they adventure most, receive the greatest benefit.

To these should likewise be com'itted the care of the Manufactures of the kingdome, with stock for employment of the Poore; by which might be moderated that unreasonable statute for their relief (as now in force) occasioning more idle persons, who charge the publiq without all reamedy, than otherwise there would be, insufferably burdening the parishes, by being made to earne their bread honestly, who now eate it in idleness, & take it out of the mouthes of the truely indigent, much inferior in number, & worthy objects of charity.

It is by such a Council that the swarmes of private Traders, who, tho' not appearing in mighty torrents & streames, yet like a confluence of silent, almost indiscernable, but in'umerable riveletts, do evidently draine & exhaust the greater *Hydrophylacia* & magazines, nay the very vital blood of trade, where there is no follower to supply those many issues, without which the constitution of the body politic, like the natural, needes must faile for want of nourishment & recruits. But whom this article affects I have spoken in my Discourse of Mony.

'Tis likewise to this Assembly, that all proposals of new Inventions (pretended for the publiq benefit) should first be brought, & examin'd, incourag'd or rejected, without reproch as projectures, or turning the unsuccessful proposer to ridicule, by a barbarity without example, no where countenanc'd but in this Nation.

Another no lesse exhauster, & waster of the publiq treasure, is the progresse & increase of buildings about this already monstrous Citty, wherein one yeare with another are erected about 800 houses, as I am credibly inform'd; which carrys away such prodigious summs of our best and weightiest mony by the Norway trade for deale-timber onely, but exports nothing hence of moment to balance it, besides sand & gravell to balance their empty ships; whilst doubtlesse those other more necessary com'odities (were it well incourag'd) might in a short time be brought us in greate measure, and much preferable to their goodnesse, from our owne Plantations, which now we fetch from others, for our naval stores.

Truely, my L^{d}, I cannot but wonder, & even stand amaz'd, that Parliaments should have sate from time to time, so many hundred yeares, & value their constitution to that degree, as the most sovraine remedy for the redressse of publiq grievances; whilst the greatest still

remaine unreform'd & untaken away. Wittnesse the confus'd, debauch'd, & riotous manner of electing Members qualified to become the representatives of a Nation, w^th^ legislative power to dispose of the fate of kingdomes; which should & would be compos'd of worthy persons, of known integritie & ability in their respective countries, and still would serve them generously, & as their ancestors have don, but are not able to fling away a son or daughter's portion to bribe the votes of a drunken multitude, more resembling a pagan Bacchanalia, than an assembly of Christians & sober men met upon the most solemn occasion that can concerne a people, and stand in competition with some rich scrivener, brewer, banker, or one in some gainfull office, whose face or name, perhaps, they never saw or knew before. How, my L^d^, must this sound abroad! With what dishonor & shame at home!

To this add the disproportion of the Buroughs capable of electing members, by which the major part of the whole kingdom are frequently out-voted, be the cause never so unjust, if it concerne a party intrest.

Will ever those swarmes of *locusts*, Lawyers & Attorneys, who fill so many seats, vote for a publiq *Register*, by which men may be secur'd of their titles & possessions, & an infinity of suits & frauds prevented?

Im'oderate fees, tedious & ruinous delays, & tossings from court to court before an easy cause, which might be determin'd by honest gentlemen & understanding neighbours, can come to any final issue, may be number'd amongst the most vexatious oppressions that call aloud for redresse.

The want of bodys (slaves) for publiq & laborious works, to which many sorts of animals might be usefully condemn'd, and some reform'd, instead of sending them to the gallows, deserves to be consider'd.

These, & the like are the greate desiderata (as well as the reformation of the Coine), which are plainely wanting to the consu'mate felicity of this Nation; and divers of them of absolute necessitie to its recovery from the atrophy & consumption it labours under.

The King himselfe should (my L^d^) be acquainted with these particulars, & of the greate importance of them, by such as from their wisedome & integrity, deserve the neerest accesse, and would purchase

him the hearts of a free & emancipated people, & a blessing on the government; were he pleas'd uncessantly to recommend them to those, who, from time to time, are call'd together for these ends, & healing of the nation.

And now your Ex^{y} will doubtlesse smile at this politiq excursion, & perhaps at the *Biscoctum* of the rest; whilst the yeares to which I am by God's greate goodnesse ariv'd, your L$^{p's}$ com'ands in a former letter to me, some conversation with men & the world, as well as books, in so large a tract & variety of events & wonders as this period has brought forth, might justifie one, among such crowds of pretenders to *Ragioni di stato,* some of which I daily meete to come abroad with the shell still on their heads, who talke as confidently of these matters as if they were counsellors of state & first ministers, with their *sapient* & expecting lookes, & whom none must contradict; and no doubt but (as Job said) *they are the people, and wisedome is to die with them.* To such I have no more to say, whilst I appeale to y^{r} L^{p}, whose real & consum'ate experience, greate prudence & dexterity *in rebus agundis* without noise, were enough to silence a thousand such as I am. I therefore implore y^{r} pardon againe, for what I may have written weakely, or rashly. In such a tempest & overgrown a sea, every body is concern'd, and whose head is not ready to turne? I am sure, I should myselfe almost despaire of the vessel, if any, save y^{r} L^{p}, were at the helme. But, whilst your hand is on the staff, & your eye upon the star, I compose myselfe & rest secure.

Surry Street, 16 June 1696.

To Mr. Place (Bookseller.)

Mr. Place,

I have seriously consider'd y^r^ Lett^r^ concerning y^r^ resolution of sparing no cost, whereby you may benefit the publiq, as well as recompence your owne charge & industry (which truely is a generous inclination, not so frequently met with amongst most book-sellers), by inquiring how you might possibly supply what is wanting to our Country (now beginning to be somewhat pollish'd in their manner of building, and indeede in the accomplishment of the English language also) by the publication of whatever may be thought conducible to either. In order to this, you have sometime since acquainted me with y^r^ intention of reprinting the "Parallel;" desireing that I would revise it, and consider what improvements may decently be added in relation to y^r^ general designe. As for the Parallel, I take it to be so very usefull & perfect in its kind & as far as it pretends to (namely, all that was material in those Ten Masters upon the Orders), that I cannot think of any thing it further needes to render it more intelligible. As for what I have annex'd to it concerning Statues, my good friend Mr. Gibbons would be consulted; and for the latter, so much as I conceive is necessary, I will take care to send you w^th^ y^r^ interfoliated copy. In the meane time, touching that universal Work, or Cycle, which you would have comprehend and imbrace the intire art of building, together with all its accessories for magnificence & use, without obliging you to the paines in gleaning, when a whole harvest is before you, or the trouble of calling many to y^r^ assistance (which would be tedious), I cannot think of a better, more instructive, & judicious an expedient, than by your procuring a good & faithfull translation of that excellent piece which has lately been publish'd by Monsieur D'Aviler; were he made to speak English in the proper termes of that art, by some person conversant in the French, and if neede be, adding to him some assistant, such as you would have recommended to me, if my leasure & present circumstances could have comply'd with my inclinations of promoting so beneficial a designe.

I should here enumerate the particulars he runs thro', in my opinion sufficiently copious, & in as polish'd, & yet as easy & familiar a style as the subject is capable of; in nothing exceeding the capacity of our ordinary workmen, or unworthy the study & application of the noblest persons who employ them, & to whom a more than ordinary & superficial knowledge in Architecture is no small accomplishment. I say I should add the contents of his chapters, and the excellent notes he has subjoyn'd to a better version of Vignole, Mic. Angelo, & the rest of our most celebrated modern Architects & their works; together with all that is extant of antique, & yet in being, apply'd to use, & worthy knowing; if I thought you had not already heard of the book, since it has now ben 4 or 5 yeares extant, and since reprinted in Holland, as all the best & most vendible books are, to the greate prejudice of the authors, by their not only printing them without any Errata, by which the reader might reform them, or (as if they had none at all) correcting the faults themselves: which indeede, that of the Paris edition (faire as it seemes, & is in the elegancy of the character) exceedingly will neede, before it be translated, by whomsoever taken in hand.

But as the letter and its other beauties exceede the Dutch edition, so do likewise the Plates, which are don with that accuratnesse & care, as may almost com'ute for the oversights of the presse. I do not say the Holland Sculps are ill perform'd; but tho' they seeme to be pretty well copied, they will yet require a strict examination, and then I think they might be made use of, & a competent number of plates (provided not overmuch worn) procured at a far easier rate out of Holland, than by having them perhaps not so well graven here; for 'tis not the talent of every artist, tho' skill'd in heads & figures (of which we have very few), to trace the Architect as he ought. But if they could be obtain'd from Paris, as happly with permission they might, it were much to be preferr'd. I forget to tell you, that there is a most accurate, learned & critical Dictionary by the same author, explaining (in a 2^{d} part) not onely the termes of Architecture, but of all those other arts that waite upon, & are subservient to her, which is very curious.

And now, if what I have said in recommending this work for the full accomplishment of your laudable designe (& which in truth, I

think, were aboundantly sufficient) induce you to proceede in it, and that you would with it present the publiq with a much more elegant letter than I believe England has ever seene among all our printers; perhaps it were worth your while to render it one of the first productions of that noble presse which my worthy & most learned friend D^r^ Bentley (his Ma^tys^ Library-keeper at St. James's) is with greate charge & industrie erecting now at Cambridge.

There is another piece of Mechanics, & some other very rare & usefull arts agreeable to this of Architecture, & incomparably curious, which, if translated & joyn'd to y^e^ rest, would (without contradiction) render it a most desireable & perfect work. If when you passe this way, you will visite a lame man (who is oblig'd to stay within at present) I shall endeavour to satisfie you in any thing I may have omitted here, but the teazing you & myselfe with a tedious scribble (upon y^r^ late importunity before my leaving this town) which y^u^ may wish I had omitted.

Surrey street, 17 Aug: 1696.

To Mr. Wotton.

Worthy Sir,

I should exceedingly mistake the person, and my owne discernment, could I believe M^r^ Wotton stood in the least neede of my assistance; but such an expression of your's to one who so well knows his own imperfections as I do mine, ought to be taken for a reproche; since I am sure it cannot proceede from y^r^ judgment. But forgiving this fault, I most heartily thank you for y^r^ animadversion on *Sylva;* which, tho' I frequently find it so written for ξυλεια & υλη, wood, timber, wild & forest trees, yet indeede I think it more properly belongs to a promiscuous casting of severall things together, & as I think my L^d^ Bacon has us'd it in his "Natural History," without much reguard to method. ***Deleatur***, therefore, wherever you meete it.

Concerning the Gardning & Husbandry of the Antients, which is y^t^ inquirie (especialy of the first), that it had certainely nothing approching y^e^ elegancy of the present age, Rapinus (whom I send you) will aboundantly satisfie you. The discourse you will find at the end of Hortorum, lib. 4°. capp. 6. 7. What they cal'd their Gardens were onely spacious plots of ground planted with platans & other shady trees in walks, & built about with Porticos, Xisti, & noble ranges of pillars, adorn'd with Statues, Fountaines, Piscariæ, Aviaries, &c. But for the flowry parterre, beds of Tulips, Carnations, Auricula, Tuberose, Jonquills, Ranunculas, & other of our rare Coronaries, we heare nothing of, nor that they had such store & variety of Exotics, Orangeries, Myrtils, & other curious Greenes; nor do I believe they had their Orchards in such perfection, nor by far our furniture for the Kitchen. Pliny indeede enumerates a world of vulgar plants & olitories, but they fall infinitely short of our Physic gardens, books and herbals, every day augmented by our sedulous Botanists, & brought to us from all the quarters of the world. And as for their Husbandry & more rural skill, of which the same author has written so many books in his Nat. History, especial lib. 17. 18. &c. you'l soone be judge what it was. They tooke great care indeede of their Vines and Olives, stercorations, ingraftings, & were dilligent in observing seasons, the course of y^e^ stars, &c. and doubtlesse were very industrious; but when you shall have read over Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladio, with the Greek Geoponics, I do not think you will have cause to prefer them before the modern agriculture, so exceedingly of late improv'd, for which you may consult & compare our old Tusser, Markham, y^e^ *Maison Rustic*, Hartlib, Walter Blith, the Philosophical Transactions, & other books, which you know better than my selfe.

I have turn'd down the page, where poore Pulissy begins his persisting search. If you can suffer his prolix style, you will now & then light on things not to be despised. With him I send you a short Treatise concerning *Metals*, of S^r^ Hugh Platts, which perhaps you have not seene. I am sorry I have no more of those subjects here, having left the rest in my library at Deptford, & know not how to get them hither till I get thither.

S^r^, I am in no hast for the returne of these, if they may be serviceable to you, but in no little paine for the trouble y^r^ civility to mine puts one, who knows so much better how to employ his time, than to mind the impertinence of, S^r^, y^r^ &c.

Wotton, 28 Oct. 1696.

To Dr. Richard Bentley.

Worthy D^r^:

You have under your hands something of Mr. Wotton, whilst he has ben so kind as to offer me his help in looking over the typographical and other faults escaped in the last impression of the "Silva," which I am most earnestly call'd upon to reprint. The copy which I frankly gave about 30 years since to Allestry, is now in the hands of Chiswell and your namesake Mr. Bentley (Booksellers), who have sold off three impressions, & are now impatient for the fourth: and it having ben no vnprofitable copy to them, I had promised some considerable improvements to it, vpon condition of letting Ben: Tooke (for whom I have a particular kindnesse) into a share. This, tho' with reluctancy, they at last consented to. I will endeavour to render it with advantage, and have ambition enough to wish, that since it is a folio, & of so popular and usefull a subject as has procured it some reputation, it might have the honor to beare the character of Dr. Bentley's new Imprimerie, which, I presume, the proprietors will be as prowd of as my selfe. To the reproch of Place, who made so many difficulties about my Booke of Architecture, as you well know, I have however made very considerable additions to that Treatise, as far as concernes my part, & meane to dedicate it to S^r^ Christopher Wren, his Ma^ties^ Surveyor & Intendent of his Buildings, as I did the other part to S^r^ J. Denham his predecessor, but infinitely inferior to his successor. I confesse I am foolishly fond of these & other rusticatiions, which had ben my sweete diuersions during the dayes of destruction and devastation both of Woods and Buildings, whilst the Rebellion lasted so long

in this Nation: and the kind receptions my Bookes have found makes me the more willing to give them my last hand: sorry in the meane time for all my other aberrations in pretending to meddle with things beyond my talent *et extra oleo:* but enough of this.

Wotton, 20 Jan^{y} 1696-7.

To Dr. Bentley.

Worthy D^{r}:

Tho' I made hast out of town, and had so little time to spend after we parted, I was yet resolv'd not to neglect the province which I undertook, as far as I had any interest in S^{r} Ed: Seymour, whom I found at his house, & had full scope of discourse with. I told him I came not to petition the revival of an old title, or the unsettlement of an estate, so often of late interrupting our late Parliaments, but to fix and settle a publiq benefit * that would be of greate & universal good & glory to the whole Nation. This (with y^{r} paper) he very kindly and obligingly receiv'd, & that he would contribute all the assistance that lay in his power, whenever it should come to the House. To send you notice of this, I thought might be much more acceptable to you than to acquaint you that we are full of company, & already enter'd into a most dissolute course of eating & indulging, according to the mode of antient English hospitality; by which meanes I shall now & then have opportunity of recom'ending the noble designe you are intent upon, & therefore wish I had some more of the printed Proposals to disperse. S^{r} Cyril Wyche, who accompanied me hither, is altogether transported with it, & thinks the project so discreetly contriv'd, that it cannot miscarry. Here is D^{r} Fuller with his spouse. The D^{r} gave us a sermon this morning in an elegant and trim discourse on the 39. Psalm, which I find had ben prepar'd for the court, & fitter for that audience than our poore country churches. After this you will not expect much

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* The new Library to be built in St. James's Park. J. E.

intelligence from hence, tho' I shall every day long to heare of y^e^ progresse you make in this glorious enterprize, to which I augure all successe & prosperity, & am

Worthy D^r^, y^r^ &c.

Wotton, 25 Dec. 1697.

To Dr. Godolphin, Provost of Eton.

Wotton, 8 Feb. 1697-8.

Had you ben in towne when my Copys [on Medals] were distributed among my Friends, the small present which I presum'd to send you, had ben brought by y^r^ most humble servant with an apology for my boldnesse in obtruding upon the Provost of Eton (who is himselfe so greate a judge of that and all other learned subjects) my meane performance. It were quite to tire you out, should I relate on what occasion I came to be ingaged on a topic on which I could advance so little of my owne to extenuate my presumption: yet give me leave to take hold of this opportunity to discharge a debt owing to yourselfe, and those of your learned relations who condescend to reade my book. 'Tis now neere fifty yeares past since Gabr. Naudæus publish'd directions concerning Librarys and their furniture, which I had translated, minding to reprint it, as what I conceiv'd might not be unseasonable whilst Auctions were become so frequent among us, and gentlemen every where storing themselves with bookes at those learned marts; & because it was so very thinn a volume, I thought of annexing a sheete or two of Medals, as an appendant not improper. But being persuaded to say something of our modern Medals relating to our Country (as France and Holland had of theirs) I found it swell to so incompetent a bulk, as would by no meanes suite with that Treatise. Whilst I was about this (and indeed often and long before) I had ben importun'd to make a second edition of my Chalcography (now grown very scarce) and to bring it from 1662, where I left off, to this time, there having

since that ben so greate an improvement of Sculpture. This being a task I had no inclination for (having of a long time given over collections of that sort) I thought yet of gratifying them in some manner with an ex-chapter in my Discourse of Medals, where I speake of the effigies of famous persons, and the use which may be deriv'd of such a collection, and that which follows it.—Tis now a good while ago since first I put it into the hands of a book-seller, with strict injunction not to work off a sheete, 'til it had ben revis'd by abler judgments than my owne; and so remain'd whilst the Medals could be collected that were to be grav'n, which tho' hardly amounting to an hundred, were with difficulty enough procur'd in two yeares time. This slow proceeding, together with my long & frequent excursions att this distance from towne, made me absolutely resolv'd to abandon and think of it no further, but give it up to the Book-seller to dispose of it for wast paper, when he would needs perswade me that he had such an accomplish'd superviser of the presse he imploy'd, as would do me all the right I could expect from an able & learned man; and that now he had ben at such charges for the Sculptures, I should extreamly injure him to withdraw my copy, & what I had to annex, as certainly I should [have done] but for that consideration only. So as I had now no remedy left me but by imbarquing the errata to my greater reproch, & it was very slender comfort to me the being told that even the most incomparably learned Spanheime, whose glorious work of medals was not long since reprinted, 'scap'd not the presse without remarkable and cruel scarrs.

But now I mention'd the noble Spanheim (to whose judgment all deferr) I may haply be censur'd for what I have said concerning *Etiminius*, after what he has objected against that Medal (de præst. Numis: Rep: 647); but if I was, and still am, unwilling to degrade our renowned Citty of her so early Metropolitan dignity, whilst I had any to stand by me, I cannot be so deepely concern'd, and indeed asham'd, should any think me so ignorant as not long-since to know that *Obryzum* signifys gold of the most exalted purity & test, or, as the Ancients express'd, *ad Obrussam exactum*, which yet, I know not how, escap'd me when I was gathering out the errata. [As for *CONOB*, tho' I ever read it *Constantinople*, the extreame rudenesse of a Reverse and

Metal I had shew'd me of that Coine, so perfectly resembling that of *Cuno*, might favour my conjecture *.]

There is in margine, p. 207, a mistake of *Richborow* for *Regulbium*, which also escap'd me.

But, Sir, there are so many more & greater faults as put me out of countenance, for which & this tedious scribble I heartily beg your pardon, who am, &c.

To Mr. Henshaw.

Wotton, 1 Mar. 1697-8.

The bearer hereof, Dr. Hoy, a very learned, curious and ingenious person (& our neighbour in Surry), acquainted (as who is not?) with the name & greate worth of Mr. Henshaw, hearing that I had the honor to be known to you, desires me to introduce him; I neede say no more how worthy he is to be let into your esteeme, than to acquaint you how deservedly we value him here in this country, not onely for his profe sion & successe, but for those other excellent talents w^{ch} were ever incourag'd by your free & generous communications. And in this I serve myselfe also, by taking the occasion to present the most humble service of a now old acquaintance, begun long-since abroad, & cultivated ever since by the continuance of your friendship thro' many revolutions. I frequently call to mind the many bright & happy moments we have pass'd together at Rome and other places, in viewing & contemplating the entertainments of travellers who go not abroad to count steeples, but to improve themselves. I wish I could say of myself so as you did; but whenever I think of the agreeable toile we tooke among the ruines & antiquitys, to admire the superb buildings, visite the cabinets & curiositys of the Virtuosi, the sweete walkes by

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* In the following letter to Mr. Henshaw, the latter part of which is almost a transcript of the above, this sentence is thus expressed: "I found the period omitted, p. 22. w^{ch} sho^{d} have been read, mixt & obrize sort also, which has on it a horse rudely design'd with the letters *CON-OB, Constantinopoli obrizatum*, w^{ch} some will have to signify *Constantinople* only—others, some Prince of ours."

the banks of the Tiber, the *Via Flaminia*, the gardens & villa's of that glorious Citty, I call back the time, & methinks growing yonge againe, the Opera we saw at Venice comes into my fansy, and I am ready to sing, *Gioconda Gioretri—memoria sola tù—con ramento mi 'l fu—spesso spesso vien a rapir mi, e qual che si sia ancor ringiovenir mi.* You remember, Sir, the rest, and we are both neere the concluclusion, *hai che non torni, non torni piu — mo — ri— bondo.*

Forgive me, Sir, this transport, & when this Gent: takes his leave of you, permit me to beg your pardon also for the presumption I am guilty of, in obtruding a Discourse of Medals on one who is so greate a master & so knowing, & from whose example I sometimes diverted to that study. 'Tis now neere fifty yeares, &c.

[The rest of the letter is nearly the same as the preceding, see p. 286.]

To Archdeacon Nicolson, Dean of Carlisle.

10 Nov. 1699.

After thanking him for the tenderness and civility with which he had mentioned his book on Medals, Mr. Evelyn says ; —

" You recommend the study of our own Municipal Lawes & Home Antiquitys, most becoming an Englishman & Lover of his Country, which you have skilfully deriv'd from the fountaine, & trackt thro' all those windings & meanders w^ch^ rendered the study generally deserted as dull & impolite, unless by those who, attrackted by more sordid considerations, submitted to a fatigue which fill'd indeede their purses for the noyse they made at Westm^r^ Hall, whilst their heads were empty, even of that to which they seem'd to devote themselves. Did our Inns of Court Students come a little better grounded in Ethics & with some entrance into the Civil Law, such an History as you are meditating would leade them on with delight, & inable them to discover & penetrate into the grounds of natural justice & human prudence, & furnish them with matter to adorn their pleadings, before they wholly gave

themselves up to learn to wrangle & the arts of illaqueation, & not make such haste to precedents, costomes, & common-places. By reading good History they would come to understand how Governments have ben settl'd, by Conquest, Transplantations, Colonys or Garrisons thro' all vicissitudes & revolutions, from East to West, from the first Monarchy to the last; how Laws have ben establish'd, & for what reasons chang'd & alter'd; whence our holding by Knights service, & whether feudal Laws have ben deriv'd from Saxon or Norman. 'Tis pitty young gentlemen should meete with so little of this in the course of their Academic studys, at least if it continue as in my time, when they were brought up to dispute on dry questions which nauceat generous spirits, & to discourse of things before they are furnish'd with mediums, & so returne home rather with the learning of a Benedictine Monk (full of Schole cant) than with such usefull knowledge as would inable them to a dexterity in solving cases, how intricate soever, by Analytics & so much of Algebra as teaches to draw consequences & detect paralogisms & falaces, which were the true use of Logic, & which you give hopes our Universitys are now designing. To this I would add the improvement of the more ornate & gracefull manner of speaking upon occasion. The fruit of such an education would not onely grace & furnish the Bar with excellent Lawyers, but the Nation with able persons fit for any honorable imployment, to serve & speake in Parliaments & in Councils: give us good Magistrates & Justices for reference at home in the Country; able Ambassadors & Orators abroad; in a word, qualified Patriots & Pillars of State, in which this age dos not I feare abound. In the meane time what preference may be given to our Constitutions I dare not determine, but as I believe Ethics & the Civile Law were the natural mother of all good Laws, so I have ben told that the best Lawyers of England were heretofore wont to mix their studys together with them, but which are at present so rarely cultivated, that those who passe forsoth for greate Sages & Oracles therein were not onely shamefully defective, but even in the feudal & our owne.

You are speaking, Sir, of Records, but who are they among this multitude even of the Coife, who either study or vouchsafe to defile their fingers with any dust, save what is yellow? or know any thing of

Records save what, upon occasion, they lap out of S^r^ Edw. Coke's basin, & some few others? The thirst of gaine takes up their whole man; like our English Paynters, who, greedy of getting present money for their work, seldom arive to any farther excellency in the Art than face-painting, & have no skill in Perspective, Sym'etry, the principles of Designe, or dare undertake to paint History.

Upon all these considerations then, I cannot but presage the greate advantage your excellent book, and such an History, may produce, when our young gentlemen shall ripen their studys by those excellent methods. At least there will not likely appeare such swarms & legions of obstreperous Lawyers as yearly emerge out of our London Seminarys, *omnium doctorum indoctissimum genus* (for the most part) as Erasmus truly styles them.

Concerning the Paper Office, I wish those Instruments & State Arcana had ben as faithfully & constantly transmitted to that usefull Magazin as they ought; but tho' S^r^ Jos: Williamson tooke paines to reduce things into some order, so miserably had they ben neglected and rifled during the Rebellion, that at the Restoration of Char. II. such were the defects, that they were as far to seeke for precedents, authentiq & original treatys, negotiations & other transactions formerly made with Foraine States & Princes, dispatches & instructions to Ambassadors, as if there had never before ben any correspondence abroad. How that Office stands at present I know not; but this I do know, that aboundance of those dispatches & papers you mention, & which ought to centre there, have ben carried away both by the Secretarys of State themselves (when either dismiss'd or dying, & by Ambass^rs^ & other Ministers when recall'd) into the country, & left to their heires as honorable marks of their Ancestors imployments. Of this sort I had formerly divers considerable bundles concerning transactions of state during the ministry of the greate Earle of Leycester, all the reigne of Q. Eliz^th^, containing divers original Letters from the Q. herselfe, from Mary Q. of Scots, Cha. IX. and Hen. IV. of France, Maximilian the 2d Emp., Duke of Norfolk, Ja: Stewart Regent of Scotland, Marq. of Montrose, S^r^ W^m^ Throckmorton, Randolfe, S^r^ Fra: Walsingham (whom you mention), Sec. Cecill, Mr. Barnaby, Sir J. Haw-

kins, Drake, Fenton, Matt. Parker Archb. of Cant^{y}, Edwyn Bp. of London, the Bp. of Winchester, Bp. Hooper, &c. From abroad; Tremelius and other Protestant Divines, Parquiou, Spinnola, Ubaldino and other com'anders, with divers Italian Princes; and of Ladys, the Lady Mary Grey, Cecilia Princesse of Sweden, Ann Countesse of Oldenburgh, the Dutchesse of Somerset, & a world more. But what most of all, & still afflicts me, those letters & papers of the Q. of Scots, originals & written wth her own hand to Q. Eliz. & Earle of Leycester, before & during her imprisonment, which I furnish'd to Dr. Burnet (now B. of Salisb.) some of which being printed in his History of the Reformation, those, & others with them, are pretended to have ben lost at the presse, which has bin a quarell betweene me & his L^{p}, who lays the fault on Chiswell*, but so as between them I have lost the originals, which had now ben safe records as you will find in that History. The rest I have named I lent to his countryman the late Duke of Lauderdale, who honouring me with his presence in y^{e} Country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland (ancestor of his) of whom I had several letters impaqueted with many others, desired I would trust him with them for a few days; it is now more than a few yeares past, that being put off from time to time, til the death of his Grace, when his Library was selling, my letters & papers could no where be found or recover'd, so as by this tretchery my collection being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend† of mine, who is not likely to trust a S—— with any thing he values.

But, S^{r}, I quite tire you with a rhapsody of impertinences, beg your pardon & remain," &c.

Among the Errata of the Numismata, but of w^{ch} I immediately gave an account in the Philos. Transactions, the following were thus to have been read: p. 22. l. n. 22 — *mixt* as well as *obrizd*‡ sort in the margin, for such a metal is mention'd by Aldus (of Valentinian) with *CONOB:* which he reads, — *Constantinopoli Obrizatum,* belonging, he says, to Count Landus: v: Aldus Manut. Notar: Exp'ta, p. 802.

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* Printer or publisher.

† Qu. Mr. Pepys?

‡ *Obryzum* signifies gold of the most exalted purity. J. E.

Venet. CIↃ.IↃ.XCI. & p. 51. l. q. r. *Etiminius:* Spanheime indeed is suspicious of this Medal, but I was unwilling to degrade our Metropolis of the honor. P. 202 in margin *r. Regulbium* (with innumerable more).

Sir,

I know not whether Sir Jo: Hoskins, Sir R. Southwell, Mr. Waller, and Dr. Harwood (who is concern'd in what I have said of *Taille Douce)* and the rest (on whom I have obtruded books) would have the patience of Mr. Hill, to reade my lett^r^, when you meete at y^e^ learned Coffee-Club, after they are gon from Gressham.

From the MSS. at Wotton.

Sayes Court.

The hithermost Grove I planted about . .	1656.
The other beyond it	1660.
The lower Grove	1662.
The holly hedge, even with the Mount hedge below	1670.

I planted every hedge & tree not onely in the Garden, Groves, &c. but about all the fields & house since 1653, except those large, old & hollow Elms in the Stable Court & next the Sewer; for it was before, all one pasture field to the very garden of the house, w^ch^ was but small; from which time also I repaired the ruined house, & built the whole end of the kitchen, the chapel, buttry, my study, above & below, cellars & all the outhouses & walls, still-house, Orangerie, & made the gardens, &c. to my great cost, & better I had don to have pulled all down at first, but it was don at several times.

Mr. Evelyn was acquainted with the use and value of Potatoes, which he calls Irish, tasting like an old bean or roasted chesnut, not very pleasant till use have accustomed, yet of good nourishm^t^ & excellent use for relief of Poor, yea & of one's own houshold where there are many servants in a dear year.

Prince Rupert invented a Turfing Plow—a sketch, but without any description of its use.

Dredge is Barley & Oats mixed.

Hops cost 20^{l} an acre before any considerable profit.

	£.	s.	d.
Digging	2	10	0
5000 roots	2	10	0
1st year, dressing	2	10	0
2^{d} year, ditto	2	10	0
Poles	10	0	0

40 loads of dung on an acre, the produce not above 6^{l} an acre *.

An acre of Hemp may be worth 8^{l}, & after this the land will be proper for barley, wheat, and pease successively.

Orchards improve land f^{m} 10^{s} an acre, w^{ch} is commonly the value of the best sort of Tillage, & even of best Pasture not above 2^{l}, to 4^{l}.

An acre planted with Cherries has been sett at 10^{l}, 100 miles f^{m} London.

About Sandwich & Deal they edge & fence their corn fields with flax & hemp, but flax cheifly, w^{ch} they affirm keep out cattle, being bitter; they sow it about 20 f^{t} deep into the field—sow whole fields of Canary seed—great grounds of hyssop & thime in tufts, for seeds only —the soil light & sandy, but the hyssop in richer ground.

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* The following account of the expence and produce of Hop-ground at Farnham, in Surrey, about the year 1812, is given in Manning and Bray's History of that County, vol. III. p. 166.

The average rent of Hop-ground about £.9. 10s. an acre. The first expence of making and planting an acre £.26. The Hops are not in perfection till the third year after planting. The ground is dressed every year with good stable-dung, rags, hair, wool-clippings, lime, &c. Average expence £.35 an acre. Ash and Withy poles are the best, length from 16 to 20 feet, prices from 26 to 40s. per hundred delivered in. Produce very uncertain; but on good ground, the average of three years may be about seven hundred weight from an acre.

A CHARACTER OF MRS. EVELYN,

BY DR. BOHUN*;

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS HAND-WRITING.

I HAD lately occasion to review severall Letters to me from Mrs. Evelyn of Deptford. After reading y^{m}, I found they were much to be valued, because they contained not only a compleat description of the private events in the family, but publick transactions of y^{e} times, where are many curious and memorable things described in an easy and eloquent style.

Many forgotten circumstances by this means are recalled afresh to my memorie; by so full and perfect a narration of y^{m}, they are again present to my thoughts, and I see y^{m} re-acted as it were before my eyes. This made strong impressions on my mind, so y^{t} I could not rest till I had recollected y^{e} substance of y^{m}, and from thence some generall reflexions thereon, and from thence drew a character of y^{eir} author, so farr only as by plain and natural inferences may be gathered from y^{eir} contents. This was not perform'd in a manner worthy of y^{e} design, but hastily and uncorrectly, w^{ch} cost no more time y^{n} cou'd be employed at one sitting in an afternoon; but in this short model, Mrs. Evelyn will appeare to be y^{e} best daughter and wife, y^{e} most tender mother, and desirable neighbour and friend, in all parts of her life. The historicall account of matters of fact sufficiently set forth her

* The Rev. Dr. Ralph Bohun, D. C. L. was a scholar at Winchester College, and was elected probationary fellow of New College, Oxford, at the early age of 19. In 1671 he wrote a Discourse on the History and Nature of Wind; and in 1685, he completed his Doctor's degree.

prayses, wherein there cou'd be no error or self-conceit; and declare her to be an exact pattern of many excellent vertues; but they are concealed in such modest expressions, y^{t} y^{e} most envious censurers can't fix upon her y^{e} least suspicion of vanity or pride. Tho' she had many advantages of birth and beauty, and wit, yet you may perceive in her writings, an humble indifference to all worldly enjoyments, great charity, and compassion to those y^{t} had disobliged her, and no memory of past occurrences, unless it were a gratefull acknowledgment of some friendly office; a vein of good-nature and resignation, and self denial runs through y^{m} all. There's nothing so despis'd in many of these letters, as the fruitles & empty vanitys of y^{e} Town; and they seem to pity y^{e} misfortune of those who are condemned by y^{eir} greater quality or stations to squander away y^{eir} precious time in unprofitable diversions, or bestow it in courtly visits & conversations. Where there happens to be any mention of Children or Friends, there's such an air of sincerity & benevolence for y^{e} one, and religious concern for y^{e} happines of y^{e} other, as if she had no other design to live in y^{e} world, y^{n} to perform her own duty, and promote y^{e} welfare of her relations and acquaintance.

There's another observation to be collected, not less remarkable y^{n} y^{e} rest, w^{ch} is her indefatigable industry in employing herself, and more for the sake of others y^{n} her own: This she wrote, not out of vain glory, or to procure commendation, but to entertain y^{m} with whom she had a familiar correspondence by letters, with y^{e} relation of such accidents or bysnes wherein she was engag'd for the month, or the week past.

This was a peculiar felicity in her way of writing, y^{t} tho she often treated of vulgar and domestic subjects, she never suffer'd her style to languish or flag, but by some new remark or pleasant digression kept it up to its usual pitch.

The reproofs in any of these numerous letters were so softly insinuated, y^{t} y^{e} greatest punishment to be inflicted upon any disobligation was only to have y^{e} contrary vertue to y^{e} fault they had ben guilty of, highly applauded in the next correspondence, w^{ch} was ever so manag'd as to pleas and improve.

Scarce an harsh expression, much less any evill surmise or suspicion cou'd be admitted where every line was devoted to charity and goodnes. This is no effect of partiality, but appears in y^e^ particular instances, so y^t^ y^e^ same judgment must be made by all unprejudiced persons who shall have a sight of y^m^.

Any misfortune or disappointment was not mournfully lamented, but related in such a manner as became a mind y^t^ had laid in a sufficient provision of courage & patience before-hand to support it under afflictions. All unfortunate accidents are allaid by some consolatory argument taken from solid principles. No kind of trouble but one seems to interrupt y^e^ constant intention to entertain & oblige, but that is dolorously represented in many of y^e^ letters, w^ch^ is y^e^ loss of Children or Friends. That being an irreparable separation in this world, is deplored with y^e^ most affectionate tenderness w^ch^ words can express. You may conclude y^t^ they who write in such a manner as this, must be suppos'd to have a just sens of Religion, becaus there can scarce be assign'd one act of a beneficent and charitable temper but has many texts of y^e^ Gospel to enforce it. So y^t^ all good Xtians must be very usefull and excellent neighbours and friends; w^ch^ made this lady ever esteem'd so. Shee was y^e^ delight of all y^e^ conversations where she appear'd, she was lov'd and admir'd, yet never envy'd by any, not so much as by y^e^ women, who seldom allow y^e^ perfections of y^eir^ own sex, least they ecclips y^eir^ own; But as this very manifestly & upon all occasions was her temper, y^e^ world was very gratefull to her upon y^t^ account. This happines was gain'd and preserv'd by one wise qualification, for tho' no person living had a closer insight into y^e^ humors or characters of persons, or cou'd distinguish y^eir^ merits more nicely, yet she never made any despising or censorious reflexions: her great discernment and wit were never abus'd to sully y^e^ reputation of others, nor affected any applaus y^t^ might be gain'd by satyrical jests. Tho' shee was extreamly valu'd, and her friendship priz'd and sought for by y^m^ of y^e^ highest condition, yet she ever treated those of y^e^ lowest with great condescension and humanity. The memory of her vertues and benefits made such deep impression on her neighbors of Deptford & Greenwich, that if any one should bring in another report from this, or what was generally receiv'd among

y^m^, they'd condemn as fals, and y^e^ effect of a slanderous calumny; either they wou'd never yield y^t^ any change shou'd happen to this excellent lady, or they'd impute it to sickness, or time, or chance, or y^e^ unavoidable frailtys of human nature. But I have somewhat digres'd from my subject, w^ch^ was to describe her person or perfections no otherwise y^n^ they may be gathered from y^e^ letters I receiv'd*; they contain historical passages and accounts of any, more or less considerable, action or accident y^t^ came to her knowledge, with diverting or serious reflections as y^e^ subject requir'd, but generally in an equall and chaste style, supported by a constant gravity, never descending to affected sallys of ludicrous wit.

It's to be further observ'd, y^t^ tho she recites & speaks French exactly, & understands Italian, yet she confines herself with such strictnes to y^e^ purity of y^e^ English toung, y^t^ she never introduces foreign or adopted words; that ther's a great steadines & equality in her thoughts; and y^t^ her sens & expressions have a mutual dependance on each other may be infer'd from hence—you shall never perceive one perplext sentence, or blot, or recalling a word in more y^n^ twenty letters.

Many persons with whom she convers'd or were related to her, or had any publick part in y^e^ world, were honour'd by very lively characters confer'd on them, always just, and full of discernment, rather inclining to y^e^ charitable side, yet no otherwyse y^n^ as skillfull masters who paint like, yet know how to give some graces and advantages to y^m^ whose pictures they draw. The expressions are clear and unaffected, y^e^ sentences frequent & grave, y^e^ remarks judicious, y^e^ periods flowing & long, after the Ciceronian way, yet tho' they launch out so farr, they are strict to y^e^ rules of grammar, and ever come safe home at last without any obscurity or incoherence attending y^m^.

I'le only give one instance of a person who was caracteris'd by her in a more favorable manner y^n^ he durst presume y^t^ he deserved; however, to shew y^e^ method of her writing, I shall set it down. " I believe (such an one) to be a person of much wit, great knowledge, judicious

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* Copies of several letters to Dr. Bohun have been found at Wotton, but not those here referred to. A few of them will follow, as specimens of her manner and great good sense.

and discerning, charitable, well natur'd, obliging in conversation, apt to forget & forgive injuries, eloquent in y^e^ pulpit, living according to known precepts, faithfull to his friend, generous to his enemie, and in every respect accomplisht; this in our vulgar way is a desireable character, but you'll excuse if I judge unrefinedly who have y^e^ care of cakes & stilling, & sweetmeats & such usefull things."

Mrs. Evelyn has been often heard to say concerning y^e^ death of her admirable & beloved Daughter, that tho' she had lost her for ever in this world, yet she wou'd not but y^t^ she had been, becaus many pleasing ideas occurr to her thoughts y^t^ she had convers'd with her so long, and ben made happy by her for so many years.

Oxon, 1695, Sept. 20.

LETTERS FROM MRS. EVELYN.

For Mr. Bohun.

21 May 1668.

If it be true that wee are generally enclined to covett what wee admire, I can assure you my ambition aspires not to the fame of Balzac, and therefore must not thank you for entitling me to that great name. I do not admire his style, nor emulate the spirit of discontent which runns through all his Letters. There is a lucky hitt in reputation which some obtaine by the deffect in their judges, rather than from the greatnesse of their merit; the contrary may be instanced in Doctor Donne, who had he not ben really a learned man, a libertine in witt and a courtier, might have ben allowed to write well, but I confess in my opinion, with these qualifications he falls short in his Letters of the praises some give him.

Voiture seems to excell both in quicknesse of fancy, easinesse of expression, & in a facile way of insinuating that he was not ignorant of letters, an advantage the Court ayre gives persons who converse with the world as books.

I wonder at nothing more than at the ambition of printing letters; since, if the designe be to produce witt and learning, there is too little scope for the one, and the other may be reduced to a lesse compasse than a sheet of gilt paper, unlesse truth were more communicative. Buisinesse, love, accidents, secret displeasure, family intrigues, generally make up the body of letters, and can signifie very little to any besides the persons they are addressed to, and therefore must loose infinitely by being exposed to the unconcerned. Without this declaration I hope I am sufficiently secure never to runne the hazard of being censured that way, since I cannot suspect my friends of so much unkindnesse, nor myselfe of the vanity to wish fame on so doubtfull a foundation as the caprice of mankind. Do not impute my silence to neglect; had you seene me these tenne days continually entertaining persons of different humor, age, and sence, not only at meales, or afternoone, or the time of a civill visit, but from morning till night, you will be assured it was impossible for mé to finish these few lines sooner; so often have I set pen to paper and ben taken off againe, that I almost despaired to lett you know my satisfaction that Jack * complies so well with your desires, and that I am your friend and servant

M. Evelyn.

To Mr. Bohun at Oxford.

S^{r},

Do not think my silence hitherto has proceeded from being taken up with the diversions of the Towne, the eclat of the Wedding, Mascarades which trebled their number the second night of the wedding [so] that there was great disorder and confusion caused by it, and with which the solemnity ended; neither can I charge the Houswifry of the Country after my returne, or treating my neighbours this Christmas, since I never finde

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* Her son, then at College under Mr. Bohun's care.

any buisinesse or recreation that makes me forget my Friends. Should I confesse the reall cause, it is y^r^ expectation of extraordinary notions of things wholy out of my way; Women were not borne to read Authors, and censure the Learned, to compare Lives and judge of Virtues, to give rules of Morality, and sacrifice to the Muses. We are willing to acknowledge all time borrowed from Family duties is misspent; the care of Children's education, observing a Husband's comands, assisting the Sick, relieving the Poore, and being serviceable to our Friends, are of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities amongst us. If sometimes it happens by accident that one of a thousand aspires a little higher, her fate commonly exposes her to wonder, but adds little to esteeme. The Distaff will defend our quarrells as well as the Sword, and the Needle is as instructive as the Penne. A Heroine is a kinde of prodigy; the influence of a blasinge starre is not more dangerous, or more avoyded. Though I have lived under the roofe of the Learned, and in the neighbourhood of Science, it has had no other effect on such a temper as mine, but that of admiration, and that too but when it is reduced to practice. I confesse I am infinitely delighted to meet with in books the atchievements of the Heroes, with the calmnesse of Philosophers, and with the eloquence of Orators; but what charms me irresistably is to see perfect resignation in the minds of men let what ever happen adverse to them in their fortune; that is being knowing and truly wise; it confirms my beleefe of antiquity, and engages my perswasion of future perfection, without which it were in vaine to live. Hope not for volumes or treatises; Raillery may make me goe beyonde my bounds, but when serious, I esteeme myselfe capable of very little, yet I am, S^r^,

Your friend and servant,

Jan. 4. 1672. M. E.

To my Lady Tuke, after the death of S^{r} Sam. Tuke.

Madame,

I acknowledge these are trialls which make Christian philosophy usefull, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that Hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happinesse then any this world can give. Without this wee were extreamly wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. Wee are solicitous to obtaine, wee feare whilst wee possesse, and wee are inconsolable when wee loose. The greatest Conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of humane nature; lett us not murmure then, for wee offend, and though in compliance to y^{r} present sence of things I could joyne with you in greeving, having made as particular a losse as ever any did in a Friend, I dare not indulge y^{r} sorrows, especially when I consider how prejudiciall it will proove to y^{r}selfe and those deare pledges that are left to your care; but I do rather begge of you cease greeving, and owe that to reason and prudence which time will overcome. Were I in so good health that I could quitt my chamber, I would be dayly with you and assure you how really I am concerned for you. You cannot doubt the affection of your, &c.

Jan. 28, 1672.

To Mr. Bohun.

S^{r}, Sayes Court, 29 Jan. 1672.

If a Friend be of infinite value living, how much cause have wee to lament him dead! such a friend was S^{r} Sam. Tuke, who retired out of this life on St. Pauls day [25 Jan.] at midnight, and has changed the scene to him and us, and left occasion to all that knew him to bewayle the losse. You need not to be made sensible by a character of a person you knew so well, and you can enumerate virtues enough to lament and shed some teares justly; therefore spare me the sorrow of repeating what effect it has wrought on such a minde as mine, who think no

missfortune worth regretting besides the losse of those I love. Do not blame me if I beleeve it allmost impossible to meet with a person so worthy in himselfe, and so disposed to esteeme me againe; and yet that is not the chiefest cause of my affliction. I might wave much of my owne interest, had I not so many partners that will suffer equally. These are the trialls which make Christian philosophy usefull, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happinesse then any this world can give, without which wee were extreamly wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. The greatest Conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of humane nature, therefore well may I submitt, whose concerns are triviall in respect of others. Yet this I conclude, that wee dye by degrees when our friends go before us. But whilst I discourse thus with you, I should consider what effects melancholy reflections may have on a spleenetic person, one who needs not cherish that temper. I will only add that I am now able to quitt my chamber, which is more then I could do these 14 dayes, and that I am, Sir,

Your servant, M. Evelyn.

To Mr. Bohun, Fellow of New College, Oxford.

S[r],

When I have assured you that my usuall indisposition has treated me so severely this winter that I have had little leasure to think of any thing but the meanes of gaineing health and ease, I am perswaded you will excuse me if I have not decided in my thoughts which was the greatest Captaine, Cæsar or Pompey; whether Mr. De Rosny were not a great Polititian, a brave soldier, and the best servant that ever Prince had for capacity, fidelity and steadinesse; a man strangly disinterested, infinitely fortunate, and every way qualified to serve such a master as was Henry the Great, who notwithstanding humane frailties, was worthy to be faithfully dealt with, since he knew how to judge and to reward. But why do we allwayes look back into times past? wee may not reproach our owne, since heere is at this present a scene for galantrie

and merit, and whilst wee may hope, wee must not condemne. Should I tell you how full of sorrow I have ben for the losse of Doctor Bretton*, you only would blame me; after Death flattery ceases, therefore you may beleeve there was some cause to lament when thousands of weeping eyes witnessed the affliction their soules were in; one would have imagined every one in this parish had lost a Father, Brother, or Husband, so great was the bewailing; and in earnest it dos appeare there never was a better nor a more worthy man. Such was his temper, prudence, charity, and good conduct, that he gained the weake and preserved the wise. The sudenesse of his death was a surprise only to his friends; as for himselfe it might be looked upon as a deliverance from paine, the effect of sicknesse, and I am allmost perswaded God snatched him from us, least he might have ben prevailed with by the number of petitions to have left him still amongst us. If you suspect kindness in me makes me speake too much, Doctor Parr† is a person against whome you cannot object; it was he who preached the funerall sermon, and as an effect of truth as well as eloquence he himselfe could not forbeare weeping in the pulpit. It was his owne expression that there were 3 for whome he had infinitly greeved, the martyred King, my Lord Primate‡, and Doctor Bretton; and as a confirmation of the right that was done him in that Oration, there was not a drie eye nor a dissenting person. But of this no more.

M. Evelyn.

Sayes Court, 2°. March 1672.

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* Minister of Deptford: he died in February 1671.

† Richard Parr, D. D. Vicar of Reigate and Camberwell. He died Nov. 2, 1691. The Funeral Sermon alluded to, was printed in 1672. See Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. I. p. 323.

‡ Archbishop Usher.

To Lady Tuke.

Aprill 1685.

How to expresse the sorrow for parting with so deare a Child is a difficult task. She was welcome to me from the first moment God gave her, acceptable through the whole course of her life by a thousand endearments, by the gifts of nature, by acquired parts, by the tender love she ever shew'd her father and me; a thred of Piety accompanyed all her actions, and now proves our greatest consolation. The patience, resignation, humility of her carriage in so severe and fatall a disease, discover'd more than an ordinary assistance of the Divine goodnesse, never expressing feare of death, or a desire to live, but for her friends sake. The seaventh day of her illnesse she discoursed to me in particular as calmly as in health, desired to confesse and receive the blessed Sacrament, which she performed with great devotion, after which, tho' in her perfect senses to the last, she never signified the least concerne for the world, prayed often, and resigned her soule.—What shall I say! She was too great a blessing for me, who never deserved any thing, much lesse such a jewell. I am too well assured of y^{r} L^{ps} kindnesse to doubt the part you take in this losse: you have ever shewed y^{r}selfe a friend in so many instances, that I presume upon y^{r} compassion; nothing but this just occasion could have hindered me from wellcoming you to towne, and rejoyceing with the best friend I have in the world—a friend by merit and inclination, one I must esteeme as the wife of so worthy a relation and so sincere a friend as S^{r} Sam: (Tuke) was to me and mine. What is this world, when we recall past things! what are the charms that keepe our minds in suspence! without the conversation of those we love, what is life worth! How did I propose happinesse this sum'er in the returne of y^{r} L^{p} and my deare Child—for she was absent almost all this winter!

She had much improved her selfe by the remarks she had made of the world and all its vanities—What shall I add! I could ever speake of her, and might I be just to her without suspition of partiality, could tell you many things. The papers which are found in her cabinet discover she profitted by her readyng—such reflections, collections out of

Scripture, confessions, meditations and pious notions, evidence her time was not spent in the triflyng way of most young women. I acknowledge, as a Christian, I ought not to murmur, and I should be infinitly sorry to incur God's further displeasure. There are those yet remaining that chalenge my care, and for their sakes I endeavour to submitt all I can. I thank my poore Cousen a thousand times for her kind concerne, and wish she may live to be the comfort you deserve in her, that God will continue the blessing to both, and make you happy —which is the prayer of her who is

y^rs most affectionatly M. E.

Mrs. Evelyn to her Son.

I haue received y^r letter, and request for a supply of mony; but none of those you mention which were bare effects of y^r duty. If you were so desirous to answer our expectations as you pretend to be, you would give those tutors and overseers you think so exact over you lesse trouble then I feare they have with you. Much is to be wished in yo^r behalfe; that y^r temper were humble and tractable, y^r inclinations virtuous, and that from choice not compulsion you make an honnest man. Whateuer object of vice comes before you, should haue the same effect in y^r mind of dislike and aversion that Drunkenesse had in the youth of Sparta when their slaves were presented to them in that brutish condition, not only from the deformity of such a sight, but from a motive beyond theirs, the hopes of a future happinesse, which those rigorous Heathens in morall virtue had little prospect of, finding no reward for virtue but in virtue itselfe. You are not too young to know that lying, defrauding, swearing, disobedience to parents and persons in authority, are offences to God and man: that debauchery is injurious to growth, health, life, and indeed to the pleasures of life: therefore now that you are turning from Child to Man endeavour to follow the best precepts, and chuse such wayes as may render you worthy of praise and love. You are assured of y^r Fathers care and my tendernesse: no mark of it

shall be wanting at any time to confirme it to you, with this reserve only, that you strive to deserve kindnesse by a sincere honest proceeding, and not flatter y^r^ selfe that you are good whilst you only appeare to be so. Fallacies will only passe in schools. When you throughly weigh these considerations, I hope you will apply them to your owne advantage, as well as to our infinite satisfaction. I pray dayly God would inspire you with his grace, and blesse you.

I am,

Y^r^ louing mother,

M. Evelyn.

To Mr. Bohun.

S^r^ 1671.

I must beleeve you are very buisy, hearing so seldome from you, and that you are much in the esteeme of Doctor Bathurst *, since he judges so favourably of y^r^ friends. It cannot be the effect of his disernment which makes him give sentence in my behalfe, being so great a master of reason as he is; but it is certainly a mark of his great kindnesse to you that he deffers to y^r^ judgment in opposition to his owne. I should not question y^rs^ in other things, but the wisest may be allow'd some grains, and I conclude you no lesse a courtier then a philosopher. Since my last to you I have seene "The Siege of Grenada," a play so full of ideas that the most refined romance I euer read is not to compare with it: love is made so pure, and valor so nice, that one would imagine it designed for an Vtopia rather then our Stage. I do not quarrell with the Poet, but admire one borne in the decline of morality should be able to feigne such exact virtue; and as poetick fiction has been instructive in former ages, I wish this the same event in ours. As to the strict law of Comedy I dare not pretend to judge: some think the

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* Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells and President of Trinity College, in Oxford, whose Life and Literary Remains have been published by Thomas Warton, Poetry Professor, and Fellow of the same College.

division of the story not so well as if it could all haue ben comprehended in the dayes actions: truth of history, exactnesse of time, possibilities of adventures, are niceties the antient Criticks might require; but those who have outdone them in fine notions may be allowed the liberty to expresse them their owne way, and the present world is so enlightned that the old dramatique must bear no sway. This account perhaps is not enough to do Mr. Driden right, yet is as much as you can expect from the leisure of one who has the care of a Nursery.

I am, Sir, &c.

M. Evelyn.

Mrs. Evelyn (who outlived Mr. Evelyn) by her Will, dated 9 Feb. 1708, desired to be buried in a stone coffin near that of "my dear husband, whose love & friendship I was happy in 58 years 9 months, but by Gods Providence left a disconsolate widow the 27 day of February 1705 in the 71 year of my age. His care of my education was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend, and husband, for instruction, tenderness, affection & fidelity to the last moment of his life; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory, ever dear to me; & I must not omit to own the sense I have of my Parents care & goodnesse in placing me in such worthy hands."

*** The Pamphlet published by Mr. Evelyn under the title of "Tyrannus, or the Mode," is one of the most scarce of all his publications, and is here re-printed.

This copy is taken from one lent me by James Bindley, Esq. which had been corrected by Mr. Evelyn himself for a second edition, and the note at the end was added by him.

Mr. Bindley had thus indorsed it: "I never saw another copy of this curious Tract. This, which is corrected throughout by the Author (Mr. Evelyn) with his own hand for a second edition, was bought at an auction at Paterson's, at Essex House, near forty years ago.

J. B."

TYRANNUS,

OR THE

MODE;

IN A

DISCOURSE

OF

SUMPTUARY LAWES.

THE SECOND EDITION ENLARGED.

Gratius Falisc: Cyneg:

——— *Sed lubricus error*
Mos, et ab expertis festinant usibus omnes.

LONDON

Printed for G. Bedel, and T. Collins, at the Middle Temple Gate, and J. Crook at the Ship in St Pauls Church Yard.

TO HIM THAT READES.

If that be true which Demosthenes said, that Constancy is the summe of all perfection, and that what is really good springs from integrall causes; all that aspire to this vertue should embrace whatever may contribute to it. I have in this gentle Satyr prepared you something to smile, something to frown at; if the ballance fall equal I am satisfyed. Shall I tell you ingenuously? I have sometime (for relaxation sake) indulg'd myself the liberty of a Prevaricator, and amongst other impertinencies, to passe away the time, collected certain essayes together, of which I once intended a volume. This, amongst the rest, lay upmost; and if I now put it into your hands, 'tis because I think it not unseasonable. I will not reproch the French for their fruitful invention, or any thing that is commendable, but 'tis well known, who those *Gavaches* are, which would impose upon all the world beside; and I have frequently wonder'd that a Nation so well conceited of themselves as I take our Country-men to be, should so generally submit to the *Mode* of another, of whom they speake with so little kindnesse. That the *Monsieurs* have universally gotten the ascendent over other parts of Europe, is imputable to their late conquests; but that only their greatest vanity should domineer over this Kingdome, speaks us strangely tame. For my own part, though I love the French well (and have many reasons for it) yet I would be glad to pay my respects in any thing rather than my *Clothes*, because I conceive it so great a diminution to our native Country, and to the discretion of it. His Majesty speaks French, not so much to gratify the Nation, as because he has title to it: For though Lewis the Fourteenth be the *French King*, Charles the II. is *King of France;* and I shall not despair to see the day when he shall give his vassals there the Edict for their Apparel, and not suffer his subjects here to receive the Law from them. If this give offence, I can commute, and upon some other occasion say as much to their advantage. In the mean time divert y^r^selfe with this *Trifle;* if it please you, I am satisfyd; if not, I have prevented your censure.

J. E.

TYRANNUS,

OR

THE MODE.

'TWAS a witty expression of Malvezzi; *i vestimenti negli Animali sono molto sicuri segni della loro natura, negli Huomini del lor ceruello,* Garments (says he) in animals are infallible signes of their nature; in Men, of their understanding. Though I would not judge of the *Monk* by the Hood he wears; or celebrate the humour of Julian's Court, where the Philosophic Mantle made all his officers appear like so many Conjurors; 'tis worth the observing yet, that the people of Rome left off the *Toga*, an ancient and noble garment, with their power, and that the vicissitude of their habite was little better than a presage of that of their fortune. For the Military *Saga* differencing them little from their Slaves, was no small indication of the declining of their courage, which shortly follow'd. And I am of opinion that when once wee shall see the Venetian Senat quit the gravity of their Vests, the State itself will not long subsist without some considerable alteration. 'Tis not a trivial remark (which I have some where met with) that when a Nation is able to impose and give laws to the Habit of another (as the late Tartars did in China) it has (like that of Language) proved the forerunner of the spreading of their conquests there; because, as it has something of shew and magisterial, so it gaines them a boldnesse and an assurance, which easily introduces them without being taken notice of for strangers where they come; til by degrees they insinuate themselves into all those places where the *Mode* is taken up, and so much in credit. I am of opinion that the Swisse had not been now a Nation, but for keeping to their prodigious Breeches; and as it was politically dissembled of Francis the First, to flatter this blunt people with the *Toy*, which for awhile he wore, and the Ladies after-

wards made their Pincushions of*; so was it again as prudent to abandon that brutish shape, for a habit more convenient and decent.

Nor do I impute it so much to the levity in that Protean Nation, to metamorphose themselves so oft as many are prone to censure, because it is plainly their interest, and they thrive by it; besides the pleasure of seeing all the world follow them, and to be fond of bravery.

Believe it, *La Mode de France* is one of the best returnes which they make, and feeds as many bellies as it clothes backs; or else we should not hear of such armies, and swarmes of them, as this one City alone maintains, who hang in the ears, embrace the necks and elegant wasts of our fair Ladies, in the likeness of Pendants, Collers, Fans, and Peticoats, with the rest of those pretty impediments, without which Heaven and Earth could not subsist.

It may be thought, I confesse, some mark of strange verticity that these things are alwayes things in fluctuation; and 'tis so, indeed, with us; but with them, as constant as the Tide, and no more a fault than in the Moon; especially since (like hers) the change is profitable, and a characteristic of their fertil genius, which is to be busie, mercurial, and universal, and like good Prismes, both to multiply and change the species to a degree so taking and so gainfull.

But, be it thus excusable in the French to alter, and impose the *Mode* on others, for the reasons deduc'd; 'tis no less a weakness and a shame in the rest of the World, who have no dependency on them, to admit them, at least to that degree of levity as to turn into all their shapes without discrimination; so as when the freak takes our *Monsieurs* to appear like so many Farces or Jack-Puddings on the Stage, all the World should alter shape, and play the Pantomims with them.

Methinks a French Taylor with his ell in his hand, looks like the enchantress Circe over the companions of Ulysses, and changes them into as many formes: One while we are made to be so loose in our clothes, as if we had alwayes need of the Close-stool, and by and by, appear like so many Malefactors sew'd up in sacks, as of old they were wont to treat a Parricide, with a dog, an ape, and a serpent. Now we are all Twist, & at a distance look like a pair of Tongs, and anon

* This alludes evidently to the enormous C——e Breeches so apparent in the pictures of Henry the Eighth, and others of that time.

stuff'd out behind like a Dutchman. This Gallant goes so pinch'd in the Wast, as if he were prepar'd for the question of the Fiery Plate in Turky; and that so loose in the middle, as if he would turn Insect, or drop in two; now the short Wast and Skirts in Pye-court is the mode; then the Wide Hose, or (which is more shamefull) like Nero's *lacernata Amica*, the Man in Coats again; *Monstrum geminum, de viro fœmina, mox de fœmina vir.* So as one who should judge by the appearance, would take us all to be of kin to the fellow that begs without armes, or some great man's fools. Methinks we should learn to handle distaffe too; Hercules did so when he courted Omphale, and those who sacrificed to Ceres put on the petty-coat with much confidence. A man cannot say now, as when Lucian scoff'd at Cinicus, *Quid tu tandem barbam quidem habes & comam, tunicam non habes?* On the reverse, all men now wear coats, and no beards. O prodigious folly!

What shall I say of this madness! *Uterque habitus mutandi malus, alter adversus naturam, alter contra salutem*, the one of them so averse to nature, the other to health; both preposterous, both in such extreams; as what Seneca spake of Silk in his dayes, may with equal reason be apply'd to these clothes of ours, if clothes it be lawfull to name them.

It was a fine silken thing which I spied walking th' other day through Westminster Hall, that had as much Ribbon about him as would have plundered six shops, and set up twenty country pedlers; all his body was drest like a May-pole, or a *Tom o' Bedlams* Cap. A Fregat newly rigg'd kept not half such a clatter in a storme, as this Puppets streamers did when the wind was in his shrouds; the motion was wonderfull to behold, and the well chosen colours were red, orange, and blew, of well gum'd Sattin, which argu'd a happy fancy: but so was our Gallant overcharg'd, *indutumne an onustum hominem, habere vestem, an bajulare*, whether he did weare this garment, or (as a Porter) beare it only, was not easily to be resolv'd.

I do assure you I knew a French woman (famous for her dexterity and invention) protest, that the English did so torment her for the *Mode*, still jealous least she should not have brought them over the newest edition of it, that she us'd monthly to devise us new fancies of

her own head, which were never worn in France, to pacifie her customers. But this was in the dayes of *Old Noll*, that signal *Vertumnus*, when the State it self was as seldome above the age of a *Moon* without a new face, as the Ladies her faithfull *devotees*. But I have done with pictures, and whilst I seem to reprove their excess in Men, am so far from disobliging the brighter Sex, that it is from hence (fair Ladies) may justly be deriv'd the esteem which I make of your discretion in this point, because what you now wear is so decent and so becoming: Nor am I of so morose and particular a humour, that, with Seleucus, I would allow of no ornaments, or significant changes. For my part, I love variety, and when I declaim against the ascititious and unnatural, I am advocate for what is gracefull and put on with reason: But there is a mediocrity in all things, and though garments be superficials, and extrinsecal to us, they are yet of such notable presage that if (as Solomon) a Wise Man may be known by his gate, a Fantastick may be no less by his garb and apparel.

There is a certain *honestas in observatione decori*, which if men could once light on, would be of infinite more reputation to us than this slavish deference of ours to other Nations; and when his Majesty shall fix a standard at Court, there will need no Sumptuary Lawes to represse and reforme the Lux which men so much condemn in our Apparel.

Montaigne tells us, that at the death of King Francis one years mourning for him in Cloth made Silk to be so despis'd, that had any man appear'd in it for a long time after, he was taken for a *Pedant* or a *Mountebank*:—*ne vestis serica viros fœdaret**.

Doubtless would the great persons of England but owne their nation, and assert themselves as they ought to do, by making choice of virile and comely Fashion, which should incline to neither extream, and be constant to it, 'twould prove of infinite more reputation to us then now that there is nothing fixt, and the liberty so exorbitant.

We deride the Spaniard for his odd shape, not for his constancy to it. Let it be considered that those who seldom change the *Mode* of their country, have as seldom alter'd their *affections* to the Prince. Laws are in credit as they are ancient; and the very alteration of ele-

* Tacitus in vita Tiber.

ments, weather and dyet, are full of perill; 'tis that renders us weak, old, sick, and at last destroyes us: so as 'twas not without advice that the Lawes of Plato did descend to the care even of Habits in that his perfect *Idea*, allowing it only to *Curtesans* and *Comedians* to vary dresses, since 'twas but a kind of hippocrisie to be every day in a new shape and *mascarad.*

Quomodo præcepta Dei custodietis (says Tertullian) *lineamenta corporis non custodientes?** How can we expect that men should keep the commandments of God (I add, of the King) that preserve not the lineaments of their bodies? Thus he to the Gallants of his time; and though he does somewhere as ingeniously apologize for the *Pallium*† (which the proselytes had then newly reassum'd) by instances deduced from the common vicissitudes of nature and of the world, yet he proves its antiquity from the old Lydians, and noble Pelasgi, and from the decency and simplicity of the garb; so as what was then said by way of sarcasme to the new Christians, *a Togâ ad Pallium*, may now (with more just reproch) be applied to the old, *ab Equis ad Asinos.*

For my part I profess that I delight in a cheerfull gaiety, affect and cultivate variety; the Universe itself were not beautifull to me without it, but, as that is in constant and uniforme succession in the natural where men do not disturb it, so would I have it also in the artificial.

If the Kings of Mexico chang'd four times a day, it was but an upper vest, which they were us'd to honour some meritorious servant with. Let men change their habits as oft as they please, so the change be for the better. I would have a Summer habit and a Winter; for the Spring and for the Autumne. Something I would indulge to Youth, something to Age and Humour, *Sed quænam illuc avis est, quæ huc cum tunicis advertit?*‡ What have we to do with these foreign Butterflies? In God's name let the change be our own, not borrow'd of others; for why should I dance after a Monsieur's flajolet only, that have a set of English viols for my concert? We need no French inventions, or for the Stage or for the Back; we have better

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* Tertul. de cultu fœm. † De Pal. ‡ Plaut. in Pœnula.

Materials for Clothes; — they, better Taylors. Strange, that men should come to value themselves from a sort of wretches, of which *nine* go but to the making of *one man!* I hope to see the day when all this shall be reform'd, and when all the world shall receive their standard from our most illustrious Prince, and from his Grandees, and make prognostics even from these little accidents and all that is extrinsecal to them, that there is a glorious, a steady, and a wise Director within, and that it shall be as presumptuous for any Foreign Nation to impose upon our Court, as it is indeed ridiculous it should, and its greatest diminution.

Lampridius tells us Alexander Severus was in this point so nice, that he would have all his subjects distinguish'd by their habit — *ne servi ingenuis miscerentur.* How many times have I saluted the fine Man for the Master, and stood with my hat off to the gay feather, when I found the Bird to be all this while but a Daw; *arripuit persona, manet res*;* for so the Asse wore the Lyons skin, but never thought of hideing his eares. Yet is this prodigious excesse injurious both to nature and to civil life, that now a dayes makes hardly difference between a Trumpeter and a General.

Servants had always among the Romans a peculiar habit, till the Common-Wealth grew dissolute, says Tacitus: And for my particular, I am so great a friend to this order, that I could be content all degrees of men whatever should be known by their Cognizance, all Gown-men, and all the Military. How would this conduce to publick frugality, peace, humility! and if to any emulation, to that only of exceeding one another in vertue and obedience: for it is prodigious only to consider the impolitick wast which this promiscuous bravery draws along with it: That no lesse then two Millions of Treasure (as I am inform'd) has in so short a time been lost in Gold and Silver lace; and that to feed this sole exorbitance, the Goldsmiths should give so considerable a rate for *Bullion* above the Mint, to employ it in this trifling fabric, which is plainly consum'd, worn out, and never return'd again, so as in a few years to endanger an universal penury.

Let us suppose that the finest cloth of Wooll, and which may be

* Lucretius.

made thin, light, and glossie for Summer, thick, close, and more substantial for the Winter, and inferiour to no covering under Heaven, were more in use and esteem: or, that there were a general prohibition that persons beneath such a degree should wear either Silk, foreign Stuffs, or Cloth, with a reasonable *Tassa* impos'd by the Magistrate upon the price of our own manufacture amongst us; how would this bring down the rates of those exotick impertinencies! how many thousands hands imploy! how glorious to our Prince, when he should behold all his subjects clad with the production of his own Country, and the people universally inrich'd, whilst the Specie that we now consume in lace and point, or export for foreign silkes, and more unserviceable stuffs, would by this means be all sav'd, and the whole Nation unite as one to the heart of their Sovereign, as to a provident and indulgent Father! If Riches and Plenty, with the Love and Prosperity of a People, be the glory of a Prince, and the nerves of a State; if all other considerations be noyse and empty shadows ministring only to Lux, and the vanity of a few young insignificant triflers, whose brains are as transparent as their clothes; what are those arts which a Prince should cultivate, but by exorcising these apparitions and fantosmes of a Court and Country, procure the establishment of what is material and most perfective of those solid blessings. With what facility this may be effected, our illustrious Charles will one day shew his contemporary Monarchs, by provision of such sumptuary and other wholesome Lawes for the publick, and making such a collection of vertuous persons to dispense them, that as his Court shall be the universal Idea for the rest of the Princes to reform by, so shall his People and the whole Nation become the envy of the World for their felicity.

Were I the Censor for regulation of this excess, I should recommend the best and most commodious habit, and calculate for the several meridians and degrees of the wearer. There may be much said (I confess) concerning customs and opinion, which render all things supportable; but we in this Nation can plead neither of these for our fantastical and often changes; if 'tis true they have prevailed amongst us, let us remember whose act it is; *Meddle not with those who are given to change.* We have suffer'd enough by these Lunatics, and been brought

to nothing but our inconstancies, which however allowable in the weaker, becomes not the viriler Sex; 'twas yet not ill observ'd of Sr Philip Sydney that Ladies, though they were naturally afraid of a Sword, were yet soonest in love with the men of Iron, whose shape is the most unalterable of all the metals, and the noblest emblem of constancy.

Behold we one of our Silken Camelions and aery Gallants making his addresses to his Mistress, and you would sometimes think yourself in the country of the Amazons, for it is not possible to say which is the more woman of the two coated Sardanapalus's. But how may we remedy this? Shall we descend to some particulars?

I would choose the loose Riding Coat, which is now the *Mode*, and the Hose which his Majesty often wears; or some fashion not so pinching as to need a Shooing-horn with the Dons, nor so exorbitant as the Pantaloons, which are a kind of Hermaphrodite and of neither Sex: and if at any time I fancy'd them wider, or more open at the knees for the Summer, it should be with a mediocrity, and not to set in plaits as if I were supported with a pair of Ionic pillars, or the gatherings of my Grannames loose Gown. I would neither have my Dublet or my Skirts so short as if I were to represent one of Sir John Maundevile's Dobys, whose eyes and mouthes are in their shoulders and breasts; nor again so long as to act *Francatripe* in the Farce. I would not conceal the shape of a well proportioned leg under a Hoop and Canopy, because some bow-legg'd *Monsieur* would disguise his deformity to the reproch of Nature. Are our Knees, like Esops Pots, afraid of justling because of the same frail metal? I am neither fond of the round hoofe, nor of the long shoes, but for that which best fits my foot, and is most easie; and had rather have my Last a little too wide, then to make it a Case for my Almanack, which I will sooner wear in my pocket then in my stockings. Slender feet are for the Queens of China, and for those who delight to be awak'd by the Corn-cutter. I like the noble Buskin for the Legs, and the Boucle better than the formal Rose; and had rather see a glittering stone to hasp it there, then the long cross hilted knots now worn, because 'tis more glorious, and (like that *Manucodiata* which Queen Elizabeth tyed there at an audience of a Mus-

covite Embassador, who had stuck one in his Hat) shews a kind of contempt of riches.

The wisest and most healthy of the Ancients went continually bare-headed; so Masinissa, Cæsar, so Hannibal us'd to go: But when I must be cover'd, I infinitely prefer the *Buchingamo* or *Montero* lately reform'd, before any other whatever, because it is most manly, usefull and steady. I have heard say that when a Turk would execrate one that displeases him, he wishes him as unstable as a *Christian's Hat;* and in effect 'tis observ'd that no man can so plant it on another man's head but the owner do's immediately alter it, nor is it ever certain. All that can be reply'd in its behalf is, that it shades the face: but so would a Tuft of Feathers in the *Montero*, which is light and serviceable when the sun is hot, and at other times ornamental.

I would neither have my Band so voluminous as a *Frokins Night-raile*, nor yet so strait and scanty as a Negro's coller; in short, I wish any thing might supply it that were not made of Hemp: and for that piece of wainscot which supports it about our necks, if it be too high, the man looks as if he were impaled and had swallow'd a stake; if too low, as if the Dublet were borrow'd; at least I wish that part were defended with something less rigid than past-bord; and if the Cravet did still succeed it, there would be no misse of the other. To cover all with two words: I like the stately and easy Vest within doors, and the Cloak without. In summe, I affect whatever is comely, and of use, and to that I would be constant, choosing nothing that should be capricious, nothing that were singular, and therefore have made this collection out of all; for seeing we are oblig'd to none, we injure none, and since there is so much variety, our choice is the freer. *Mode* is a Tyrant, and we may cast off his government without impeachment to our Loyalty. But if we will rather expect (and which I most approve of) the injunction of our Superiors for this regulation also, we shall do wisely, and best avoid the censure. Those who follow'd the great Alexander held indeed their necks awry, because he most inclin'd it to one side; and when his father Philip wore a fillet about his forehead for a wound which he had receiv'd, all the Court came abroad with the like till the cure was compleat; but we have a Prince whose shape is

elegant, and perfect to admiration, so as I know not whether there was ever upon the throne a personage who had lesse need of Art to render him more graceful, and whose mein makes all things to become him, and therefore certainly (of all the Princes of Europe) the most fit to give the standard now to the *Mode* we next expect, and that not only to his own *Nation*, but to all the *World* besides.

Nec affectatæ Sordes, nec exquisitæ Munditiæ.

FINIS.

Note.—that this was publish'd 2 years before the Vest, Cravett, Garters & Boucles came to be the fashion, & therefore might haply give occasion to the change that ensued in those very particulars.

OF MANUSCRIPTS:

AN UNFINISHED TREATISE,

BY JOHN EVELYN.

THE REFERENCE.

[The paging of the original MS. which is here referred to, is preserved in the margin.]

In Pliny and others what Authors lost, p. 3. 5. 7. 8.
Socrates 5.
Rumaging old corners and Shops, &c. 8.
By what accidents found 8. 10.
Skill how to reade MSS. 12.
Alphabets, Letters 12. 16.
Hebrew 14.
Gr. & Lat. 14. 16.
Capitals 14. 16.
No distinction of words 14. 15. 20. qu. about punctuations.
Gotic 16. 18. 20.
Inscriptions 16.
MSS. how antient 16.
Sculpture 16.
Short hand, Notæ, &c. 17. 18.
Letters corrupted 20.
How to discover the age of the MSS. 20.
How books bound and made up in old time, Rolls, &c. 19. 20. 22. 23.
Umbilicus 22.
Ink 25.
Wax, Seals 25.
Miniature 25.

OF

MANUSCRIPTS,

CAP. I.

THE infinite losse of those many excellent Authors Works since 1
the barbarous Nations broke in vpon the Roman Empire, besides the Warrs & sad confusions which the many Sects & Schismes about matters of Religion have out of a pretended but pernicious zeale ben the cause of, requiring the diligence & industrie of learned and inquisitive men, and such as would promote knowledge by endeavoring to repaire this deplorable losse; has perswaded me, that it might neither be unacceptable or vnwellcom to the Curious, and such as would inrich & addorne their Libraries with that which has euer ben esteemed the most valuable & precious furniture, if to what the learned Naudeus has publish'd concerning it in general, I added some more particular Directions in a Chapter or two relating to *Manu-scripts*, as alredy I haue of *Medals;* which, tho' they can advance nothing to the more knowing & experienced in this kind of erudition, may yet happly be of vse and some assistance to such as are lesse exercis'd and vers'd, but who are no lesse curious, and laudably persuing it.

I shall not neede to go any farther for these instructions than the learned Mons[r] Baudelot has don in his excellent Treatise concerning the Vtilitie of *Trauell*, because he has to my hand said all that is necessarie for institution & beginners, which is all this short Discourse designes; and I the rather take this occasion of publishing it, not onely that a second edition of the former piece may appeare with some

improuement (to com'ute for its former defects), but that whilst this
3 *Mart* of *Auctions* and fervour of buying Books (whether to the detriment or advantage of Learning, so many noble & well furnish'd *Libraries* hauing of late ben scatter'd and dispers'd, I shall not determine) seemes to obtaine, I may gratifie Gentlemen who are lovers of Books & Antiquities with something not unusefull.

Neither shall I charge this Chapter with so large a recension of all those *Authors* whose Workes we haue wholy lost, & are perish'd, or of such whose Fragments onely remaine, of which Plinie has given vs so sad a catalogue; whilst the Greeke or Latine Poets, whose workes are come entirely to vs, are so few, & so mutilated. We have almost nothing of the Roman Emperors (Julius Cæsar, M. Antoninus, & very few others, excepted), tho' so many of them were the *Authors* of many incomparable pieces in almost all the Sciences. Not therefore to insist on Hiero, Philometer, Attalus, Juba, and other greate & learned Princes, &c. let it suffice once for all (by which an estimate may be made of an inestimable losse) to mention onely what we want of the first of the Roman Emperors, whose short *Com'entarie* is all that remaines of so many more rare and learned works which that greate man was author of. The Prince of Orators* himselfe celebrates the pleadings of this extraordinary person, as equal to any of his time: besides his bookes of Analogie, Anti-Catoni, several Poems, a Tragedy, Epistles, a world of Letters written to the Senat, Cicero and his friends; a collection of Remarkeable Sayings of the famous Persons in his time, &c. His successor, the great Augustus, was author of many composures and treatises, which, Suetonius acquaints vs, he recited before the Senate, the people, & the souldiers. His Rescripta; Bruto de Catone; Exhortations to the study of Philosophie; the XIII bookes of his owne Life; Funebral Orations; Elegies & Elogies vpon several of his neere Relations and Friends; the Instructions and Advice address'd to Tiberius, Agrippa, and Mecenas, touching Gouernment; with a State & Account of the Empire to the Senate.

I might proceede with our Author to reckon vp the publique losses of this kind, by what we want of M. Antonius, Tiberius, Trajan,

* Epist. ad Brut.

Hadrian, the Antonines, &c. and others of the following Emperors, many of which were very learned. But should I add the miscarrid pieces of other famous persons, whereof the Names of some are perish'd with their works in the deluge of time, by invasions, warrs, fire, ignorance, and a thousand accidents to which all humane labours & productions are incident, the consideration of it alone would even astonish one; the names of those we do know, and the treasure which is lost being so deplorable: particularly the workes of Varro, of all the Romans the most learned, according to the opinion of St. Augustine; Nigidius Figulus, Æschines, Lisias, Quintilian, Longinus, Himmerius, Damascius, Jamblicus, &c. And of the Philosophers, the writings of Pythagoras, who has left vs nothing himselfe: no more than has Epicurus, Democritus, Heraclitus, nor much Jamblicus, &c. What shall we then say of Socrates, the wisest among them all, as appeares by those short & scanty extracts giuen us by Xenophon, Athenæus, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, Eunapius, Photius, Suidas, Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, Stobeus, &c.! But, aboue all, the irreparable losse of so many noble *Historians*, some of them antienter than Herodotus, who (next to the Sacred Oracles) is the very antientest of all: such were Dionysius the Milesian, Hecutæus, Xanthus of Lydia, Hellanicus, &c. What would not be given for a complete Polybius, who wrote fourty books, whereoff there remaines not aboue a third part! Diodorus Siculus (after his many voyages, and thirty yeares application for the compiling his work) has left but fiveteene of as many as Polybius, nor those in due order and series of time. Justine giues vs but a briefe epitomie of Trogus Pompeius. O losse inestimable! And before this noble writer there were Fabius Pictor, Posthumius Albinus, Cassius Hemina, Cato, Valerius Antius, Caius Fannius, Sempronius, and Quadrigarius, of all whose workes we haue nothing saue what is recited in Salust, Quintilian, A. Gellius, and some other gleners: nor indeede have we Salust himself intire: and of twenty books composed by Dionysius Halicarnassus are left but eleauen, the other nine being lost. Wonderfull has ben the expectation of the worlds seeing a compleate Livie, that should haue ben offered to the French King for a summ of mony, (a treasure better worth than all his vnjust

bloudy conquests & appanages, had he obtained it); but after all their boasting, we heare no farther of it. And yet were we possess'd of
7 that Historie onely, we still should want those Philosophic Dialogues mentioned by Seneca; and the *Rhetoric* which he dedicated to his son, as Quintilian tells vs.

The beginning of Velleius Paterculus is defective, as well as the two first bookes of Quintus Curtius, end of the fifth, & beginning of the sixth.

Of fifteene bookes of Tacitus, there remaine but five. Suetonius was Author of severall workes we haue no fragments remaining of, as appeares by A. Gellius, Servius, Tzetzes, & Suidas, who mention several of them; and many, many more vpon the grauest subjects are wanting of Arrian (disciple of Epictetus), especially those ten books he wrot concerning what pass'd after the death of the greate Alexander amongst his valiant Generals: besides these, eight bookes of the Bithynian Historie; those of Thimoleon the Corinthian; of Dion Syracusanus, seauenteene bookes of the Scythians, and those of Partha, so often cited by Stephanus, and several more.

Appian of Alexandria is also very lame and defective; but aboue all the fate of Dion Cassius is deplorable, of whose worke, containing four score books, there remaine but twenty-five; a losse the more to be regreted & considerable, as the noble Author was one of the most knowing persons of his time, had pass'd thro all the charges of the empire, in the gouernment of which he had so signal a part himselfe: seueral other things of his are mentioned by Suidas.

Of Ammianus Marcellinus's thirty bookes wee have remaining but eighteene, and they likewise sufficiently defective, notwithstanding all the paines and industrie of the learned Valesius to restore them.

We forbeare to mention Eunapius, Exippus, ...* and of the Antients innumerable more, mentioned by Suidas, Photius, &c. besides the losse of many usefull Historians of the Ages since, amongst which, several Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers; for of Eusebius there are wanting fifteene several treatises on various subiects; five of

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* Blank in the MS.

St. Athanasius: of St. Hilarie seauen, of St. Ambrose as many: three of Epiphanius, of Lactantius seaven, & so of the rest (for one should neuer have don to mention all), besides doubtfull & supposititious in aboundance, for which consult Sixtus Senensis, Antonius Possevin, Bellarmine, or rather our learned Dr. Cave's *Ecclesiastici*, and *instar omnium*, the late Mr. Dupin.

For it would grieue ones heart to make any farther inquirie, were it not to stirr one vp with the greater zeale to endeauor the finding out of such of them as may yet possibly lie hid & vndiscouered, notwithstanding all the deligent searches which from time to time haue been made. And therefore nothing ought to discourage the Learned and Curious, especialy such as amongst them are Travellars abroad, who haue the greatest & most rightly advantages of any other, for the finding out these straid pieces, & reduce the scatter'd limbs of Hippolytus, as the most inestimable treasure they can bring home, or oblige the world & celebrate their names by to posterity: Nor are such to disdaine the rum'aging sometimes of the most neglected corners of Shops, & other obscure places, howeuer couer'd with dust and cobwebs, whereeuer one may heare or suspect some old Parchments may haue ben cast; and to enquire what trades & other crafts (besides the Leafe Gold beaters, Book-binders, Past-board, & the makers of Musical Instruments, who vse it about the ribbs of lutes, and other occasions) employ them in their works, & are vs'd to buy, & haue brought to them to sell, from Vpholsters and Brokers, & from country and illiterate people & servants, who now & then light vpon old and neglected *Manuscripts* cast behind the doore, or other blind corner of the house; and to procure amongst those sort of people that whateuer old writings & parchments of that nature come to their hands, they be encourag'd to bring them to you, or giue you notice; since by this meanes you may possibly happen vpon that which may be a thousand times worth your paines and expense; for by such an accident Irnerius, (a learned professor of Bolonia) A. 1130, finding by chance some scatter'd fragments of Justinian, lighted on the remainder & whole body of the Law: And Cujas, by a like good fortune, happily restor'd the intire *Theodosian Code.*

Saint Agobardus Arch Bishop of Lion's Works, not long since pub-

lish'd by the learned Baluzius, after seauen hundred yeares, during which they slept in obscurity, had neuer ben heard of but by one Massonius, who chanc'd to find a copy in a Booksellers shop of that citty, just as he was about pulling it in pieces to couer other books, &c.

Tho' therefore they should bring you onely fragments & single sheetes, on whatsoeuer subject, bearing the face and character of Antiquitie, reject them not; since 'tis possible one may at leasure find something amongst them to recompence ones curiositie, should but a remnant serve to restore but one deficient or doubtful line or word onely of some excellent Author, & which may perhaps haue escaped all the learned Critics of a thousand yeares past, of which instances aboundance may be produc'd.

12 Now for a competent skill in reading Manuscripts, their Abbreviations & various Characters, a little application surmounts the difficulty, & may be facilitated by pervsal of the late Benedictine Mabillon de Re Diplomatica, & others, who give several examples out of antient titles, patents, and records, tho' these do but in part concerne what we seeke; the best expedient being by comparing the most antient, & other abbreviated characters in manuscript, with the same author printed at large, as they haue for the greatest part ben publish'd since the happy invention of that noble art. In the meane while, 'tis observable, that they did not all, euen of the same nation and language, constantly write the same characters; almost euery age made some variation, as may plainly appeare in what was in vse amongst vs of this Nation in the reignes of Henry the VIII. euen to Q. Elizabeth; not to insist vpon the more learned ages, growne degenerate with the fate & ruine of the countries.

As touching the variety of Alphabets and Elements, the learned Dr. Barnaul has lately publish'd a table curiously ingrauen, which may serve, *instar omnium*, for the distinguishing of letters, improuements, and alterations, and how they haue ben propagated from their originals & natiuities; these, for being vnder the eye, are at once easily compared and deduc'd accordingly. The Greeke Abbreviations are to be seene at the end of Nicholas Clinards Gr: Gram'ar.

Now as to the naked Elements themselues, without medling with their Accents & Punctuations, whether borne with the tongues *ab*

origine, & whilst they were living languages, or of later invention for pronunciation sake (as is most likely), dos little concerne vs here; the Curious may consult Buxtorf, the learned Capella, Vossius, Mo- 14
rinus, P. Simon, & other greate Critics, who haue contested so longe about it. Let it suffice to note, beginning with the Hebrew, that the squarenesse of the letter has euer ben esteem'd the most antient forme; whilst Chalde & Syriac, of kindred with y^e^ Hebrew, perplex the learner with Abbreviations, as they do all other tongues so written where they are vs'd, and were likely at first invented for dispatch, not as gracefull ornaments: with the like intanglements & vnion is the antient Arabic, but without points, & of a grosse & larger character.

Now of the antient Tongues, those which haue most contributed to vniversal Learning haue certainely ben the Greek & Latine: for tho' *Manuscripts* of the foremention'd languages are by no meanes to be neglected, and therefore to be especialy inquir'd after by those who travel the Oriental parts of Asia, &c. yet it is for those of the two other tongues we are chiefly concern'd in the inquisition. And as of all other they haue least suffer'd alteration of character, so the squarer and well shap'd the letters, are euer the more antient. The Latine being it selfe of Phœnitian parentage, we find Inscriptions most venerable for age to be of capitals square of forme, neate & politely cut, & not til after with a period betweene words or other distinction whatsoeuer; as also among the Greeke, which in antient bookes is written without the least breake in the contexture, distinction either of point, or accent, or consequence of matter; tho' sometimes in shorter paragraphs, lines, & verses, as testifie those truely antient and noble Inscriptions, which I procur'd some yeares past* of the late Duke of Norfolck to adorne the Theatre of our English Athens, Oxford, brought formerly from Greece by the procurement of that illustrious hero, louer of antiquity, & ornament of his country, Thomas Earle of Arundel & Surry, Earle Marishal of England, & to whom I had the honour to be known both 16
at home & abroad.

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* *Fœdus Smyrnæorum & Magnetum.*

But to return to Letters,—the separation of words, accents, and interpunctations came not in vse 'til about the reigne of Nero, which was a long time after; see Suetonius, in the life of Valerius Probus the Grammarian. But to proceede. 'Tis little more than a thousand yeares that the square or capital forme began to be lesse in vse, saue on Marbles, Titles & Inscriptions; whilst in Bookes they began to change them into a more round and running character, & which by degrees became still smaller, perplext, and more abbreviated, such as is in vse at present, of all which see the learned Lambecius: In the meane time we find some of the Gotic characters to haue crept in & infected the Greeke with their crooked capitals, about the time that the Turkes took Constantinople, when several of the learned Greeks came for refuge amongst the Latines, and indeede long before, vpon the barbarous inundations of the Northern people; but they are easily distinguish'd. As for the Latine, what alterations & corruption it has suffer'd as well in the character as its puritie, the Columne of Duilius, still extant on the staires leading vp to the roomes of the Capitol, sufficiently shew: Nor (as Quintilian notes) were the letters at first the same as now, or so many in number as afterward, more approching the Greek, about the middle age most improv'd, tho' lost againe by a much greater corruption, especialy upon the decadence of the empire, as appeares by a multitude of lame Inscriptions & Sepulchral Monuments more than in Bookes, which were lesse faire in the age before: For antient Manuscripts haue their letters strait & the shanks strait & euen, & may several of them pretend to a thousand or twelue hundred yeares antiquity, & perhaps few there be can honestly pretend to much more: howeuer the antienter the fairer shap'd capitals & bolder stroke, in which, as was said, they imitated the Greeke. These vncial & quadrat capitals (as they were cal'd) were onely in use during that glorious empire; not that they were an inch in length, unlesse the distance and height required it; but so named for that the largest letters were com'onely set at the head & beginning of the line, or word, especialy of Inscriptions, & thence had the name of Capitals: In sum, all the several sorts of letters were also various, and indeede of all dimensions, without restraint to any particular & determinate measure, tho' constant to the shape, figure & proportion, as

A·A·A. for the taking up of lesser space vpon occasion; not that we antiently find any so small, whateuer be the opinion of some, but as they came in use during those barbarous revolutions which corrupted all the politer Arts, especialy Sculpture, the magnificence of Architec- 18
ture, to introduce their trifling Gotic orders.

Lastly & to conclude; there remaining so little if any thing at all of that manner of antient short-hand or (as they call'd them) *Notæ*, by which a single character signified an intire word, introduced about the time of Augustus by a freedman of Cicero's, or Aquila a libertine of Mæcenas, nothing needes more be sayd, than that it prevailing about the decline of the Roman Repub. (for before they knew nothing of it) it was soone giuen ouer and disus'd. Gruter has publish'd something of it; but we haue little if any thing as we said at all of Manuscript Antiquity: & if it serv'd (as probably it might) to assist the memorie, or conceale any matter, as those we call Cyphers, of politic vse with Ministers of State (of which yet we heare nothing amongst the antients), they did not arive to that perfection, which our *Tacugraphists* amongst us are so expert in, as to be able to write after the swiftest speaker without omission of a syllable: which whether practis'd in any other Nation beside, I do not know: But this the feruour of our later zelots to take long & tedious preachments then in fashion uerbatim, & which was a signal marke of a more precise and godly party, tho' they hardly euer read them ouer againe when they came home; one of them since affirming to me, he had by him to the number of three thousand of his own writing—I say it was then, when Religion was chiefly plac'd in long prayers, & for most part very empty discourse; the use of Characts, as then call'd, exceedingly prevail'd; & has ben since transferr'd from the Churche to Westminster hall, the Barr, & to take Reports. Witnesse the many Tryals, imprint & publish'd after them, which may certainly be of excellent vse to those who shall hereafter record the publiq transactions (such as are those of Mr. Rushworth) & what has ben spoken upon the Scaffold by many illustrious sufferers in this tragical age of wonder.

Now whether in imitation of the antient *Notæ*, transposition of capitals, & other marks, they came long after to intangle & disguise

both the larger & smaler letters, dos not appeare ; but so it happens that the Gotiq crooked character has distorted many of the Roman letters with their abbreviations also, to the greate deformity of those beautiful elements, as well as perplexity & trouble of the reader & corruption of the text : for who would not take their ∆ & ω for delta & omega, rather than for A & M? to insist upon no more, since we find such plentiful instances both in bookes & inscriptions. This Lumbardic barbarity coming in about the fourth centurie, reign'd a long time after, as may be seene by the letters about our currant monie 'til Queene Elizabeth. That yet, in which they did resemble the antient Gr. & Romans (but still in their worst & lesse polish'd custome) was that they likewise made no distinction at first betweene words or sentences : but this indeede has ben left off since the more vulgar use of the blew grosse & rugged letter formerly in more request among the Northern people, but almost giuen ouer for a more neate, clean, better form'd character, & when we meete them abbreviated, discover both their age and country, as differing in method & manner, & best understood by comparing MSS: of the same kind, & not a little by the very colour of the parchment, paper, figure and fold, &c.

And here may I without offence perstringe a late custome, beginning to obtaine amongst vs, of putting the Title pages of Latine Bookes in the black Gottic letter, whiche while I looke upon as the impertinence of the Printer onely, I cannot impute to any affectednesse of the learned Author; because 'tis plainly barbarous & by no meanes suitable.

Hauing now finish'd what I intended to write upon this small volume, upon the subject of MSS. I shall add a few lines onely more, concerning the antient manner & forme of making vp their Volumes, formerly written but vpon one side of the leafe onely : for I shall passe by other materials yet more antient, as inconvenient, such as Mettals, Ivory, Wood, Bark of Trees, Waxen Tables, Linnen, Silk, &c. of which a volume might be written without much instruction, and which had their succession before the more commodious invention of Parchment, because the inke was apt to sink thro' it, Paper being the leafe of a certaine plant. And this they did also for some time on Parchment,

which afterwards they fil'd on both sides, cutting the skinne in long slipps for the more com'odious rolling on the staues, of which and other curious circumstances see Pancirollus, Salmasius, & especialy the late learned Is: Vossius, who thus describes it:* "The *Volumina* which by the Greekes were called χάρται, tho' consisting of neuer so 22
many slips or sheetes, being pasted edge to edge long wayes, made yet but one Carta or Volume, which, as was said, being sometimes vpon a thin leafe was written onely on one side, but after the vse of more substantial matter, which was Parchment, they were said to be ὀπισθόγραφα, written on the contrary (that is on both) side, especialy when they began to bind the sheetes in the square forme, for so were many Bookes, as appeare when there is mention made of Homer *in pugillaribus membranis;* Virgil *in brevi membrano;* Ovid, *è multiplicibus tabellis;* & Livy, *pellibus exiguis arctatur:* where, by the way, I do not suppose it meant as if the intire text of that voluminous Historian was written at length, or some *Decads* onely (as Vossius supposes), but an *Epitomie* of the Author. Howeuer it were, the antient and most famous Libraries totaly consisted of *Rolls* or *Columns:* Diogenes calls them *Cilinders*, when he reports that Epicurus writ three hundred of them. They tack'd, as we describ'd, one sheete to the bottom of the other, in a long series of slips sufficient to hold a transcript of the whole work: This the *Scribs* or *Librarii* hanging ouer a convenient frame before their deskes, perhaps not vnlike what our Scriveners & Lawyers Clearks now vse, (or ouer the desk as I haue seen a picture in old Munke MSS.) slipt the roll from the writer as fast as they finish'd what lay conveniently before them: This, as it fell on the other side, still drew vp the cleane, vacant, & vnwritten part under his hand, til all was finish'd, the lines being allways rul'd, & afterward rubb'd out. This don they roll'd all vp, beginning at the end or last sheete of the work, & this was cal'd *Umbilicus*†, fastning it to a round staff of

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* Notes in Catull.

† The Staff or Umbilicus is found in some of ye Oriental Tongues to be fixt to the left side of ye membranæ or sheets. Letters or Epistles were sometimes folded up, whence *involvere libros;* so, *complicare Epistolas;* but, if they preserv'd them in their librarys, they vs'd to rolle them vp.

Ebonie, Box, or some other wood to keepe it close, smooth, & from wrinkling. At the begining of the text or rather extreame on the backside, was glew'd a slip of parchment, not onely to serue as couer & defence, but for ornament, & was therfore wont to be painted with some lively colour, Vermilion, Yellow, Purple, &c.; but neuer alike on both sides & with the same colour: It was on the inside of this lappet or couer that they writ the Inscription or Dedication of the
23 book; the outward side was com'only painted in a purple colour, or letters of Gold, the Title, whence that of Martial *: *Et cocco rubeat superbus Index.* This flap or integument, call'd by the Greekes σιτ∫υβεις, enwrap'd the intire Volume, & then the ends or basis of the Roll were shorn and cut exactly smooth & horizontaly euen, or at right angles, least otherwise the whole Cilinder vnroll'd at any time should appeare wau'd, indented, and ill-fauour'd; nor could it be plac'd upright.

Lastly, the finishing ornament was certain *Cornua* or hornes made of Ivorie, Ebonie, nay sometimes of Gold & Siluer, curiously turn'd, polish'd, & fix'd to the extreams of the Umbilicus or Staff. Hence those expressions *gemina cornua* & *geminæ frontes* in Ovid, signifying the abrased or shorne part of the Roll, thence call'd *Frontes*, as now our quadrat bookes haue three fronts or edges. Nor did the fashion of these square books yet so prevaile, as quite to put the *Frontes* out of countenance: they continued in so general vse, as little mention was made of any other a long time, & for good reason, Paper made of an Egyptian reade or flag (and invented the 3620th yeare of the World, about the time of the Greate Alexander's conquests) being so much a cheaper material than Parchment, and easier pasted together than the binding of the other more stubborn sheetes or *Codices membranaceos* in the Square, succeeding the Cylinder. Vossius makes Attalus King of Pergamus to haue ben the inventor of Parchment, or rather, as I conceiue, the Art of dressing & curing it to beare Inke on both sides: But however it were, the Copiers & Scribes themselves (many of them

* Lib. 3, Epist. 2.

excellently learned) finish'd the whole work of writing, pasting, rolling, painting, gilding & binding, as now our Stationers do: nor were there so many trades about it; *Bibliographus*, *Bibliopegus*, & *Bibliopolus*, were all the same, all comprehended under the name *Librarii*.

Lastly, how they plac'd them in their studies was not constant to the posture, some in coves & partitions, so as to discouer the Titles, others laied them flat along, & some set them upright. 'Tis in the meane time very strange, that amongst those infinite Rolls & Volumes which crowded the antient famous Libraries, we should find so very few, rarely any at this day, & if any certainly very antient & valuable, especialy if in capitals; as is yet in vse among the Jewes; their Bibles & other books preserving the antient forme.

To conclude; something might here be saide concerning the *Inke*, its variety & colours, how of old prepar'd; but whilst the sooty & yellow hue of the parchment & paper was counted for a marke of Antiquity, it might yet be counterfited, & the cheate as easily detected, by peeling the corner a little, to see whether it appeare fresh or throly ting'd. But to proceed with *Inks;* some books were written in Letters of Gold, some with Purple (which last is said to haue ben vs'd by the Greeke Emperors onely, and other greate persons), with Greene, and so with variety of Colours distinguishing the qualitie of the person. The same may be observ'd of *Wax* & *Seales;* but these, for being little to our purpose, I onely name: whilst the thicknesse & blacknesse of the Inke gos for another marke of antiquity, as the palnesse of it of the contrary. We sometimes also meete with *Gotic Manuscripts*, but of later date, which haue leaues of paper mingled with the parchment: of all which kinds, divers of the Northern especialy, some are written very accurately, & addorn'd with curious Miniatured Capitals, & other borders & compartments, & with a sort of burnish'd Gilding polish'd like plates of Gold, in *relieuo*, an art now lost; & such we meete with in divers old Offices, & books of Devotion, & relating to Chymistrie & the *greate Elixir*. His late Ma^{ty} K. Charles the 2^{d} had several very rare of this kind in his Priuate Library at Whitehall; but all these are curious trifles in comparison of antient Manuscripts, & but marks of the

later ages, when idle Monks and cloister'd persons had little else to com'end them *.

But before I come to FINIS, I will gratifie our louer of MSS. with this Receipt: Take beaten galls, and infuse them in a glasse of white wine for a day, the mouth close stop'd. Set the phial in a warme place, & distill it thro' a limbiq; with the liquor rub parchment or paper whose letters are worne and dim'd thro' age, & it will recover the writing.

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* The art of illuminating books was much practised by the Clergy, and even by some in the higher stations of the Church. "Osmund Bp. of Salisbury, 1076, did not disdain to spend some part of his time in writing, binding, and illuminating books."

The illuminators and painters of this period (eleventh and twelfth centuries) seem to have been in possession of a considerable number of colouring materials, and to have known the arts of preparing and mixing them so as to form a great variety of colours. In the specimens of their miniature paintings that are still extant, we perceive not only the primary colours, but also various combinations of them.

Mr. Dibdin, in his Bibliographical Decameron (that inexhaustible fund of every thing that is curious respecting books), vol. I. p. 122, quoting Henry's History of England, vol. VI. p. 226, 227, and X. p. 213.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

ENCOUNTER

BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND SPANISH AMBASSADORS

AT THE LANDING OF THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR,

SEPT. 30, 1661.

"There had been many troubles & disputes between the Ambass^{rs} of France & Spain for precedence in the Courts of foreign Princes, & amongst these there was none more remarkable than that on Tower-hill, on the landing of an Ambass^{r} for Sweden, 30 Sept. 1660, w^{ch} was so premeditated a business on both sides, that the King, foreseeing it wo^{d} come to a quarrell, & being willing to carry himself with indifference towards both, w^{ch} co^{d} not be otherwise done than by leaving them at liberty to take what methods they thought proper for supporting their respective pretences; but to shew at the same time his concern for the public tranquillity, orders were given for a strict guard to be kept upon the place, & all his Ma^{tys} subjects were enjoined not to intermeddle, or take part with either side. The King was further pleased to command* that Mr. Evelyn should, after diligent enquiry made, draw up & present him a distinct narrative of the whole affair†."

This was done accordingly, and printed, but not being now to be met with, except in the additions to the Biographia Britannica, begun by the late Dr. Kippis, and this being a work which has not been completed, and is in few hands, it may not be amiss to print it from Mr. Evelyn's own copy.

* See vol. I. p. 327.

† Continuation of Heath's Chronicle.

A FAITHFULL AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE OF W^{t} PASS'D AT THE LANDING OF THE SWEDISH AMBASS^{r}.

UPON Monday last, being the 30th of September (1661), about ten in the morning, the Spanish Ambassador's coach, in which were his Chaplain with some of his gentlemen, attended by about 40 more of his own servants in liveries, was sent down to the Tower wharf, & there placed itself near about the point where the rankes of ordnance determine, towards the gate leading into the bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch, & (twelve o'clock past) the Swedish coach of honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About 2 hours after this (in company with His Maj^{tys} coach Royal) appeared that of the French Ambass^{rs}, wherein were Le Marquis d'Estrade, son to the French Ambass^{r}, with several more of his gentlemen, &, as near as might be computed, neare 150 in train, whereof above 40 were horsemen well appointed with pistols, & some of them with carabines, musquetoons, or fuzees; in this posture and equipage stood they expecting upon the wharf, &, as near as might be, approaching to his Ma^{tys} coach, w^{ch} was opposite to the stayers. About 3 in the afternoon, the Swedish Ambass^{r} being landed & received into his Ma^{tys} coach, which moved leasurely before the rest, and was followed by that of the Swede's, the French Ambass^{rs} coach endeavor'd to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, & advancing their party with their swords drawne, to force the Spaniards from the guard of their owne coach, which was also putting in for precedence next the King's. His Ma$^{tye's}$ coach now passed y^{e} Spaniards, who held as yet their rapiers undrawn in their hands, stepping nimbly on either side of the hindmost wheels of their Minister's coach, drew their weapons and shouted, which caused the French coach-horses to make a pause: but when they observed the advantage w^{ch} by this the Spanish Ambass$^{r's}$ coach had gained, being now in file after the Swede's, they came up very neare to the Spaniards, and at once powring in their shot upon them, together with their foote, then got before their coach, fell to it with their swords, both which the Spaniards received without removing one jot from their stations.

During this *demeslè* (in w^ch^ the French received some repulse, & were put to a second stand) a bold & dextrous fellow, and, as most affirm, with a particular instrument as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the French Ambass^rs^ coach horses, cut the ham-strings of 2 of them, & wounded a third, which immediately falling, the coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the coachman forced out of his box, and the postillion mortaly wounded, who falling into the arms of an English gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded & some slain) caused those in the French coach to alight, & so enraged their party, that it occasioned a second brisk assault both of horse & foot, w^ch^ being received with extraordinary gallantry, many of their horse retreated, & wheeled off towards St. Katherine's.

It was in this skirmish that some brickbats were thrown f^m^ the edge of the wharf, w^ch^ by a mistake are said to have been provided by the Spanish Ambass^r's^ order the day before.

In this interim then (which was near half an hour) the Spanish coach went forward after his Ma^ties^ with about 20 of his retinue following, who still kept their countenance towards the French as long as they abode on the wharfe, & that narrow part of the bulwark (where the contest was very fierce) without disorder: so as the first w^ch^ appeared on Tower-hill, where now they were entering, was his Ma^ties^ coach followed by the Swedes Ambass^r's^, & next by that of Spain, with about 24 or 30 of his Liveries still disputing it with a less number of French who came after them in the reare.

And here, besides what were slain with bullets on the wharf & near the bulwark, whereof one was a *valet de chambre* of the Spanish Ambass^r's^, & six more, amongst w^ch^ were a poor English plasterer, & near 40 wounded, fell one of the French, who was killed just before his Highness's life-guard. No one person of the numerous spectators intermedling, or so much as making the least noise or tumult, people or souldiers, whereof there were 3 companies of foot, which stood on the hill opposite to the Guards of Horse, 'twixt whom the antagonists lightly skirmished, some fresh parties of French coming out of several

places and protected by the English, amongst whom they found shelter till the Spanish Ambass$^{r's}$ coach having gained & passed the chain w^{ch} leads into Crochet Friers, they desisted and gave them over.

Neere halfe an houre after this, came the French coach (left all this while in dissorder on the wharfe), with two horses and a coachman, who had a carabine by his side, and, as the officers thinke, onely a footman in the coach, and a loose horse running bye. Next to him went the Holland Ambass^{rs} coach, then the Sweedes second coach: These being all advanced upon the hill, the Duke of Albemarle's coach, with the rest of the English, were stopp'd by interposition of his Royal High^{sse} Life-guard, which had expresse order to march i'mediately after the last Ambass^{rs} coach; and so they went on, without any farther interruption.

This is the most accurate relation of what pass'd, as to matter of fact, from honourable, most ingenuous, and disintress'd eye-witnesses; as by his Ma^{ties} com'and it was taken, and is here set down.

But there is yet something behind which were necessary to be inserted into this Narrative in reference to the preamble; and as it tends to the utter dissolving of those oblique suspicions, which have any aspect on his Ma^{ties} subjects, whether spectators or others: and therefore it is to be taken notice, that, at the arivall of the Venetian Ambass^{r} some months since, the Ambass^{rs} of France and Spaine intending to send both their coaches to introduce him, the Amb^{r} of Spaine having before agreed with the Count de Soissons that they should assist at no publiq ceremonies, but, upon all such casual encounters, passe on their way as they fortun'd to meete; it had been wish'd that this expedient might still have taken place. But Mons^{r} de Strade having (it seemes) received positive com'ands from his master, that notwithstanding any such accord, he should nothing abate of his pretence, or the usual respect shew'd upon all such occasions, he insisted on putting this injunction of the King his master in execution, at arival of the Swedish Ambass^{r}. His Ma^{tie}, notwithstanding all the just pretences which he might have taken, reflecting on the dissorders that might possibly arise in this Citty, in which for severall nights he had bin forc'd to place extraordinary Guards; and because he would not seeme to take upon him the

decision of this puntillo, in prejudice of either Ambassador, as his charitable interposition might be interpreted; his Ma^tie declaring himselfe withall no umpire in this unpleasing and invidious controversy, permitted that, both their coaches going, they might put their servants and dependants into such a posture as they should thinke fittest, and most becoming their respective pretences: but in the meane time commanded (upon paine of his highest displeasure), that none of his Ma^ties subjects, of what degree soever, should presume to interpose in their differences. But, in truth, the care of his Officers, and especially that of S^r Charles Barcley, Capitaine of his R. Hig^ss Life-guard (which attended this service), was so eminent and particular, that they permitted not a man of the spectators so much as with a switch in his hand, whom they did not chastize severely.

As to that which some have refin'd upon, concerning the shoure of bricks which fell in this contest (whether industriously placed there or no, for some others of the Spanish party assign'd to that post), 'tis affirm'd by the concurrent suffrage of all the spectators, that none of them were cast by any of his Ma^ties subjects, 'til, being incens'd by the wounds which they receiv'd from the shot which came in amongst them (and whereof some of them, 'tis say'd, are since dead), and not divining to what farther excesse this new and unexpected compliment might rise, a few of the rabble, and such as stood on that side of the wharfe, were forced to defend themselves with what they found at hand; and to which, 'tis reported, some of them were animated by a fresh remembrance of the treatement they receiv'd at Chelsey, and not long since in Covent garden, which might very well qualifie this article from having any thing of designe that may reflect on their superiours; nor were it reasonable that they should stand charg'd, for the rudeness of such sort of people, as in all countries upon like occasions, and in such a confusion, is inevitable. Those who observ'd the arm'd multitudes of French which rush'd in neere the chaine on Tower-hill, issuing out of severall houses there, and com'ing in such a tumultuous and indecent manner amongst the peaceable spectators, would have seene that, but for the temper of the Officers, and presence of the Guards, into how great an inconveniency they had ingag'd themselves.

Nor have they at all to accuse any for the ill successe which attended, if the French would a little reflect upon the severall advantages which their antagonists had consulted, to equal that by stratagem'e which they themselves had gain'd by numbers, and might still have preserv'd, with the least of circumspection.

It was evidently the conduct of the Spaniards, not their armes, which was the decisive here; nor had his Ma^tie^ or his people the least part in it, but what the French have infinite obligations to; since without this extraordinary indulgence and care to protect them, they had in all probability drawne a worse inconveniency upon them, by appearing with so little respect to the formes which are us'd upon all such occasions.

There need then no other arguments to silence the mistakes which flie about, that his Ma^ties^ subjects should have had so much as the least temptation to mingle in this contest, not onely because they knew better what is their duty, for reverence to his Ma^ties^ co'mands (which were now most expresse), and whose Guards were ready to interpose where any such inclination had in the least appear'd: So as to do right to the good people spectators (whose curiosity on all such occasions compose no small part of these sollemnities), that report which would signifie their misbehaviour is an egregious mistake, and worthy to be reprov'd. Nor becomes it the French (of all the Nations under Heaven) to suspect his Ma^tie^ of partiality in this affaire, whose extraordinary civilitie to them, ever since his happy restauration, has appear'd so signal, and is yet the greatest ingredient to this declaration, because, by the disquisition of these impartial truths, he endeavors still to preserve it most inviolable.

Written by Mr. Evelyn underneath.

This, S^r^, is w^t^ I was able to collect of that contest, by his M^ties^ special com'and, from the R^gt^ Ho^l^ S^r^ W. Compton, M^r^ of the Ordnance of y^e^ Towre, & of his Major p^esent^, of S^r^ Charles Barcly, & severall others, all there p^esent^, & from divers of y^e^ inhabitants & others spectators, whom I examined from house to house, from y^e^ spot where the dispute began, to Crotchet Friers, where it ended. The rest of the reflections were special hints from his Ma^ties^ owne mouth, the first tyme I read it to him, wich was the 2^d^ day after the contest.

Indorsed by Mr. Evelyn.—The Contest 'twixt the French & Span: Embass^rs^ on Towre hill for Precedency.—Note, That copys of this were dispatch'd to the L^d^ Ambass^r^ in France, who was my L. of St. Albans. Also, Another was written to be layd up & kept in y^e^ Paper Office at Whitehall.

MEMOIRS, &c.

PART II.

CONTAINING

The Private Correspondence

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I. AND HIS SECRETARY OF STATE,
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,

WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641, AND AT OTHER TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR;

ALSO BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,
AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I.
AND THE USURPATION.

ORIGINAL LETTERS.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicolas, Your aduertisments to me,* is so far from displeasing me, that I comand you to continew it, & that as often as conuenientlie ye may. Deliuer thease incloseds. (I hope ye know, by that yesterday that on *(one)* is to my Wyfe.) so I rest

Your frend,

Eden. 15 Aug. 1641. Charles R.

Aduertise my Wyfe vpon euery dispache, that she may (if she will) wryt; & make one when & as often as she will comand you.

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* This letter is evidently the first sent by the King to Sir Edward Nicholas, in answer to his first communication respecting the proceedings subsequent to his Majesty's departure from the metropolis to settle affairs in the Scottish Parliament. This journey of the King was by no means agreeable to the English Parliament; for, so late as the 7th of August the Commons desired the Lords to join with them in an attempt to delay the King's departure for fourteen days. Charles, however, gave his assent on that day to several Bills both public and private, and then bade the Parliament *Farewell!* The next day, although *Sunday*, the Commons actually sat, for the purpose of forming and presenting a petition on the subject. On the 9th, his Majesty again gave the royal assent to four Bills, and took leave a second time, telling the Parliament that he should return before Michaelmas, if possible. At two o'clock he set off, accompanied by the Elector Palatine and Duke of Richmond. His journey must have been performed with a rapidity nearly equal to that of the present day.

The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas I haue reseaued your letter: and that you send me from the King: which writes me word he as been vere well reseaued in scotland: and that both the armie: and the people: have shued a creat joye to see the King: and such: that theay say was neuer seen before: pray god it may continued: for the letter that I writt to you counserning the commissionaires it is them that are toe dispatch bussinesse in the Kings absence: I thank you for your care of geuing me aduises of what passes at London: and soe I reste

Your frand

Otelands*, the 19 August. Henriette Marie R.

Indorsed, "For Mistre Nicholas."

In Sir E. N.'s writing:

"19° Aug. 1641. The Queenes le^r to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

Yesterday I receaved yo^r Ma^ties of the 17th of this month, & in it one to the Queene, & another to my Lo: Keeper †: I forthw^h presented yo^r Ma^ties to the Queene, w^ch when she had read, her Ma^tie comanded me to forbeare to deliver that to my Lo. Keeper, & took it into her owne custody, for that her Ma^tie said it was written att her entreaty, & that there is now noe occasion for y^e delivery of it, as her Ma^tie tells me she will by her next satisfy yo^r Ma^tie, & I hope I have donne nothing but my duty in obeying her Ma^ties comaund touching that letter.

Apostyled in the King's Writing‡: *Ye ar verrie right.*

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* Oatlands at this period was the Queen's property, having been granted to her some years before, by the King, for her life. In the preceding year, 1640, her son Henry of Oatlands was born there. Oatlands had long been a royal mansion; but the house then stood on low ground, near the present kitchen garden (see "History of Surrey"); and was pulled down during the Usurpation, with the exception of a small part, which was again given up to the Queen upon the Restoration.

† Sir Edward Littleton, created Lord Littleton in this year.

‡ What is so apostyled by the King will be printed in the margin in Italics.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,

Secretary of State to King Charles I & II.

Yr affectionat- friend &
humble s. Edwd

Cardn. 1/10 Jun. 1647

Edw. Nicholas

Satterday morning the Comittees did set forth towards Scotland *, & that day the Peers adiourned their House till too-morrow †: it is conceaved there will not be much business donne now in P'liam't untill they shall understand of the arrivall and recepcon of their Comittees by yo^r Ma^tie, whereon all their eyes are fixed ‡.

The Constable of y^e Tower is comanded by y^e Lo^des House forthw^h to reside constantly in the Tower, & order is given (as I am credibly tould) that there shal be 40 Souldiers added to reinforce that garrison, w^ch new soldiers are to be contynued & paid by the P'liam't here during yo^r Ma^ties absence.

Upon a Conference had betweene both Houses, there is an order of P'liam't for y^e present disarming of all Recusants §, and some Comittees of the Houses are appointed to see y^e Statutes on that behalf forthw^h put in execucon.

Upon consideracon of y^e great ielousies that are raysed here & spread abroade, as if there were some intencons to make use of some of y^e Armyes to y^e preiudice of y^e Parliam^t, and upon the apparent delay that hath been used in y^e paying off, & disbanding y^e Englishe Armye, w^ch hath bene cleerely throughe y^e negligence of those whom y^e Parliam^t hath imployed in that service, I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^tie to give me leaue to offer to yo^r Ma^ties consideracon, whether it may not be fitt for yo^r Ma^tie p'sently to wryte yo^r l'res to the Speaker of one or both Houses, taking notice of y^e delay & sloth that hath bene used in y^e disbanding the Armies, w^ch have bene kept on foote here to y^e great

Heerein I haue etane your aduyce, the inclosed to the Keeper being to that effect, onlie I would haue you aduertice my Wyfe of it.

* These Commissioners were appointed by both Houses on the 16th of August, with instructions to negociate with the Scottish Parliament, respecting the affairs of that Kingdom.

† The Commons, however, had been very busy since the King's departure: having brought fresh charges against the impeached Bishops; voted Perry, Jermyn, and Suckling, guilty of high treason; and established a complaint against the Queen's Capuchin Friars. Though the King was gone, yet Commissioners were left to exercise the royal functions in Parliament, and the assent was given to the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage on the 16th of August.

‡ Before adjournment they made fresh orders against the Recusants, and also for raising money speedily for the use of the army.

§ This originated in a complaint from the Commons to the Lords on the 17th of August, that the laws for disarming them were neglected, and that many of them were even screened by members of the Upper House.

greevaunce of yo^{r} Sub^{cts} in y^{e} North, & att a heavy charge to yo^{r} kingdome in England in g'rall, notwithstanding yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath from tyme to tyme by frequent speeches to both Houses often called upon them to ease this yo^{r} Kingdome of that greevous burthen. Yo^{r} Ma^{tie} now understanding, that (when by y^{e} agreem^{t} wth the Scots all the Englishe forces are to be disbanded) y^{e} Lo. G'rall hath advertised y^{e} Houses that there wants 140. thousand pounds to finishe that worke, therefore yo^{r} Ma^{tie} may be pleased to quicken the Parliam^{t} here, & to let them know how sensible yo^{r} Ma^{tie} is of y^{e} long sufferings of yo^{r} people of England, & to comaund the Houses, (all other matters set apart) forthwith to apply themselves to free this yo^{r} Kingdome of soe heavy & dayly a charge. Such a letter would let yo^{r} people here see yo^{r} care and affec'on to them, & make appeare cleerely to the world that there is noe intenc'on on yo^{r} Ma^{ties} p^{te} to make use of the Army here, as may be otherwise insinuated.

I humbly beg yo^{r} Ma^{ties} p'don for this bold & tedious discourse, w^{ch} is noe other then an effect of the dutifull affeccon of

Yo^{r} Ma^{ties}
most humble & most
obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Continew your advertisments for wch I thanke you
C. R.

As I was closing this packet, I receaved one from Edenburgh, wherein was yo^{r} Ma^{ties} le^{r} of the 19th p'esent: I shall lett my Lo. Keeper understand what yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath comaunded me to deliver to my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes (who is now in his circuit in Suffolke) touching y^{e} 4 Irishe Regiments *, and desire his Lo^{pp} (in y^{e} others absence) to acquaint y^{e} Lo^{des} House therewith. Yo^{r} Ma^{ties} le^{r} of y^{e} 19th p'sent I have sent to y^{e} Queene.

Westminster, 23^{o} Aug. 1641.

Under this date, in the King's writing, "Eden. 28."

Indorsed, "For yo^{r} Ma^{tie}." And signed by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Likewise indorsed by Sir E. N. "My le^{r} to y^{e} King of y^{e} 23 of Aug. 1641. Apostiled y^{e} 28th."

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* When the Irish regiments were on the point of being disbanded, the Ambassadors of France and Spain made an application to the Parliament on the 14th of August for leave to hire several regiments for foreign service; but their application was refused.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicolas, I thanke you for the account you haue giuen me by yours of the 14, comanding you still to continew the same course, as lykewais that in my name, ye tell the same to my Lord Cheefe justice Bankes * also: So I rest

Your frend

Eden: 19 Aug: 1641. Charles R.

You must tell my L. Cheefe justice Bankes from me that I am so far now engaged to the Spanish Embassador † for fower Regiment that I cannot now goe backe, for it was asseured me before I cam from London that bothe Houses were content, onlie it wanted the formalitie of voting; whereupon I gaue an absolute order for the leauing & transporting of those men, but also reiterated my promises to the Embassador: wherefor he must tell the Houses from me that thease leauies must not be stoped. C. R.

(Address) "For your selfe."

Indorsed by Sir E. N. "19° Aug: 1641: R. 23°. His Maties le^r to me."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

This morning about 6 o'clock I receaved by y^e hands of Mr. Murray yo^r Ma^ties of the 22^th, & have acquainted my Lo. Keeper ‡, that yo^r Ma^tie is well satisfyed w^th his lett^r, whereof his Lo^pp is very glad, & acknowledgeth yo^r Ma^ties great goodnes to him in it.

Before my receipt of yo^r Ma^ties last letter, I had acquainted my Lo. Keeper (in y^e absence of my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes) w^h what yo^r Ma^tie commanded me, touching yo^r Ma^ties engagem^t for transportac'on

I see your discretion may bee trusted in greater maters.

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* Sir John Banks, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

† Don Alonzo de Cardenas. This is noticed in the preceding letter.

‡ This was Lord Littleton, who succeeded Finch, and of whom it was justly said that he was a good Englishman, a good subject, and learned in the laws; but not having the same dexterity that his predecessor had, he was not so fitly qualified for his important trust in such perilous and critical times.

of 4 Regiments of Irishe for y^e^ service of the Spanishe King, & w^h^ y^e^ reasons of it, & his Lo^pp^ having that morning made y^e^ same knowne to the Lo^des^, they thereupon had y^e^ next day a conference w^h^ y^e^ Comons House, the Result of w^ch^ conference is not as yet reported to y^e^ Lo^des^ House, but I am tould, that the Comons * are very much against these 4 Regiments going for Spayne, in regard it crosseth w^th^ yo^r^ Ma^ties^ & y^e^ Houses Declaracon against y^e^ Spanyard on behalf of y^e^ Prince Elector †; & therefore my Lo: Keeper thinkes not fitt to hasten y^e^ Report of that Conference: As soone as there shal be any order or Resolucon in it by y^e^ Parliam^t^, I shall advertise it to yo^r^ Ma^tie^. I sent yo^r^ Ma^ties^ letter to Sir Ph. Maynewaring ‡ by an expresse messenger into Northamptonsh: whither S^r^ Phillip was gonne 2 dayes before my receipt of yo^r^ Ma^tics^ to him.

Since Satterday last there hath beene noe business done in Parliam^t^ of any Publique nature § that I can heare of; but only the order made by the Lo^des^ touching y^e^ Election of y^e^ present Sheriffs of London, whereof I gave advertisem^t^ to Mr. Thre'r by myne of y^e^ 23^th^ ||. This day y^e^ Lo. Mayor was att the Upper House to get an alteration of that

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* On the 28th of August, when the House of Commons again took this affair into consideration, Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke loudly against it, founding his objections, principally, upon the points here stated by Sir Edward Nicholas. The Commons then refused assent to the measure, in which the Lords agreed with them; and a letter, expressing their refusal, was sent to the King.

† Elector of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and nephew to Charles I. being the son of his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

‡ He was of Over Peover, in Cheshire, and father to the first Baronet of that name, so created after the Restoration. He was Sheriff of Cheshire in 1639, and Captain in the Cheshire Light Horse. Collins does not mention his knighthood.

§ This is curious; for it appears, by the Records of Parliament, that on the 25th of August the Lords sequestrated the Temporalities of Dr. Roger Manwaring, Bishop of St. David's, for his contumacy to an order of the House; and on the day on which Sir Edward wrote his letter, both Houses had a conference respecting a proposed recess of Parliament.

|| This evidently relates to the dispute then existing between the Lord Mayor and the Commons of London; the former laying claim to the choice of one of the Sheriffs, by a prescription of three hundred years. The Livery refusing to abide by this, the Court of Aldermen petitioned the King to decide upon the affair; but the King referred it to the House of Lords, who, after some delay, ordered that the Commonalty should proceed to the choice of the two Sheriffs, at the same time recommending that they would have those who had already been nominated by the Mayor. The Sheriffs chosen were George Garret and George Clark. Sir William Acton, Bart. was the then Lord Mayor; but he was superseded by the Parliament, and replaced by Sir Edmund Wright.

their Lo^ps order, but the House would not recede from it in any p'ticular, whereat y^e Lo. Mayor & cheif cittizens seeme to be much troubled.

There is here great expectacon what recepcon yo^r Ma^tie will give to y^e Comittees sent hence. I wishe yo^r Ma^tie could have soe tymely expedited yo^r affaires there, as that you might have bene reddy to come away before their arrivall there. *They came heere yesternight.*

Yesterday y^e Comons ordered * that y^e pay of Coll. Wilmot, Ashbournham, & y^e rest of y^e Soldiers (that are questioned in P'liam't), shalbe sequestred untill their busines shalbe heard & adjudged. And upon occasion of y^e discourse of that busines, Mr. Selden did then in that house deliver his opinion with much confidence, that by y^e Act of Oblivion Mr. Percy and Mr. Jermyn †, & all y^e rest that are questioned with them, are freed & pardoned, w^ch he argued soe strongly out of y^e very words in that Act, as y^e Sages of that house, who oppugned his opinion, did not (in y^e iudgem^t of able men) give any reasonable or satisfactory answere to it: the House seemed to be much amazed att this slipp in that Act, & were not well pleased with him who delivered this opinion: some said that it was not in y^e intencon of y^e House to pardon them, whereupon it was replyed that Lawes are to be understood according to the words in y^e Act, & not according to the intencon of y^e makers, further then y^e words will beare.

This day the House of Peers have comitted to prison y^e man that printed the Scandalous Ballet concerning the Qu. Mother's going away, & will consider of further punishm't for him, & they have ordered that these Ballets shalbe burnt by y^e hand of y^e hangman.

The inclosed from my Lo. Marshall ‡ will give yo^r Ma^tie an Account of y^e cause of y^e Qu. Mother's stay att Dover. *Thanke him in my Name for his account.*

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* Not recorded in the Parliamentary Debates.

† Jermyn had been especially implicated in this affair, by the confession of Colonel Goring, made on his examination concerning what was called a "Conspiracie against the State." Goring asserted that he, himself, had refused concurrence with the proposals to put the army into a posture to serve the King, to send a Declaration to Parliament that Episcopacy should not be infringed upon, and that the King's Revenue should be established; for he said that he thought it belonged to an army to maintain, not to contrive Acts of State. At the same time he confessed that his own object, in joining in the proposed measures, was to solicit "a redresse for the miseries of the souldiers."

‡ Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

Albeit this imploym^{t} w^{ch} yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath bene pleased to honour me w'thall, hath drawne much envy vpon me, & (as I heare) set some on worke to prye into my accons past & present, yet since I enioy y^{e} comfort of *yo^{r} Ma^{ties} grac'ous opinion & acceptaunce* of my poore & honnest endeavours, I shall not vallue any mans mallice, but rather smile att their ignoraunce, that conceave there is any other felicity in this imploym^{t}, then to deserve to be accounted an honest man, &

Indeed ye haue it in a full measure.

Yo^{r} Ma^{ties}
most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

I receaued this yesterday.

The Queene sent me word she had written lately to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, & would not write by this dispatche.

Westminster, 26^{o} Aug.

Written by the King, "Eden. 31, 1641."

Indorsed, "For yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie}."

Written by the King, "Yours apostyled."

Further indorsement in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.: "26 Aug. 1641. Myne to his Ma^{tie} apostiled 31^{o} Aug."

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, I haue nothing to answer to yours of the 20: (w^{ch} I receaued yesterday in the euening), save onlie to thanke you for your advertisments: but heering from good hand, that the House of Comons meanes to refuse my Generall Pardon *, I haue thought fitt to comand you, to comand my L. Keeper to thinke of a Declaration to be put fourth in my Name (in case my Pardon bee refused) to make my fauorable intentions knowen to all my English subjects, & how I consulted it with the best Lawers, to make it of most aduantadge that might bee

* This will be found fully explained in a subsequent letter. It seems as if the King wished to secure Percy, Wilmot, Ashburnham, and the others engaged with them, from the malice of the Parliament, but was unwilling to pardon them expressly by name, and therefore issued this general pardon in order to include them, without appearing to confirm the charges brought against them as acting under his privity and directions.

for all my said People. This being the summe, for the forme & the penning, I leave it to bee consulted there; to w^ch^ end, I com'and you first, to goe to my Wyfe, to receaue her directions in it (for she knowes my mynde fullie in this particular) & according to what she shall direct you, to com'and my Lo. Keeper for the drawing of it, fitt for my hand, with all speede, & so I rest

Your frend

Eden. 25 Aug: 1641. CHARLES R.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r^ most excell^nt^ Ma^tie^,

Yo'r Ma^ties^ of the 25th of this moneth founde me at Oatlands on Sunday last, as I was attending the Queenes com'aunds, where I p^e^sently p^e^sented to her Royall hand yo^r^ Ma^ties^ l^er^, & acquainted her Ma^tie^ what you had written to me concerning a Declarac'on: her Ma^tie^ saith that she now vnderstands that y^e^ Com'ons will not suddainly refuse yo^r^ Ma^ties^ Pardon; but howsoever she com'aunded me to speake w^th^ my Lo. Keeper about it according to yo^r^ Ma^ties^ le^ter^, & to wishe him to consider of a fitting Declarac'on agreeable to yo^r^ Ma^ties^ direc- *I am satisfied with this account.* c'ons, that it may be reddy in case the G'rall Pardon shal be refused, & this to be donne w^th^ all possible secrecy. My Lo. Keeper promiseth to p^e^pare such a Declarac'on against too-morrow, & hath wished me then to attend his Lo^pp^ to Oatlands, there to shew it to her Ma^tie^, & as soone as it shal be perfected to send it for yo^r^ Royall approbac'on. The busines will well beare this delay, for that y^e^ Peers have this day adiourned their House till Munday next; and y^e^ Com'ons (I heare) intend to adiourne too-morrow, also till Munday; & it is resolv'd that both Houses shall adiourne on Wensday se'night till y^e^ 26th of Octob^r^. I humbly desire to know yo^r^ Ma^ties^ pleasure whether when this Declarac'on shall be printed, it may not be fit to shew y^e^ same to my Lo. Banks or Mr. Attorney*, or both, before it be en- *Show it to both.*

* Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

grossed for yo^r Ma^ties hand. I have bene tould that some take excepc'ons to yo^r Ma^ties Pardon, for that it excepts all matters of eccl'all cognisaunce, albeit y^e same exception is in y^e Pardon of 21° Jacobi, *but I beleeve that this excepc'on of theirs is but a pretence, & that y^e mayne thing that they dislike in it is, that Mr. Percy & y^e rest of his company are comprehended in it.* Both Houses have had a conference upon yo^r Ma^ties answear & reasons sent by Mr. Nichols* touching y^e Com'ission, and I heare, thoughe many would have bene better pleased that yo^r Ma^tie had signed y^e Com'ission for their Com'ittees, yet they doe not much dislike yo^r Ma^ties answeare, since by yo^r grac'ous permission their Com'ittees have leave to come to Edenburg to doe the busines they are principally sent for†. I have herew^th sent yo^r Ma^tie y^e substance of 2 Messages delivered yesterday from y^e Com'ons to y^e Peers. The Ordinance therein menc'oned touching y^e disarming of Recusants is this day ordered to be printed (as I heare). There hath bene some of yo^r Ma^ties deer killed in Windsor forrest neer Egham by y^e inhabitants of that towne & of y^e parishes adioyning, who hunted in y^e day tyme by 80 & 100 in a company: S^r Ar. Maynwaring‡ hath bene amongst them, and w^th good words & promises hath made them forbeare for y^e p^rsent. When both Houses shal be adiourned till Octob^r I beleeve here wil be little or noe busines in this Towne, where y^e sicknes & small pox increaseth, and therefore if yo^r

I am of your mynd: for there petition to mee was to have it as neer to that of 21 Jacobi as might bee.

I co'mand you to speake with the L. Keeper, my L. Bankes, and my learned Councell, to see what course is best to be taken to stop theas insolencies in tyme to come.

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* This was Mr. Anthony Nichols, Member for Bodmyn, whom the Commons, on the 18th of August, had ordered to be their messenger to carry the Petition, Commission, and Instructions, to Edinburgh for the King's approbation. It is stated in the Parliamentary Records, that the sum of £1,000. was then ordered for the "Commissioners' Charges."

† The King's answer was read to both Houses on the 30th, in which he said that he did not find it necessary to sign any such Commission; but was "graciously pleased to give leave to the said *Members* to come and attend us here in Scotland, to see the ratification of the said Treaty, and what else belongs thereunto."

The Parliamentary Debates say, that "these reasons seemingly contented both Houses, for we hear no more of the matter from either of the Journals;" but Sir Edward Nicholas explains the business with more probability.

‡ He had property in Chertsey, in the vicinity; and on the 17th of September was appointed, along with many others, to hold an inquest in the bounds of Windsor Forest, within the bailiwick of Surrey. The people had been enraged by the proceedings of the Justice in Eyre, the Earl of Holland. Manning and Bray's Hist. Surrey, vol. I. Introduction, p. xii. xiii.

Ma^tie please to give me leave, *I humbly desire to reside att Oatlands or att my house att Thorpe* (w^ch is but 3 myles from Oatlands), whether I can take order that all packets shall w^thout any delay or p^eiudice be brought to me. I assure yo^r Ma^tie I would not p^esume to crave this favour, if I could imagine that any inconvenience or delay might thereby happen to y^e services yo^r Ma^tie hath bene pleased to comitt to y^e care of

I willinglie grant your desyre.

Y^r Ma^ties
Most humble & most obedient Servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

In the King's writing:

I receaued yours of the 2: the 6 of this Monthe, vpon w'ch, & other reasons, to stay this dispache untill the 8: euen now I receaued your of the 4: w'ch requyres no answer.
Eden. 8 Sept.

Westminster, 31° Aug. 1641. Apostyled 7° 7^bris.
Eden. 5 Sep.

Indorsed, "For yo^r sacred Ma^tie."
And by the King, "Yours apostyled."

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r Ma^tie,

Since my let^r of y^e 26th of this moneth it hath bene here ordered by both Houses of Parliam^t, that out of y^e monny accruing to y^r Ma^tie by vertue of y^e last Act of Tonnage & Poundage*, there shal be paid for the use of the Navy 10 m. lb. for this moneth of Aug: & 15 m. for each of y^e other 3 monethes to y^e first of Decemb^r next, amounting in all to 55 m. lb. and upon a Message sent by y^e Parliam^t to y^e Com'ission^rs of y^e Treasury, they have given warraunt accordingly.

There hath bene a conference betweene y^e 2 Houses about some course to be taken for preserving of the Myne of Saltpeetre, but there is noe order as yet setled for it.

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* This was taken into consideration by the House of Commons on the 26th of August, in consequence of long arrears due to Naval Officers, as well as from the provisions in the magazines being decayed. Part of the money was also to be expended in fitting out ten men of war and ten merchant ships for the defence of the narrow seas; the charge of which would amount to £.57,000, but only £.1,200. as yet appropriated out of the tonnage and poundage. The farmers of the Customs were ordered to make good the deficiency, to the amount of £.15,000. per month.

You must comand my learned Councell, in my name, that they doe what they may that the same Vote passe not the Higher House.

The sentence whereby London Derry was adiudged forfeited to y^r^ Ma^tie^, is by y^e^ House of Com'ons (as I heare) declared Nul, & that land thought fit to be restored backe to y^e^ Citty of London *.

The Parliam^t^ here (upon a conference of both Houses) hath resolved to make a Recesse on wensday y^e^ 8th of Sep^ber^ to y^e^ 26th of Octob^r^ next, unlesse before that day there shall happen some emergent busines, w^ch^ it is thought wil be as y^e^ intelligence from Scotland shall please us here.

The Qu. Mother † remaines still att Dover, expecting (as my Lo. Marshall writes to me this morning) y^e^ returne of a messenger from Flanders, soe as tuesday next wil be y^e^ soonest that her Ma^tie^ will embarque.

You may asseure euery one, that now all difficulties ar pased heere, as I have co'manded Vane to tell you more at large ‡.

All things are like to be now very still here, every mans expectac'on being fixed upon yo^r^ Ma^ties^ & the Parliaments proceedings there, w^ch^ I beseech God to direct & governe, as may be most for y^e^ honor & prosperity of yo^r^ Ma^tie^ & of your Royall posterity & all yo^r^ Kingdomes, and this shall ever be y^e^ dayly prayers of

Yo^r^ Ma^ties^
Most humble & obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

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* This refers to the proceedings of the Star Chamber against the City for non-performance of conditions in the Charter granted to them by James the First. Vide Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 379.

† i. e. the Queen Dowager of France. See what Mr. Evelyn says of her in his Journal.

The departure of the Queen Mother from England, where she had arrived in 1638, was palatable to the Parliament party, whose scribes at that period vomited forth the harshest vituperatives against her. In a curious astrological reprint of Grebner's book, accompanied by observations on the life and death of Charles, it is said that on her coming "all men were against her, for it was observed that wherever or unto whatever Country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her, either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or another."— Yet the same writer, when speaking of her departure, says, "a sad spectacle it was, and produced tears from mine eyes and many other beholders, to see an aged leane *decrepit poore Queen*, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the curtesie of her hard fortune assigned it. She had beene the onely statelie and magnificent woman in Europe."— She had, whilst in England, an allowance of £.100 per day; and the Parliament gave her £.10,000 for travelling expences when going away.

‡ The King's confidence and indulgence towards Vane, upon all occasions, though so badly requited, was extremely remarkable. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs states a curious

As I was making up this packet I receaved an order of the Upper House of Parliam^t^ to Sir Jo. Penington * for y^e^ stay of ships bound for Ireland, a coppy whereof I send inclosed, but whether there be any such ships in y^e^ Downes, I cannot learne y^e^ certeynty. The Queenes Ma^tie^ tells me she will not wryte till Munday by Mr. Murray.

Westminster, 28^o^ Aug. 1641.

Eden. 3 Sep.

The King to Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper.

My Lo. Keeper

Y^e^ answer that I can giue to yours of 31. of Aug. is only, that I am very well satisfyed w^th^ it: wherefore y^e^ cheefe subiect of this is, that hauing understood, that y^e^ Lower House, in passing y^e^ Bill of Tunnage & Poundage, forgot to reserue that aduantage to y^e^ Merchant in diuers comodities w^ch^ I haue usually granted, therefore I com'aund you tell y^e^ Citty in my name, that thoughe their owne Burgesses forgot them in P'liam't, yet I meane to supply that defect out of my affecc'on to them, soe that they may see that they need noe mediators to me, but my owne good thoughts; for as yet I assure you that I have not bene sued to in this particular by any on their behalfe. Soe I rest

Your assured frend,

Eden. 7 Sep. 1641. C. R.

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instance of it; where, speaking of the economy of Charles's Court, he says that "besides the women who attended on his beloved Queen and Consort, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the family. Sir Henry Vane was the first, that I knew in that kind, who having a good diet as Comptroller of the Household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winked at; so as the Court was filled, not crammed."

* Sir John Pennington was a distinguished naval officer of that period, and was appointed by the King, a few months afterwards, to the command of the fleet; against this, the Parliament remonstrated in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and Sir John was obliged to resign. There was another Pennington, at that period, extremely active; but his name was Isaac, and he is very harshly spoken of by the loyal writers of that time, as a man who had enriched himself most flagitiously in the service, or rather through the influence and power of the Parliament. He was a merchant in the City.

I have com'anded Nicholas to speake to you concerning the insolencies com'itted in y^e^ forest.

The above is in Sir E. N's hand-writing, and is thus indorsed:

"7^o^ 7^bris^ 1641. Coppy of his Ma^ties^ let^r^ to my Lo. Keeper, to be communicated to the Citty.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

In the King's hand:

Monday, 20 Sep.

This dispache I receaued this Morning, but tell my Wyfe that I haue found falte with you, because none of hers was within it.

May it please yo^r^ Ma^tie^,

I have by my Lo. Carr receaved yo^r^ Ma^ties^ com'aunds of y^e^ 8th of this moneth, apostiled upon my let^r^ of y^e^ 31th of Aug. last, & have presented yo^r^ Ma^ties^ to my Lo. Keeper, whoe hath alreddy com'unicated to my Lo. Mayor the effect of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ grac'ous inten'con towards y^e^ Merchants, that were not provided for by y^e^ Act of Tonnage & Poundage, w^ch^ was most dutifully & gratefully receaved by y^e^ Lo. Mayor, who will make known yo^r^ Ma^ties^ great goodnes to all y^e^ Merchants of this citty. My Lo. Keeper hath appointed my Lo. Bankes, Mr. Attorney, S^r^ Art. Maynewaring & myself, to attend his Lo^pp^ att his house in y^e^ country on Munday next, to consider of y^e^ Ryot com'itted in yo^r^ Ma^ties^ forrest of Windsor, & of some fitting course to prevent y^e^ killing of any more deere there.

Tell him, that I am satisfyed with his letter, as indeed I am with you for the continuall acounts ye giue mee of my businesses.

I have herew^th^ sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^ a list of y^e^ names of y^e^ Com'ittees of y^e^ Com'ons House, & y^e^ Instruc'cons given to them, w^ch^ I have gotten w^th^ some difficulty.

The Com'ittees of y^e^ Lo^ds^ met yesterday in y^e^ afternoone in y^e^ Painted Chamber, & those of y^e^ Com'ons in y^e^ Excheq^r^ Chamber apart by themselves, & afterwards iointly. All their busines was to peruse & annsweare le^rs^, w^ch^ they receaved from my Lo. G'rall*, & their Comittees in Scotland, & to take order for monnyes for paym^t^

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* Earl of Essex.

of the Army, Trayne of Artillery, and Garrisons *. They have given order to my Lo. Adm^ll to send shipps to y^e Holy Island † to fetch thence Ordinance and Amunic'on, &c. as yo^r Ma^tie by y^e order inclosed may perceave. I heare that these Com'ittees have written to y^e Com'ittees in Scotland, that if by their next let^rs they shall certefy them that there is noe more busines for them in Scotland, then they will consider of calling them home.

By a coppy herew^th sent yo^r Ma^tie will perceave y^e course that is here taken for paym^t & discharge of y^e Garrison of Carlile, & accordingly the Paymaster hath alreddy receaved 4000*l.* & is too-morrow to have y^e rest of the monny, for y^e p^esent carriage, whereof he hath taken order, soe as it shalbe there by y^e 3d or 4th of 8^ber, w^ch is y^t soonest it can possibly be carried thither by Cart.

The Declarac'on of y^e Com'ons House ‡ was Sunday last read in y^e parishe church here in Westminster, & is sent to y^e Sheriffs of all Counties to be published. There is noe man prayeth more fervently for yo^r Ma^ties prosperous dispatch of yo^r affaires there, & safe & speedy returne, than

Yo^r Ma^ties
Most humble and most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

I heare y^e Com'ittees here have taken order for monnyes for paym^t & discharge of yo^r Ma^ties garrison at Berwick, & that it is to be sent downe att 3 severall sendings, w^ch will require some longer tyme.

Westminster, 15^o Sep^bris, 1641.

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* The Lord General stated in his letters that it was the intention of the Scottish Parliament to keep 5000 in array, until the whole of the English army was disbanded, and the "fortifications at Berwick and Carlisle slighted."

† On the coast of Northumberland.

‡ This was against all superstitious rites and observances in public worship; amongst which they enumerated crucifixes, images of the Virgin Mary, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. They also ordered the Communion Tables to be moved from the East end of all Churches and Chapels; and all sports and pastimes to be prevented on Sunday.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excell^nt Ma^tie,

According to my advertisem^t yesterday, both Houses of Parliam^t have this day adiourned till 20^o Octo^br next. They have appoynted Comittees to meete during the Recesse *, & their first day of meeting is to be Tuesday next, & then they are to adiourne from tyme to tyme as they shall thinke good. Their principall busines is to receave and annsweare all le^rs from Scotland, according to instrucc'ons alreddy given to the Comittees there, whom they have power to call home if they see cause. They have also power to send downe monny to y^e Army, & to doe what they shall think requisite for y^e disbanding of it, & to dispose of y^e Cannons and Artillery in y^e North, & they are to make report of the whole busines att y^e next meeting of both Houses.

There was not att parting a very p'fect agreem^t (as I heare) betwene the 2 Houses in all things, for the Peers declyning to ioyne w^th the Com'ons in Orders touching innovac'ons in y^e Church, the Com'ons notwithstanding ordered y^e same to be printed, the particulars of w^ch orders are here inclosed †. I heare that the Lo^ds & Com'ons have intimated that none of the disbanded soldiers, either horse or foote, Englishe or Irishe, shalbe p'mitted to serve either the ffrench or Spanishe King, but that they may serve the States ‡. Upon a report that the Spanishe and ffrench § Amb'dors had treated w^th diverse of the horse & foote to serve their masters, the Co'mons House sent 2 of their Members to each of their Amb'dors, to know by what warr^t they

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* Lists of those Committees may be found in the 9th volume of the Parliamentary History, p. 536.

† The Lords did not quarrel with the spirit of the resolutions of the House of Commons; but they made some slight alterations in the details. The Commons, however, went further on the day before adjournment, than they had ventured to do previously; for it was ordered that a lecture might be set up, and an orthodox minister might be maintained at the expence of any parishioners to preach on various occasions through the week, and also on the Sabbath when there was no Sermon.

‡ This leave to serve the States does not appear on the Parliamentary Records.

§ Popular prejudice had arisen to a great height against those diplomatic personages; for the House of Lords had found it necessary on the 30th of August to issue an order for the punishment of some rioters who had insulted the French Ambassador and his servants.

did goe about to levy any soldiers here, & by whose procurement they obteyned such warr^ts, but (it seemes) they could discover nothing att all.

As soone this day as the Lo^ds House was adiourned, I receaved from Withering's deputy 2 packetts of le^rs, y^e one directed to yo^r Ma^tie and y^e whole P'liam^t, the other to y^e Lo^ds assembled in P'liam^t; both w^ch I have sent now to Mr. Th'rer* for yo^r Ma^tie. I humbly beseech yo^r Ma^tie that this le^r may be seene by noe other eye then yo^r owne, for I assure you the Houses are very inquisitive after these that advertise yo^r Ma^tie of any Parliament busines. I hope *yo^r Ma^tie will now hasten for England*, to put yo^r affaires here in good order, the Armies being all disbanded but 4 regim^ts. I humbly beg yo^r Ma^ties pardon for this tedious discourse from

I receaued yours of the 8 : yesterday, this, this day : but tell my Wyfe, that in nether of them, there was anie from her.

If you would haue beene sure of secrecie, you should haue inclosed them under my Couer.

Be confident I will as soone as I may.

Yo^r Ma^ties
Most humble and obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

It was almost nine o'clock at night before y^e Com'ons did adiourne; but y^e Lo^ds adiourned at 3 in y^e afternoone.

Westminster, 9^o Sep^bris, 1641.

Eden. 13.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^tie."

"Yours apostyled."

In Sir E. N.'s handwriting: 9^o Sep^bris 1641. apostil. 13^o.

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* Sir Henry Vane.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo'r Ma'tie,

The le^r inclosed from my Lo. Marshall will give yo^r Ma^tie an accompt of y^e Q. Mothers landing & recepc'on in y^e Low Countries, by y^e care of y^e Prince of Orange. The Houses of Parliam^t here begin to be att some difference one w^th another; the Peers take it not well that y^e Com'ons comanded to be printed an order for abolishing of innovac'ons &c * w^thout their approbac'on, & thereupon their Lo^pps caused to be printed a former order made for observing y^e Booke of Com'on Prayer, whereupon (I heare) y^e Com'ons made (on thursday night a little before their adiournem^t) a Declarac'on against y^e Lords said former Order, & some of y^e L^dds have also made a protestac'on against y^e same, & entred it in their House; as yo^r Ma^tie may perceave by y^e protestac'on herew^th sent, & by y^e Declarac'on of y^e Com'ons House, w^ch (I am tould) is sent to Mr. Th'rer by his sonne, but I cannot here procure a coppy of it †. I have herew^th sent yo^r Ma^tie a coppy of an Ordinance of both Houses concerning y^e raysing & transporting of forces out of England & Irland. By a le^r w^ch is sent in this packet from S^r John Colepeper ‡ to Marq. Hamilton, & by another sent by young S^r H. Vane to his father §, yo^r Ma^tie (if you call for y^e same) may see all the passages of y^e Com'ons House since Munday morning, w^ch have beene soe various & dissonant, as may be worthy yo^r Ma^ties observac'on & informac'on.

I am not much sorie for it.

I am glad of that.

There hath beene nothing spoken hitherto in Parliament concerning yo^r Ma^ties Generall Pardon. If yo^r Ma^tie *overcome all difficulties* there, & make firme to you yo^r good people of that Kingdome, I beleeve it

You may now say confidentlie in my name that they ar.

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* This is the order formerly alluded to. Previous to adjournment, on the 9th, the Lords desired a conference on the subject of orders respecting Divine Service: but the Commons, without noticing that desire, instantly passed a resolution "that this House doth not consent to these orders, or to any of them." The Lords who signed the protest were, Bedford, Warwick, Clare, Newport, Wharton, and Kimbolton.

† Copies of these declarations may be found in Rushworth's Collections; also in Nalson's.

‡ He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

§ Sir Henry Vane, sen. held his situation only until the 26th of November, when he was succeeded by Lord Falkland, immediately after the King's return.

will not be difficult for you to put all things here in good order att y^e^ next Recesse, by carrying a steddy & moderate hand upon yo^r^ affaires.

Yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will I hope pardon the tedious and empty le^trs^ w^ch^ you receave from

Yo^r^ Ma^ties^
Most humble and most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 10 Sep^bris^ 1641.

Eden: 16:

" For yo^r^ sacred Ma'^tie^."

" Yours apostyled." 10 7^bris^ 1641. Apost. 16^o^.

On the opposite page, in the King's handwriting:

I co'mand you to draw up anie such warant, as my Wyfe shall direct you, for the disposing of the great Collar of Rubies that is in Holland, & tell her how I have directed you to wait her co'mands in this; & that I am confident of your secrecie in this, & anie thing else, that I shall trust you with.* C. R.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r^ Ma^tie^,

I cannot add any thing of advertisem^t^ worthy yo^r^ Ma^ties^ notice since my last of y^e^ 10th of this present, only I can tell yo^r^ Ma^tie^ that y^e^ Declarac'on of y^e^ Com'ons (whereof I could not then procure a coppy) is now printed, as y^e^ Duke of Richmond† can shew yo^r^ Ma^tie^, to whome I have sent one from y^e^ Ea. of Portland ‡. Mr. Th'rer's l^tr^ of y^e^ 7^th^ present, puts y^e^ Queene in expectac'on every howre of l^rs^ from yo^r^ Ma^tie^ by y^e^ Lo. Carr.

Besides y^e^ Queenes le^rs^, yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will herein receave one from my Lo. Keeper, who humbly prayes yo^r^ Ma^ties^ pleasure for a new Sheriff for Nottinghamsheire, as Mr. Th'rer will acquaint yo^r^ Ma^tie^. I finde alreddy

I have dispached this as is desyred, & tell the Keeper that I expect a speedie account of this letter I send him.

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* This, though a delicate affair, was not so dangerous as two years afterwards, when the Parliament, understanding that the Queen had pawned the crown jewels in Holland, ordered that whoever had, or should pay, lend, send, or bring any money in specie into the Kingdom, for or upon those jewels, or accept of any bill hereafter, should be considered an enemy to the state.

† De Larrey, in his characters, describes the Duke as at the head of the royalist Lords, not only from his near relationship to the King, but also on account of his personal qualities. At the early age of twenty-one he had been made a Privy Councillor, and married to the Duke of Buckingham's daughter.—" His wit, his courage, and his affection for the King, made him worthy the esteem and favour of the Court. But two qualities which he had, prevented his being serviceable to the King, who loved him: the one was, his too great diffidence of himself; and the other (quite opposite) too great a haughtiness in point of honour. By the first he rendered himself too dependent; and by the latter, too obnoxious."

‡ Jerome Weston, second Earl of that name and title; a family now extinct.

that I shall not (now y^e^ Parliam^t^ is adiourned) have much occasion to trouble yo^r^ Ma^tie^ w^th^ my l^rs^, but I shalbe never the lesse vigilant & industrious in my care to approove myself

Yo^r^ Ma^ties^

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, 13^o^ Sep^bris^ 1641.

Eden. 17.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r^ most excellent Ma^tie^,

I receaved yesterday yo^r^ Ma^ties^ of the 13th of this moneth by Mr. ffrisoll, & in it a let^r^ to the Queene, w^ch^ I instantly presented to her Royall hands, & acquainted her w^th^ what yo^r^ Ma^tie^ comaunded me. Her Ma^tie^ tells me she wrote lately by my Lo. Carr*, & intends to write againe to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ on Munday next by Mr. Wm. Murrey, & therefore forbeares to send by this packet, w^ch^ I now dispatch for conveyaunce of the inclosed from my Lo^d^ Keep^r^. I had sent the 2 let^rs^ (w^ch^ were directed to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ & y^e^ Parliam^t^) under yo^r^ Ma^ties^ owne cover, but that I founde it was divulged by Withering's deputy, that there were such le^trs^ came to his hands, and by him sent to me, soe that it had beene a vayne thing for me to have concealed y^e^ same from Mr. Th'rer, who I was sure had advertisem^t^ of them by another hand. All things here are in a great still, every one being busy in listening after the proceedings of the Parliam't in Scotland, where Mr. Th'rer writes the people are stiffe, & seeme to be resolute not to recede from their proposic'ons, w^ch^ in my poore iudgem^t^ is bad newes, & of very ill example to us here.

And this lykewais is meerlie for the conueyance of thease two inclosed.

Ye had reason.

Eden: 23 *Sept.* 1641.

I humbly thanke yo^r^ Ma^tie^ for yo^r^ gracious leave granted me to reside at my house att Thorpe, for y^e^ sicknes & small pox contynues very rife in London and Westminster. I am now once a day, or att least

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* Lord Ker of Cesford; son to the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the first peer of the family, and ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh.

once in 2 dayes, att Oatlands, and intend to be att Westminster every tuesday & wensday, to attend what shalbe donne there by the Comittees, having nothing in my affecc'on or ambition soe much, as by an exact dilligence & fidellity to approove myself

Yo^{r} Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 18^{o} Sep^{bris}, 1641.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^{r} most excel^{t} Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I sent by packet a le^{r} to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} from the Lo. Keeper, & should not now have troubled yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, but that the oportunity of safe conveyaunce by this gent. doth prompt me humbly to minde yo^{r} Ma^{tie} of some things in my poore opinion worthy yo^{r} Royall considerac'on.

I am confident yo^{r} Ma^{tie} doth by this tyme cleerly perceave, how it is here insinuated upon all occasions, that Popery (w^{ch} is generally exceeding distastefull to yo^{r} su^{bts} of this Kingdome) is too much favoured by yo^{r} Clergy here, & in yo^{r} owne Court, & that this opinion (how vniustly soever laid by Brownists* on yo^{r} Ma^{ties} governm't) hath & doth (more than any thing) preiudice yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in y^{e} esteeme & affecc'on of yo^{r} people, whose love I humbly conceave to be soe much yo^{r} Ma^{ties} interest, as that it ought to be preserved & reteyned by yo^{r} Ma^{tie} by all possible meanes: wherefore I humbly offer to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} considerac'on, whether it be not requisite, that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} should now (during this recesse) give some publique assuraunce to the contrary: w^{ch} I humbly conceave may be donne by yo^{r} p^{e}sent conferring of such

I thanke you fore puttingme inmynd of the vacancie of Bishobrikes,therefore Ico'mand you to direct the B. of London to send me a List of all the vacant Bishobrikes, & those notes w'ch he & I made concerning the filling of those places.

* It is unnecessary, with respect to these schismatics, to notice their peculiar tenets, any further than to remind the reader that they were as inimical to the Church of England as they professed to be to Popery. Their schism, also, began as early as the time of Elizabeth; and perhaps the love of persecution might have been as clearly manifested in power, as it was evident in adversity; for their founder boasted on his death-bed that he had been in thirty-two prisons during his religious warfare with the established authorities.

Bp^ricks^ and eccles^call^ dignities as are now voyde vpon persons, of whome there is not the least suspic'on of favouring the Popish partie, such as may be* Dr. Prideaux, Bromwich, Gouge, Mr. Shute, & y^e^ like, if they will in these tymes accept of such p^e^ferm^ts^, for I assure yo^r^ Ma^tie^ I am vnknowne to all & every one of them. Such men thus p^e^fered, would not only give assuraunce of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ firme resoluc'on to maynteyne the Protestant religion here professed, but, by filling vpp of y^e^ vacant Bp^ricks^ w^th^ such persons, yo^r^ Ma^tie^ would gayne not only their votes for Episcopacy, &c. but many more, who seeing such divines p^e^fered, would rest confident that there is noe intenc'on to introduce or connive at Popery.

Brownrigg.

Also concerning the Booke of Co'mon Prayer, (to some partes whereof y^e^ late Declarac'on of y^e^ Co'mons House shewes there is some excepc'on), yo^r^ Ma^tie^ having constituted such B^pps^, may be pleased to declare yo^r^ reddines to reforme what shalbe thought amisse in it by yo^r^ Clergy & Parliam^t^, w^ch^ will prevent those that (in a zeale w^th^out knowledge) seeke to overthrow y^e^ good government & order wisely established in this Church; & thus by yo^r^ Ma^ties^ tymely moderac'on, you will put a bitt in their mouthes, who (vpon a popular pretence of y^e^ reliques of Popery) cry downe all that is of good order or decency in the Church.

Hitherto, I lyke your opinion well, but concerning the rest, I know not what to say, if it be not to aduertice my Wyfe of the Parlaments intention concerning hir Capuchins, & so first to heare what she will say.

And for a further assuraunce of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ integrity in this reformac'on, I humbly offer it to yo^r^ Ma^ties^ considerac'on whether it may not be necessary (before y^e^ next meeting in P'liam^t^) to send away all the Capucins† & dissolve their cloyster, for if yo^r^ Ma^tie^ doe it not yo^r^self, I am misinformed if y^e^ P'liam't fall not vpon them when they come againe together; & it would be much more for yo^r^ Ma^ties^ hon^r^, & more acceptable to yo^r^ people, & (it may be) safer for y^e^ Capucins, if in that particular yo^r^ Ma^tie^ prevented the P'liam^t^.

On the contrair I thanke you for this honnest freedome.

And now I humbly beg yo^r^ Ma^ties^ pardon for my presumc'on in ten-

* Prideaux was Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1641, and died in 1650. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Durham, was made Bishop of Exeter in 1641. Gouge and Shute were two principal leaders of the dissenting persuasion, and always abided by their old congregations.

† This Order had been introduced on the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, and had been allowed to make an establishment here.

dering to yo^r^ great wisdome these my vndigested thoughts, w^ch^ I assure yo^r^ Ma^tie^ have beene comunicated to noe other person in the world, but are (w^th^out any p'tic'lar designe) meerely the yssues of my weake iudgem^t^ & indulgent care of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ honor, p^e^servac'on & service, w^ch^ I preferre before any thing in this world that can concerne

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Thorpe, 19 Sep^bris^, 1641.

Eden. 26.

" For yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie^."

" Yours apostyled."

Superscribed by Sir E. N. " 19^o^ Sep^bris^ 1641. Apostl. 26^o^. his Ma^tie^ thankes me for this le^r^ and my freedome in it. It was sent by Mr. Wm. Murrey."

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo'r most excellent Ma'tie,

Yesterday S^r^ Job Harby*, & I, attended the Queene about yo^r^ Ma^ties^ collar of Rubies, vpon w^ch^ he saith *there is alreddy* 25^mo^. Her Ma^tie^ hath let him vnderstand yo^r^ Ma^ties^ pleasure concerning y^e^ disposing of it, whereupon he hath promised that he and S^r^ Jo. Nulls (who hath bene formerly imployed in the pawning of it) will forthw^th^ write to y^e^ partie in Holland w^th^ whome it lyes engaged, to see what more monny may be had vpon it, & if that man will not lend any further considerable som'e, then S^r^ Job promiseth to doe his best to procure elsewhere as much more vpon it as he can, & therew^th^ redeeme it out of the hands where it now lyes, & get y^e^ overplus for yo^r^ Ma^tie^, & he assures the Queene, that he will doe this w^th^ secrecy, & all possible dilligence.

I wonder of this, for he or Crispe†, asseured me before my parting from London that it would be absolutlie free, before Bartholemytyde, therefore know the cause of this mistaking; housoeuer I lyke the cource now taken by my Wyfe in this.

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* He was of an ancient Northamptonshire family, the Harbys of Adston. His sister Emma was married to Robert Charlton, of Whitton, Esq. who suffered much for his loyalty in the cause of Charles the Second. Their son Sir Job was a Judge in the Common Pleas, and created a Baronet.

† This seems to be the same person afterwards engaged, in 1643, in the plan to seize the City of London for the King; in which Edmund Waller was a party, according to Rushworth's account; though Clarendon considers their plans as completely distinct.

It is so, & lykes me well.

This inclosed from my Lo. Keeper was brought to me the last night to be conveyed to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, & will I hope give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} an account of yo^{r} last let^{r} to his Lo^{pp}. Yo^{r} Ma^{tie} may be pleased to procure from y^{e} P'liament there some further reiterac'on of their declarac'on, that what yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath consented vnto concerning y^{e} election of Officers there may not be drawne into example to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} preiudice here, for if I am not misinformed there wilbe some attempt to procure the like Act here concerning Officers before y^{e} Act of Tonnage & Poundage wilbe passed to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} for lief.

I lyke your propositon, & shall gett as much as I may, howeuer I thankeyouforyour aduertisment.

I pray God, it be to good purpose, & that there be no knavery in it.

I heare that y^{e} Comittee of y^{e} Com'ons hath appointed to take into considerac'on yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Revenue y^{e} next weeke, & that they will then set at least twice a weeke *. I am vnwilling to give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in yo^{r} great affaires there too long an interruption with the tedious lynes of

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

I command you to send, in my name to all those Lords that myWyfeshall tell you of, that they faile not to attend at the downe sitting of the Parlament.

Thorpe, 24^{o} Sep^{bris} 1641.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

Being yesterday at Oatlands to attend the Queenes com'aunds, her Ma^{tie} gaue me this paper inclosed, wth comaund to send it this day to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}: it was brought to y^{e} Queene by y^{e} Lady Carlile †, who saith she had it from y^{e} Lo. Mandeville ‡. I confesse it were not

* The power given to these Committees, during the recess, was of a most unprecedented nature, almost equal to that of the three estates of the Legislature. In vol. IX. of the Parliamentary History, page 537, a copy of them is inserted.

† This was the Dowager Carlisle, Lady Lucy Percy, second wife, and, at this date, relict of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle; a lady of great note in her time, celebrated by Waller, and an intimate acquaintance of Pym, and several of his party. Clarendon accuses her of perplexing the King's affairs. She was old enough to give up love for politics, being then upwards of forty.

‡ Son to the first Earl of Manchester of the Montagu family, and formerly a personal friend of the King, having accompanied him on his romantic journey to Spain. The nature of the paper here alluded to, may be surmised from the fact that Lord Mandeville was an active member of the party, which, at that period, was anxious to prevent a civil war by the removal of arbitrary ministers from the Royal Councils. In the preceding year he had been one of the Commissioners to

amisse to have it published, but I had rather it should be donne by any other hand then yo^r Ma^ties or y^e Queenes, & therefore I could wishe yo^r Ma^tie would *conceale it for a day or* 2, by w^ch tyme I know there wilbe other coppies of it sent into Scotland. *I shall.*

The late crosse orders, & vnusuall passages in P'liam't a little before y^e Recesse, are soe distastfull to y^e wiser sorte, as it hath taken off y^e edge of their confidence in parliamentary proceedings, & I verily beleeve, that if y^e Houses (when they next meete) shall approove of what was then donne, it will loose them y^e reverence that hath bene heretofore paid to Parliam^ts.

I heare there are diverse meetings att Chelsey att y^e Lo. Mandevilles house & elsewhere by Pym* and others, to consult what is best to be donne at their next meeting in P'liam^t; & I beleeve they will in y^e first place fall on some plausible thing, that may redintegrate them in y^e peoples good opinion, w^ch is their anchor-hold & only interest; & (if I am not much misinformed) that wilbe either vpon Papists, or vpon some Act for expunging of Officers & Counsellors here according to y^e Scottish p^cedent, or on both together, & therefore it will import yo^r Ma^tie, by some serious and faithfull advise, to doe some thing to anticipate or prevent them before their next meeting. *It wer not amiss that some of my seruants met lykewais to countermynd ther Plots, to w'ch end speake w'th my Wyfe & receaue her directions.*

Yesterday at Oatlands I understood that S^r Jo. Berkley & Capt. O'Neale† were come over, & that they had bene the day before pri-

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arrange all causes of dispute with Scotland. He was best known, however, as the Lord Kimbolton, having at this period been called to the Upper House for his father's barony, though retaining the title of Viscount Mandeville by courtesy. Vide Collins's Peerage, vol. II. p. 93, for further particulars. His brother, Walter Montague, was a bigoted Catholic priest, Abbot of Pontoise in France, and Confessor to the Queen after the death of Father Phillips: he is further noticed in subsequent letters.

* This was a very short time previous to the tumults of the London apprentices, of which Pym, with several others, were strongly suspected of being instigators. Subsequently the City found it necessary to check those riots, and Venn, one of their members, having exerted himself to keep the peace, a party pamphlet observed that the rioters would have proceeded to the Mansion House, "but by the providence of God, and the great wisdom of Captain Ven, they were prevented."

† O'Neale was deeply implicated in what was called the plot for bringing up the English army against the Parliament, in which Percy, Goring, Ashburnham, and several others were said to have been engaged. May, in his History of the Parliament, p. 65, (Mason's Edition) calls O'Neale an

vately at Waybridge: I was bould then to deliver my opinion to y^e^ Queene, that I did beleeve if they continued in England they would be arrested (thoughe y^e^ P'liam't sit not) by vertue of y^e^ warrant, that was given att first to y^e^ Sarjant at Armes (attending y^e^ Com'ons House) to attache them. Her Ma^tie^ seemed (when I tould it to her) to app^c^hend noe lesse, & will I beleeve take order that notice may be given to them of y^e^ danger of it, but her Ma^tie^ for y^e^ p^e^sent said she knew not where they were.

I wonder at this, for all this last Montheuerie thurd day at furthest I have written to her.

The Queene being now every day in expectac'on of le^rs^ from yo^r^ Ma^tie^ (having receaved none since tuesday last) doth forbeare to write by this dispatch.

Wee know not y^e^ importance of y^e^ affaires there that deteyne yo^r^ Ma^tie^ soe long, but it is by those that wishe best to yo^r^ service here, thought very necessary that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ should hasten to be here as soone as may be possible before y^e^ 20th of 8^ber^; and if yo^r^ Ma^tie^ leave behinde you some Councellors that you carryed hence, it is thought yo^r^ Councells here will not prosper the worse, nor be the lesse secreat, only it may be yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may thereby deprive some menc'oned in y^e^ paper inclosed of their wonted intelligence. I beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to vouchsafe to advertise me whether this come safe to yo^r^ Royall hands, & to burne it, that it may never rise in iudgem^t^ against

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

Thorpe, 27 Sep^bris^ 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 2 Oct.

Irishman and a Papist; and states that he was committed to the Tower, but escaped before trial.

Berkeley was an officer of high rank, always active in the King's service, and is repeatedly mentioned by Clarendon, particularly as Governor of Exeter, which he was obliged to surrender to the parliamentary forces.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

I had noe sooner sent away my packet on Munday last but I receaved yo^{r} Ma^{ties} apostile of y^{e} 20th p^{e}sent, & wth it a le^{r} to y^{e} Queene, w^{ch} I forthwth p^{e}sented to her Royall hand, & yesterday I receaved yo^{r} Ma^{ties} apostile of y^{e} 23th of this moneth, & instantly sent away yo^{r} Ma^{ties} let^{r} *to the Queene*, & that to my Lo. Keeper. I tould y^{e} Queene that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} had blamed me, that in severall of my dispaches, there was no le^{r} from her Ma^{tie}, for w^{ch} she hath now made a recompence by sending me two l^{rs}, w^{ch} yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall herein receave.

Tell her that this doble amends is abondant satisfaction.

The Com'ittees of y^{e} Peers met not yesterday, but will tuesday next*. The Com'ons Comittees met, & had before them S^{r} Jo. Berkley & Capt. O'Neale, who coming over lately were (as I heare) yesterday apprehended by y^{e} servaunt of y^{e} Serjant att Armes (attending y^{e} House of Com'ons) vpon y^{e} first warraunt that was issued for taking of them, & y^{e} Com'ittees would not bayle them, though they tendred it, alleaging they had not power to doe it.

I hope some day they may repent there seuerite.

Yesterday y^{e} Remembrancer of the Citty of London came to me from the Lo. Mayor & Court of Aldermen, & desired me to present to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} the humble & dutifull thankes of the Citty for yo^{r} Ma^{ties} great grace & goodnes in y^{e} busines of Tonnage & Poundage. I assure yo^{r} Ma^{tie} that yo^{r} grac'ous le^{r} concerning that matter hath wrought much vpon y^{e} affecc'ons, not only of y^{e} Merchaunts, but of diverse others of this Citty.

The Remembrancer tould me further, that y^{e} Lo^{d} Mayor & Aldermen desired him to enquire of y^{e} day when yo^{r} Ma^{tie} wilbe here, to y^{e} end that, according to their dutifull affecc'ons, they might meete yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, to attend yo^{r} Royall person into this Citty, thoughe he said y^{e} Citty (being become poore) were not able to give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} any p^{e}sent,

When ye shall see littell Will: Marray then ye shall know certainlie not onlie of my returne, but also how all will end heer.

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* The report of these Committees was made to the Parliament, on their meeting, by Mr. Pym. A copy of it is inserted in vol. X. of the Parliamentary History, p. 1.

Pym, in this report, says that Berkeley and O'Neale came voluntarily to his lodgings, for the purpose of submitting to the orders of the House; after which the deputy serjeant attached them on the first order.

according to their custom. I have promised to let them know when yo^{r} Ma^{tie} wilbe here as soone as I shall know y^{e} certeynty of it. Of all w^{ch} I thought it my duty to advertise yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, that I may therein doe nothing but what may be agreeable to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} good pleasure; notwthstanding I humbly conceave it imports yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to cherishe y^{e} affecc'ons & goodwill of this Citty.

It is Loudun not.

By let^{rs} to partic'lar p'sons (w^{ch} I have seene), dated 25° 7^{bris}, it is advertised from Edenb. that yo^{r} Ma ^{e} hath nominated y^{e} Lo. Lodian to be Chancellor. Whatsoever y^{e} newes be that is come hither amongst y^{e} partie of y^{e} Protesters, they are observed to be here of late very iocund and cheerefull, & it is conceaved to arise from some advertisements out of Scotland, from whose acc'ons & successes they intend (as I heare) to take a patterne for their proceedings here att their next meeting. I hartely pray for yo^{r} Ma^{ties} speedy & happy returne, as being (of all men) most obliged to be

I belive before all be done, that they will not haue such great cause of joy.

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 29° Sep^{bris} 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

This day I receaved yours of the 1: *Oct.*

Eden. 5 Oct.

" For yo^{r} sacred Matie."

" *Yours apostiled.*"

29° 7^{bris} 1641. Apost. 5 8^{bris}.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^{r} most excel^{nt} Ma^{tie},

These inclosed from y^{e} Queene & from my Lo. Keeper were brought to me y^{e} last night late to be sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}. I have not as yet receaved from the B^{pp} of London * a list of the vacant Bp^{ricks}: I be-

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* Dr. Juxon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

leeve his Lo^{p} hath not finished the notes yo^{r} Ma^{tie} & his Lo^{pp} made concerning that busines, w^{ch} he tould me were very imperfect.

I beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to give me leave to put you in minde, that there is noe one thing that you can now doe, that will better rectify y^{e} ielousies of yo^{r} good people, more satisfie their mindes, & settle their affecc'ons to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, then y^{e} good choyce you make of such as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall now appoint to be B^{pps}; & as it wilbe much for yo^{r} service that y^{e} new B^{pps} be plausible persons, & beyond excepc'on, soe there would be a great care had that noe B^{pp} be removed, of whome there is any suspic'on of being any wayes popishly affected, or otherwise much disliked.

I dout not but in this to giue good satisfaction.

The partie here, who we say hath y^{e} best intelligence from Scotland (w^{ch} is Mr. Pym & young S^{r} Hen. Vane), report that y^{e} Ea. of Arguile * is Chauncellor of that Kingdome, it seemes it was soe designed.

Ye may see by this that all ther desynes hit not, & I hope before all be done that they shall miss of more.

I hear Mr. Th'rer is still at Raby †, & that he will not returne to Scotl. before yo^{r} Ma^{ties} coming thence, w^{ch} makes me humbly to craue yo^{r} Ma^{ties} com'aund whether I shall contynue the addresse of all packets still to him, or to whome else.

Adresse them to the Duke of Richemont.

I assure yo^{r} Ma^{tie} it is here resolved (if my intelligence doth not much deceaue me) to presse yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, at y^{e} next meeting in P'liam^{t} for y^{e} like Act touching y^{e} elecc'on of Officers and Councellors here, as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath graunted to y^{e} Scots; & in this I beleeve yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will finde a more generall concurrency & accord, then hath bene in any one thing this P'liam^{t}; for many here say, that otherwise all y^{e} great Offices and places of Councellors here, wilbe filled upp wth Scotsmen. I beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to consider well of this particular, and be pleased to conceale that you have y^{e} advertisem^{t} of it from me.

You shall doe well to aduyse with some of my best seruants there how this may be preuented, for I asseur you, that I doe not meane to grant it.

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* This report was false, as the King observes. Argyle was not Chancellor of Scotland. But Charles granted him a Marquisate; yet he was afterwards beheaded for high treason, the year after the Restoration. It is remarkable, however, that in 1651, he actually put the Crown upon the head of Charles the Second at Edinburgh.

† His own country seat.

I beseech God to direct & assist yo^r Ma^tie and yo^r Councells soe as you may returne w^th honor, w^ch shall ever be y^e earnest prayer of

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Thorpe, 3 Octob^r. 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 9.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r most excell^nt Ma^tie,

Yesterday I receaved yo^r Ma^ties com'ands by an apostile vpon my let^tr of y^e 24^th of y^e last moneth, & forthw^th p^esented yo^r Ma^ties to y^e Queene, and sent that to my Lo. Keeper; & w^th this yo^r Ma^tie will receave 2 let^trs from y^e Queene, & one from my Lo. Keeper.

It hath bene here confidently said, by those that holde correspondency w^th y^e Engl. Comittees in Scotland, that y^e Ea. of Arguile shalbe at length Chauncellor, & that y^e Lo^d Amont* shall not be Th'rer; &, if I am not much misinform'd, they are here as peremptorily resolved to presse & put upon yo^r Ma^tie a Lo. Th'rer & some other Officers before they will settle yo^r returne, & nothing can brake their designes here, but yo^r Ma^ties presence; & if yo^r Ma^tie doe not hasten to be here some dayes before y^e next meeting in Parliam^t, I doubt there wilbe few that will dare to appeare here to oppose y^e party that now swayeth; & I pray God there be not some designe in deteyning yo^r Ma^tie there till yo^r affaires here be reduced to the same state they there

Though† I cannotreturne sosoone as I could wishe, yet I am confident that you will fynde ther was necessetie for it, & I hope, that manie will misse ofthere ends.

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* This was Levingston, Lord Almont, who had the first command under Lesley in the Scottish Army, and was afterwards created Earl of Callendar. Charles certainly intended to give him the office of Lord Treasurer, but was forced to put it into Commission, naming the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsey, as Commissioners.

† That the King should find any difficulty in settling his Scottish affairs seemed very extraordinary to some of the politicians of that time; Old Grebner, or rather his Editor, says, "The Devill was in the crags of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required." Bulstrode, also, in his Memoirs, confirms that fact; but says, in a more respectful manner, "He parted a contented King from a contented People."

are in. I assure yo^r Ma^tie y^e opinion of wise men here is, that to have what Officers you desire in that Kingdome cannot make soe much for your service there, as yo^r absence hence att this tyme will preiudice you in businesses of more importaunce here: and as for the Lo. Montrosse * & y^e rest, some here (that pretend to understand y^e condic'on of their case) are of opinion, that their innocency is such, as they will not fare y^e worse for yo^r Ma^ties leaving them to y^e ordinary course of justice there.

This may be trew that you say, but I am sure that I miss sumewhat in point of honnor, if they all be not releued before I goe hence.

I am credibly assured, that y^e Citty of London growes very weary of y^e insolent carriage of y^e Schismaticks, finding their way of governm^t to be wholly arbitrary. Alderman Gourney (Gurney) (according to his right and place) is elected Lo. Mayor notw^thstanding y^e opposic'on of y^e factious party, throughe y^e stoutnes & good affecc'on of one of y^e new Sheriffs (called Clerck), who while y^e factious persons were making a noyse, & would not proceede to y^e elecc'on, proposed Ald'man Gourney (who I heare is very well affected & stout), & carry'd it, & y^e Schismaticks (who cryed noe elecc'on) were silenced w^th hisses, & thereupon y^e Sheriff dismist y^e Court †.

Yo^r Ma^tie will herew^th receave from my Lo. of London y^e Notes yo^r Ma^tie sent for to him; his Lo^pp is soe lame in his hand & shoulder, as he was not able to write to yo^r Ma^tie, for w^ch he beggeth yo^r Ma^ties pardon. His Lo^p desired me to signify that he hath sent yo^r Ma^tie y^e same individuall papers & notes w^ch yo^r Ma^tie hath formerly seene, because yo^r Ma^tie is best acquainted w^th them: & he saith that y^e Bp^ricks that are voyde have a cipher set before them; his Lo^p alsoe entreated me to acquaint yo^r Ma^tie that y^e party whome you had in yo^r thoughts for y^e B^prick of Chichester desires to be spared for that place,

I returne heerewith to the B. of London, not onlie his noots, but also how all the voide Bish ‡: ar to bee

* Montrose had very recently quitted the Covenanting party, and joined the King. Vide Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. IX. p. 328.

† This is a curious piece of Civic History, not to be found in any of their records.

‡ The new-made Bishops were:

BRISTOL. Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, of Jesus College, Cambridge.

CHICHESTER. Henry King, Dean of Rochester, of Christ Church College, Oxford.

EXETER. Ralph Brownrigg, Prebendary of Durham, Scholar and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

NORWICH. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.

*filled in a noate aparte, all w'th my owen hand; wherein you ar to observe two things to him; first, that I haue altered somewhat frome my former thoughts, to satisfie the tymes, & yet I hope, that I haue not disserued my selfe, in my elections: secondly, that in filling the Bish: I haue voided 3 Deaneries, to witt Westminster, St. Paules, & Rocester, w'ch I haue not thought fitt to fill, untill my returne, because I am not yet well resolued in anie of them; onlie I intend (if the tymes will suffer it) to giue that of Westminster * to him, that I intend it should have been B. of Chicester.*

if yo^r Ma^tie soe please, & at yo^r returne he will acquaint yo^r Ma^tie w^th y^e reason of it.

I have tould y^e Queene what yo^r Ma^tie wrote to me touching y^e Collar of Rubies, & by her Ma^ties co'maund I have sent to speake w^th S^r Job Harby about that busines, whereof by my next I shall give yo^r Ma^tie a further accompt. I shall have a care to send in yo^r Ma^ties name to all such Lo^ds (as y^e Queene shall direct) not to fayle to attend y^e downe sitting of y^e P'liam^t.

The Committees of both Houses met this afternoone att a Conference, they were all bare-headed during y^e Conference both Lo^dds & Co'mons by a privatt intimac'on, but if y^e Lo^ds should have put on their hatts, y^e Co'mons were resolved to have donne soe likewise. Their Conference was concerning some troopers, who flock to y^e Committees in soe great numbers, as they have agreed vpon an order to be forthw^th printed for sending of them away, a coppy of w^ch order is herew^th sent. Vpon let^trs from y^e Lo. Howard, and y^e rest of y^e Com'ittees (advertising that yo^r Ma^tie will not come from Scotl. this moneth at soonest) they have leave to come home as they desire, w^th power to leave any of their company behinde them if they shall see cause. The Comittee of y^e Com'ons here, upon pretence that some of their let^trs have miscarryed, doe now send an expresse messenger w^th their let^trs to their Comittees, & I am privatly tould that that messenger carries le^trs that advertise all their secret designes from y^e close Councells that have beene held here; & that he sets not forth from hence till too-morrow noone at soonest, soe as this wil be w^th yo^r Ma^tie before him. I beseech God

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SALISBURY. Brian Duppa, of Christ Church, Oxford, Bishop of Chichester, Tutor to the Prince, translated to Winchester.

WORCESTER. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, died 1650.

YORK. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, died 1650.

CARLISLE. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, ob. 1655.

* Westminster was at present vacant in consequence of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, having been suspended by the Court of Star Chamber. John Earl was the next holder of the Deanery.

to send yo^{r} Ma^{tie} a speedy, safe, & ho^{ble} returne, & soe will euer pray

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Westminster, 5: 8^{bris}, 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 12.

" For yo^{r} Sacred Ma^{tie}."

In the King's writing :

" Yours apostyled."

5^{a} 8^{bris} 1641. Apostild 12^{o}. By S^{r} W^{m} Balletine.

THE QUEEN TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas I send you the names of the Lords that I thinke fit to be send for. You must to aduertice the bishops to be heer, so hauing no more to say I reste

Your assured frend,
HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Cumberland, huntintong, bath, Northampton, Deeuonchier, bristoll, Newcastell, Pawlett, Couentry, Seymer, Cotintong*.

If you wood writt to bridgeman† to com and to speake to all is frends in that contray is in Lencachier and so to as manie as ar your frends ; for mene others I haue spokne my selfe to them already.

" For Maistre Nicholas."

Indorsed, " R. 5^{o} 8^{bris} 1641, the Queenes lett^{r} to me."

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* The preceding Peers may be easily understood, notwithstanding her Majesty's royal grant of new names ; and this, which is the most Gallicised, is evidently intended for the Lord Cottington.

† This most probably was the famous Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then master of the Court of Wards, and Attorney to the Prince of Wales ; or else one of his brothers, sons of the Bishop, two of whom were married into Lancashire families.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

Since my last of y^e 7th present, I receaved yo^r Ma^ties comaunds apostiled y^e 2^nd of this moneth, & have presented yo^r Ma^ties let^er to y^e Queene, whereof I have here^wth sent an aunsweare from her Ma^tie, w^ch came this day to my hands. I have acquainted her Ma^tie (as you were pleased to comaund) that yo^r Ma^tie wished that some of yo^r servaunts here would meete to countermyne y^e plots here, but y^e Queene saith, *that cannot be done in yo^r Ma^ties absence.* I have written let^rs to all such Lo^dds, as I have had direc^ons to send unto, to attend att y^e downe sitting of y^e Parliam^t. Touching yo^r Ma^ties Collar of Rubies, y^e Queene wishes that nothing be doune in it till y^e next weeke, when S^r Job Harby saith he shall receaue aunsweare to his let^rs sent into y^e Low Countries, & in y^e meane tyme *I am privatly to informe myself by what warraunt that iewell was put into S^r Job Harbyes or any other hands.*

I confesse not so well but yet so much as may doe much good, therfore be diligent in it.

You shall doe well to doe so.

Yo^r Ma^tie will herew^th receave a let^r from my Lo: Lieutenant of Ireland *. The insolency & disorders of y^e disbanded souldiers in & neer this Towne is soe great, as y^e Lo^ds of y^e Councell (who met this day at *Whitehall)* have thought fit that some course should be forthw^th taken to disperse & send them away, & to that purpose their Lo^pps humbly desire to know yo^r Ma^ties pleasure whether *a proclamac'on shal be issued by y^e Lo^ds Com'issioners* (whome yo^r Ma^tie did authorise to set forth proclamac'ons upon certeyne occasions in yo^r Ma^ties absence) to y^e effect of y^e inclosed printed order of y^e Com'ittees of both Houses, (whereof yo^r Ma^tie had formerly a coppy sent); but this their Lo^pps intend should be *without taking any notice of that order,* unlesse yo^r Ma^tie shall expressly direct that menc'on be made of it; in this partic'lar their Lo^ps pray yo^r Ma^ties speedy resoluc'on & order.

I thinke it most fit.

by anie meanes.

The principall cause y^e Lo^ds meeting this day in Councell was to consider of some let'^rs from Irland concerning London Derry †, where-

* The Earl of Leicester—but he never went over to take possession of his Government.

† The historians of the day are silent with respect to any circumstances connected with this City, except those already alluded to.

upon they have sent to y^e^ Lo^ds^ Justices for further informac'on before they can doe any thing in it. I pray for yo^r^ Ma^ties^ happy dispatch of yo^r^ great affaires there, & safe returne for England, as being

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^

most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 9^o^ Octo^bre^ 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 13.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r^ most excellent Ma^tie^,

I receaved (by young S^r^ Rob: Pye *) on Satterday last yo^r^ Ma^ties^ com'aunds by apostile of y^e^ 5^th^ p^e^sent, & am much ioyed, that there is hope of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ returne sooner, then is generally reported here, where it is confidently said (amongst y^e^ most authentique intelligencers in Scottish affaires), that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will not be here till Christmas, & I assure yo^r^ Ma^tie^ they give forth, as if yo^r^ Ma^tie^ were likely to receaue but an ill harvest of all y^e^ paynes yo^r^ Ma^tie^ hath taken: But I hope y^e^ happy conclusion of yo^r^ businesses there, shall now very shortly, by good effects, contradict and falsify their stories.

I humbly conceaue that it may be for yo^r^ Ma^ties^ honour & advantage, that y^e^ Lo: Mayor of London wayte on yo^r^ Ma^tie^ att yo^r^ returne, that you may have thereby opportunity to shew yo^r^self grac'ous to yo^r^ people, by speaking a short word now & then to them as you passe amongst them, to cheere & encourage them in their dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r^ Royall person; & therefore I beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^, that by yo^r^ next I may receave yo^r^ pleasure, *whither I shall intimat to y^e^ Lo. Mayor, that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will expect that he & his brethren attend yo^r^ Ma^tie^ accordingly:* And I humbly desire to know to whome I shall addresse let^rs^ for yo^r^ Ma^tie^, when you shalbe on yo^r^ iourney hither, for that I beleeve

I doe lyke well, that you should doe so.

To the Duke of Riche: (Richmond.)

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* Of Lockhamsted, Bucks, Baronet; but now extinct.

Mr. Thre'r will not ride soe fast as yo^{r} Ma^{tie}. The occasion of this dispatch is y^{e} inclosed from my Lo: Keeper.

The Queene sent me word even now that she shall not write by this packet. We hope y^{r} Ma^{ties} next l'^{rs} will satisfy yo^{r} good servaunts expectac'on here wth the desired newes of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} happy & speedy returne, w^{ch} is y^{e} earnest prayer of

Yo^{r} Sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Thorpe: Munday 11^{o} 8^{bris} 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 18

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

Yesterday I sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in myne a let'^{r} from my Lo^{d} Keeper by packet: and this is to give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} advertisem^{t}, that y^{e} L^{dds} of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} privy Councell met here this morning, to consider of some Irishe businesses, when they agreed upon a let'^{r} to be forthwth sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} wth their Lo^{ps} advise, for divers reasons expressed in their said let'^{r}, (a coppy whereof for better expedic'on is here inclosed), to giue order to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Justices in Irland to prorogue y^{e} parliam^{t} there (w^{ch} is to meete y^{e} 9th of No^{ber}) till ffebruary next: the originall under y^{e} Lo^{ds} hands shalbe sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} as soone as it can be got signed, if yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall approve of their Lo^{ps} advise, you may be pleased for better expedic'on *to send one let^{r} under yo^{r} Ma^{ties} hand imediatly from Edenburg into Irland by an expresse messenger to y^{e} Lo^{dds} Justices, forthwth to set forth a proclamac'on to that purpose:* & another by the way of West Chester or thereabouts, least y^{e} former should miscarry or receave delay. The Lo^{dds} of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Privy Councell here have also this day giuen order to the Justices of peace (in & neere London) to take a course, that a more effectuall and strict order be taken for present sending away all y^{e} disbanded souldiers, (w^{ch} still pester this Citty):

I have done this abreddie.

& for shutting up of all houses infected, for that y^e^ sicknes disperseth very much & dangerously hereabouts.

There was this day nothing donne by the Comittees of either House worthy yo^r^ Ma^ties^ notice. There is a strong report (spred by persons of best creddit here for intelligence & knowledge of y^e^ proceedings in Scotl:) that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will not be here these 2 moneths, but what ground they have for it, I cannot learne.

There is a whispering here, as if yo^r^ Parliam^t^ (when it meetes) *would adiourne for some moneths, or to some other place:* I tould my Lo: Keeper this day that if y^e^ P'liam^t^ should adiourne to a further day, (thoughe but for a moneth or two) before they passed y^e^ Bill of Tonnage & Poundage to yo^r^ Ma^tie^, (the same being graunted only to y^e^ first of Decem: next) it would put yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to a great streight for want of monny to uphold yo^r^ house, & for divers other occasions: And I humbly offer it to yo^r^ Ma^ties^ considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for you to let my Lo: Keeper, & some other of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ best affected Servaunts of either House of P'liam^t^ know, what you would have them to insist upon in case there should be any moc'on for a further adiournem^t^, before yo^r^ Ma^ties^ returne, by reason of y^e^ sicknes, w^ch^ growes soe rife & dangerous, as will make such a moc'on willingly hearkened unto. My humble & earnest prayers shalbe still for a prosperous dispatch of yo^r^ affaires there, & for yo^r^ Ma^ties^ speedy & safe returne, there being noe man soe much obliged to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ for yo^r^ grac'ous favour, as

I would not have that intention hindered, Cambridge would be best.

For this, I would haue you consult with the Keeper & others of my seruants what to doe in it, leaving it to your discretions to doe as you shall see cause, but I would have the ajurnement furthered by anie meanes.

As I haue beene sufficientlie slandered heere, in sume respects, so there also I heere that I haue not mist those good offices, though in an other kynde, as being resolved, at myretorne, to alter the forme of the Churche gouernement in England, to this heere: therefor I com'and you to asseure all my seruants there that I am constant for the Doctrine & Disepline of the Churche of England as it was established by Queene Elis. & my Father, & resolues, (by the grace of God) to liue & dey in the maintinance of it.

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 12^o^ 8^bris^, 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 18:

Superscribed "for yo^r^ Sacred Ma^tie^."

Written by the King: "Yours apostyled."

Written on the back by Sir E. N.: "Sent by Mr. Mungo Murrey, and rec^d^ back by ^e^ post boy of Barbican the 23^th^ at West^r^ at 9 at nyght. His Ma^tie^ is constant in y^e^ Doctrine & Discipline of y^e^ Church."

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

I receaved yesterday yo^{r} Ma^{ties} apostile of y^{e} 9th p^{e}sent by Mr. Barkley, & have (according to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} com'and) addressed this packet to y^{e} Duke of Richmond, & shall soe contynue my addresses, untill I shall understand of Mr. Th'rers returne to Court. Yo^{r} Ma^{tie} com'aunds me to advise wth some of yo^{r} best servaunts here, how to p^{e}vent the intenc'ons of some here to presse yo^{r} Ma^{tie} at y^{e} next meeting in P'liam^{t} for y^{e} like Act touching y^{e} Elecc'on of Officers & Councellors here, as you have graunted in Scotland. I (wth all humility) assure yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, that I conceave it no lesse difficult for me (now in yo^{r} absence when y^{e} awe of the Parliam^{t} is upon all in generall) *to discerne who are yo^{r} Ma^{ties} best servaunts here*, then it is almost impossible for such yo^{r} servaunts, to know what to doe or advise, to p^{e}vent soe plausible a designe, w^{ch} in my poor opinion nothing can soe well divert, as yo^{r} Ma^{ties} speedy returne: But of this I intend forthwth *to speake wth the Queene.*

If your owen observation doe not sufitiently tell you, lett my Wyfes direction guyde you.

It will bee well done.

This inclosed is y^{e} let^{r} from y^{e} Lo^{dds} of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} privy Counsell, whereof in my last by Mr. Mungo Murrey * I sent a coppy: their Lo^{pps}, as soone as they rose from Councell, (& before y^{e} let^{r} was drawne) dispersed themselves to their severall homes in y^{e} country, w^{ch} is y^{e} cause (as I am tould), that it was this day before it was brought signed to me for yo^{r} Ma^{tie}: The more secrecy and expedic'on there is used in dispatch of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} let^{r} to y^{e} Lo^{dds} Justices (if you shall approove of their Lo^{pps} advise) y^{e} better, & that made me p^{e}sume to hasten to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} y^{e} coppy, before y^{e} let^{r} itself was signed. I finde that y^{e} Com'ittees of both Houses (by reason of y^{e} contynuaunce of y^{e} sicknes) incline to be

* Murrey (Mungo) was a confidential servant and gentleman of the bedchamber to the King, who often entrusted him with private correspondence, an anecdote respecting which deserves notice. In February 1646, whilst the King was in the power of the English Commissioners at Newcastle, Murrey, having obtained leave of absence on pretence of visiting Scotland, was admitted to his Majesty's presence before witnesses for the purpose of kissing his hand. The Commissioners, however, were so suspicious and watchful, that they observed something put into his hand by the King; and having followed him, when out of the presence, they searched him, and found a letter in cypher directed to Montreuil the French agent. The Letter was immediately sent up to the Parliament, and Murrey committed to prison, but admitted to bail after two days confinement.

very earnest, when ye Parliamt meets next, to perswade to a further adiournemt for a tyme, but Mr. Pym, & those of his party, will not heare that ye Pliamt shalbe held any where but in London or Westminster: I hope yor Matie (if you shall stay there past ye 18th present) will send some direcc'ons to yor servaunts here how to apply their endeavours in P'liamt, in case there shalbe any debate touching an adiournemt.

I haue given sufficient order in all this alreddy.

I have herewth by ye Queenes com'aund sent yor Matie ye draught of a warrant for yor Maties hand for ye delivery of yor Maties Collar of Rubies to Sr Wm Boswell for yor Maties use: I tould Sr Job Harby, that Sr Wm was to kepe it till yor Matie should send for it: The Queene tould me yesterday, that she would write to yor Matie to be pleased wth yor owne hand to give Sr Wm Boswell order what to doe wth ye said Collar, for it is apparent, that these merchaunts dare not have a hand in the engaging of it, but they say they will take order that, upon receipt of yor Maties warraunt, it shalbe safely delivered accordingly.

I haue syned it, & therefor see that it be imediatlie sent ouer, for tell my Wyfe that I shall loose no tyme in sending to Sr Will: Boswell as she desyres.*

If yor Matie shall stay long from hence†, I humbly pray yor Matie wilbe pleased to let me understand *wh whome you would have me to advise concerning yor affaires here*, & that yor Matie would vouchsafe *to let them know, how farre yor Matie would have them to confide in me in any yor Maties services*, that I may have ye more creddit wth them, when I shall have occasion to attend them, & be ye better able to annsweare yor Maties expectac'on. I haue not bene att Oatlands since Mr. Berkley came, but am this morning going to wayte on ye Queene, to know if her Matie hath any com'aunds for

I haue tould you in my former Dispaches.

I shall doe this.

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

Thorpe: 15 8bris, 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 20:

"For yor sacred Matie." By the King: "Yours apostyled."
15o 8bis 1641. Apost: 20. R. 25o at 9. at night.

* Boswell seems to have been an old confidential servant of the King, who mentions him as his agent in 1634, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. Vide Bromley's Letters, p. 67. He was also in the confidence of the Palatine Princes about the same time. Vide Bromley, p. 79. He was, at this period, the British Resident at the Hague, but afterwards fell into disgrace, as appears by a subsequent letter of the Queen of Bohemia.

† On this day the King wrote a letter to the Lord Keeper, desiring him to inform the Parliament that he was unavoidably detained, but that he would make all diligence to return. This was read to the Lords on the 26th. Vide Parliamentary Debates.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r^ most excell^nt^ Ma^tie^,

Yo^r^ Ma^ties^ sent by S^r^ W^m^ Ballatine* were delivered here y^e^ 18^th^ of this moneth by 4 in y^e^ afternoone.

Upon let^rs^ from y^e^ Englishe Co'mittees now in Scotl: to y^e^ Com'ittee here, relating y^e^ newes of Mar: Hamiltons, the Ea: of Arguiles, and Ea: of Lannericks abandoning y^e^ Court & Parliam^t^ there†, our Com-'ittee here was yesterday in a great fright, & (declaring that they conceaved the same to be a plot of y^e^ Papists there, & of some Lo^dds^ & others here,) sent p^e^sent order to y^e^ Lo: Mayor &c. to dubble y^e^ gardes & watches of this Citty & Suborbs, & it is thought that this busines will this day in parliament be declared to be a greater plot against the kingdomes and parliam^ts^ in Eng: & Scotl: then hath bene discovered at all. There have bene some well-affected parliam^t^-men here w^th^ me this morning to know whether I had any relac'on of that busines, but finding I had none, but only a few words from Mr. Sec'rie Vane, w^ch^ I shewed to them, they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it: I hasten this of purpose to give yo^r^ Ma^tie^ notice hereof, & to pray yo^r^ Ma^tie^, that there may be sent hither w^ch^ all possible dilligence a full & p'fect relac'on of y^e^ present disturbance there, & the cause &

I was the lesse carfull to send a perfect relation of this business, because I sent one of whose discretion & knowledg I was & am so confident, that I thought his discourse of the business as hauing beene an ey witness would haue satisfied more then anie written relation, therefore I desyre you to call on him in my name to satisfie well affected persones, of the treuth of that w'ch passed while he was heere; &, for what hath passed since, I haue directed the D: of Rich: to giue you such an account as there is.

* Afterwards Lord Ballenden, the first Peer of that name. In 1640 he appears, by Bromley's Royal Letters, pp. 115, 116, to have been attached as Minister at the Palatine Court. He was much in the confidence of all the branches of the Royal Family; and obtained the peerage from Charles the Second for his very useful and active services during the Usurpation.

† This is the affair which, in the history of that time, went by the name of "The Incident." Lord Lanerick's relation of it may be seen in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. II. p. 299, wherein he asserts that there was a plan laid, by the opposite party, to cut the throats of himself and the two Lords mentioned in this Letter; and he adds, that their "abandoning the Court and Parliament" was literally nothing more than quitting Edinburgh in order to save their lives.

There is an hiatus in the Hardwicke Papers from 1641 to 1685. His Lordship, in a note on Lord Lanerick's relation, laments that very little is known respecting a dark affair "which nobody understood at the time," particularly as the Hamilton Collection seems very defective at that period. These present Letters, however, may avail the future historian in clearing up difficulties and in prosecuting research.

The affair is particularly noticed in Pym's Report of the Committees, on the re-opening of Parliament, which may be referred to in vol. X. of the Parliamentary History, page 5.

grounds thereof, & what upon exa'iac'on it appeares to that parliam^t^ to be: All w^ch^, I humbly wishe may be certefyed hither in as authentique a way *, & from as vnsuspected a hand as may be.

It is now vnder examination, w'ch as soone as it (is) ended you shall be sure to have.

If Mr. Secr'ie Vane had written to me, or any of his friends here a true narrac'on of that busines, it would have given much satisfacc'on here, & stopped the causles alarmes that are here taken vpon y^e^ noyse of it, that busines being now by y^e^ relac'on of diverse Scotsmen here made much worse, then I beleeve it will proove in y^e^ end.

The Queene tould me yesterday that she will wryte to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ this night or too morrow, but I thought it not fitt to deferre this packet now for her Ma^ties^ let^r^, which shalbe hastened away as soone as I shall receave it. The inclosed from S^r^ Art: Hopton †, I receaved from my Lo: Cottington w^th^ direcc'ons to send it to yo^r^ Ma^tie^.

Yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will I hope pardon this hasty expression of the humble dilligence of

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie^,
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this I receaved for yo^r^ Ma^tie^ this le^tr^ from my Lo: Marshall.

Written by the King:
"Those of yours, w^ch^ I returne not to you apostyled, I alwais burne."

Westminster, 20: 8^bris^ 1641.
Eden. 24.

"For yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie^."
"Yours apostyled."
20. 8^bris^ 1641. Apost. 24^o^ 8^bris^.
R. 30 at 7. at night at Thorpe. Rec. of Capt. Smith.

* The Parliament met this day; the first time after the recess.

† He was uncle to Sir Ralph Hopton, the famous Royalist General; and, when the latter was created Lord Hopton, Sir Arthur was named heir in remainder, in default of issue male; but dying before his nephew, he never enjoyed those honours. He was of a Somersetshire family, the Hoptons of Wytham.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

I hope my le^r, w^ch I hastily wrote to yo^r Ma^tie yesterday by packet, wilbe come to yo^r Royall hands before this, & that wee shall speedily receaue a relac'on of this busines concerning the Marquis & y^e rest, w^ch all yo^r servaunts here call for very earnestly.

Of this I much wonder, for on my credit I acquainted nobodie with the contents thereof, & am verie confident that none heere knew whether I writt to him or not: therefor I thinke it fitt that you should try as much as may be how this is come, & whether it be an intelligence or conjectur.

Yo^r Ma^ties le^r to my Lo: Keeper was carefully delivered to his owne hands yesterday before y^e sitting of y^e Parliam^t, but his Lo^pp tells me, *that y^e effect of it was knowne here some dayes before he receaved it:* w^ch is an infinite p^eiudice to yo^r Ma^ties affaires here; such anticipation of yo^r Ma^ties direcc'ons in businesses of importaunce renders y^e same impossible, or extreame difficult, to be effected: And I observe that y^e perfect intelligence, that is here of all yo^r Ma^ties resoluc'ons & proceedings there, puts lief & spiritt into some here, who w^thout that encouragem^t & light, would (I beleeve) pay more reverence to yo^r Ma^ties councells & acc'ons.

Before this, that is satisfied.

When yo^r Ma^tie hath made stay of y^e disbanding of 5 companies remayning in Barwick *, it is here thought fit not to make any order to y^e contrary, but it is declared (as I heare) that from y^e 15th of this moneth (w^ch was y^e tyme appoynted by y^e Houses for disbanding of all that garrison) those companies shall have noe further pay from y^e Comonwealth as it is called, & concerning this, there is to be speedily a conference w^th y^e Lo^dds, w^th y^e issue whereof I shall acquaint yo^r Ma^tie by my next:

I remember that I had some discourse w^th the Eng: Parmen about Prorogation, but I'm confident that it was efter my Lett: was written, if it wer serius, all others wer in consequence of the Plague at randome.

Sir Jo. Berkley was yesterday com'itted to y^e Tower, & Capt: O'Neale to y^e Gatehouse by y^e House of Com'ons vpon y^e old busines †. Yo^r Ma^tie will herew^th receave a coppy of y^e let^r sent hither by y^e

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* The jealousy of the Parliament about Berwick was so very great, that when the Scottish Army, upon their return in August, wished to march through that garrison, a wooden bridge was actually ordered to be built over the Tweed, at some distance from the town.

† It was also ordered, that the Lords should be desired to examine those gentlemen respecting the charges brought against them.

Com'ittees in Scotland, and of y^e^ order made thereupon y^e^ day before y^e^ P'liam^t^ by y^e^ Com'ittees here. I have p^e^sented yo^r^ Ma^ties^ let^r^ to y^e^ B^pp^ of London, who hath promised to use all possible expedic'on in p'formance of yo^r^ Ma^tie^ comaunds therein.

The Lo^dds^ Comissioners have given order for p^e^paring a Proclamac'on for p^e^sent dispersing & sending away of y^e^ disbanded souldiers *, as yo^r^ Ma^tie^ directed by yo^r^ apostile of y^e^ 13^th^ of this moneth. My Lo: Keeper delivered me this morning to be sent to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ this paper, w^ch^ was p^e^sented to his Lo^p^ in y^e^ nature of a protestac'on by y^e^ persons therein vndernamed: his Lo^pp^ tells me he hath formerly acquainted yo^r^ Ma^tie^ w^th^ that busines. My Lo: of Bristoll † tould me this day, that he heares from severall hands, that there *is an intenc'on to question his Lo^p^, & his sonne y^e^ Lo: Digby*, but he knowes not for what, & he tells me that nothing shall deterre him from p'formaunce of his duty. This day there was twice read in y^e^ Com'ons House a Bill for taking away the Votes of B^pps^ in y^e^ Vpper House, and that Bill is comitted, & it is said it will passe both Houses w^th^in two days. The disobedience against y^e^ order of y^e^ House of Co'mons concerning Innovac'ons, was this day questioned in that House, & after a long debate, there was noe way found or resolved on, to punishe those that disobeyed y^e^ same, for that that order was conceaved by most in y^t^ House not to be iustifyable by Lawe, & therefore not binding ‡.

For divertion of this & other mischeefes, I would ye should put Bristo in mynde to renew that dispute betwixt the two Houses, concerning the Parlament Protestation w'ch Southampton was so fearse upon.

I have herew^th^ sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^ some notes of y^e^ effect of y^e^ Conference this day betweene y^e^ 2 Houses. I beseech God amongst those great

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* May, in his History of the Parliament, says that both the Armies, English and Scotch, "quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by order from Justices of Peace through the several Counties."

† The Earl of Bristol had mingled much in party politics previous to this date. He had been Ambassador to Spain in proposing Charles's marriage with the Infanta; and afterwards impeached in Parliament respecting the treaty and its failure: but he had such influence with the House of Commons as to bring about a counter impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. This may account for his hostility to Charles's friend, Lord Strafford, though the prospect of rebellion now induced him to support the Royal Cause. Vide Bulstrode, page 14.

‡ None of these circumstances are stated in the Parliamentary History; yet they are important with respect to the annals of those times.

In this, I hope, this dispache will satisfie your longins, but I belive, not some of your expectations.

distracc'ons to p^e^serve yo^r^ Ma^tie^ in safety: & I beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to give me leave once more to put you in minde to hasten hither a true relac'on of y^e^ vnhappy interrupc'on of yo^r^ affaires there, for I find, that yo^r^ servaunts here are much dishartened that they are kept soe long in darknes in a busines soe highly importing yo^r^ hon^r^, & yo^r^ Ma^ties^ owne person. I expected a let^r^ from y^e^ Queene for yo^r^ Ma^tie^ this day, but I beleeve her Ma^tie^ pu'poses to send her let^rs^ by an expresse; for that there are none come from her Ma^tie^ as yet to be conveyed by

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^
Most humble & most
Westminster, 21° 8^bris^ 1641. obedient servaunt,
Eden: 28: Edw. Nicholas.

"For yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie^."
"Yours apostyled."
Apost: 28 S^bris^.—R. 1° No^bris^: at 5 at night, by Mr. Wm. Murray.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r^ most excellent Ma^tie^,

I receaved Satterday night last yo^r^ Ma^ties^ of y^e^ 18^th^ p^e^sent, & have safely delivered yo^r^ Ma^ties^ to y^e^ Queene & my Lo: Keeper: the messenger that was sent w^th^ yo^r^ Ma^ties^ said l'ter, (bruysing himself w^th^ a fall from his horse soe as he was not able to ride) sent yo^r^ Ma^ties^ to me single by y^e^ ordinary post, w^ch^ made me suspect that it had bene intercepted, but it came very safe. I have alreddy made knowne to diverse Lo^dds^ & others yo^r^ Ma^ties^ pious resoluc'on to mainteyne constantly y^e^ doctryne & disciplyne of y^e^ Church of England, & have by their advise delivered extracts (of what yo^r^ Ma^tie^ hath written) to diverse of yo^r^ Ma^tie's^ servaunts, that yo^r^ piety therein may be vnderstood by yo^r^ good people here.

The Queene sent S^r^ W^m^ Ballatine from hence on Friday last, & he going im'ediatly from Oatlands w^th^out calling here, I lost y^e^ opportunity of sending by him, but I p^e^pared my l'ter of y^e^ 23^th^ reddy for him, w^ch^ I have now sent by this gent. Mr. Tho. Elliot.

Wee here begin to appᵉhend that in yᵉ great troubles there, some of yoʳ Maᵗⁱᵉˢ packets may miscarry, & therefore I held it my duty to let yoʳ Maᵗⁱᵉ vnderstand, that since myne of yᵉ 12ᵗʰ (wᶜʰ yoʳ Maᵗⁱᵉ hath return'd) I have sent to yoʳ Maᵗⁱᵉ letʳˢ of yᵉ 15ᵗʰ & 18ᵗʰ, both wᶜʰ were addressed in packets to yᵉ D. of Richmond, & afterwards 2 other packets of yᵉ 20ᵗʰ & 21ᵗʰ directed to Mr. Th'rer.

I haue receaued them all

& thease also

As concerning yᵉ adiournemᵗ of yᵉ P'liamᵗ here, my Lo: Keeper tells me, that he hath, by his l'ter sent in myne of yᵉ 21ᵗʰ fully acquainted yoʳ Maᵗⁱᵉ how yᵉ expectac'on thereof was here frustrated. The Vpper House did Satterday last reade yᵉ Bill transmitted to them by yᵉ Comons, for taking away yᵉ Votes of Bᵖˢ, & intend (as I heare) to speede it as fast as may be, notwᵗʰstanding *it is said to be against yᵉ auntient order of P'liamᵗ to bring in a Bill againe yᵉ same Sessions, that it was reiected**. Yoʳ Maᵗⁱᵉˢ best servaunts here remayne still in great payne, that in all this tyme they have not receaved any p'fect relac'on of yᵉ late disorders at Edinb: concerning Mar: Hamilton & yᵉ rest, & they are yᵉ more impatient, in regarde they heare that some of yᵉ Com'ons House have coppyes of yᵉ examinac'ons taken in that busines, & other aduertisemᵗˢ touching yᵉ same. I beseech God to send yoʳ Maᵗⁱᵉ forth of that laberinth of troubles there, & a safe & hoᵇˡᵉ returne for Engl: wᶜʰ wilbe most welcome to all honnest men here, and to none more then to

it is trew.

Bid my seruants make as much vse of this objection as may bee.

Yo⁻ sacred Maᵗⁱᵉˢ

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 25° 8ᵇʳⁱˢ 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden. 30.

Written by the King:

"I hope this ill newes of Ireland† may hinder some of theas follies in England."

"For yoʳ sacred Maᵗⁱᵉ."

"Yours apostyled."

25° 8ᵇʳⁱˢ 1641. Apost. 30 8ᵇʳⁱˢ.

Rec. 4° Noᵇʳⁱˢ in yᵉ morning.

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* The Lords, however, did not proceed so far, until, on the 22d of October, the House of Commons sent up Mr. Holles "to put them in mind of their complaint exhibited against the thirteen Bishops who made the last new Canons, and to pray a speedy proceeding therein."

† This is a verification of the old proverb, that "Ill news travels fast;" for the Irish Rebellion

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

I sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} y^{e} 25th of this p^{e}sent 2. let^{rs} by Mr. Elliot*, & y^{e} same night I receaved yo^{r} Ma^{ties} apostile of y^{e} 20th, and p^{e}sently sent away yo^{r} Ma^{ties} to y^{e} Queene, & delivered that to my Lo: Keeper. I shall forthwth deliver yo^{r} Ma^{ties} warr^{t} to S^{r} Job Harby, & hasten y^{e} dispatch of that busines.

I have herein sent yo^{r} Ma^{tie} a coppy of an order made by the Peers concerning y^{e} Jurisdic'con of y^{e} Archb^{p}. of Cant. In this packet there is sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} by my Lo^{d}. of London severall Bills for yo^{r} Ma^{ties} signature for y^{e} new B^{ps}, wth a l^{tr} from his Lo^{pp} touching that busines.

Hen. Vane will returne all those syned by mee w^{t}h this Packe to my L: of Lon:

There is still kept here a strict garde & watch about y^{e} Parliam^{t} houses of 100. of y^{e} trayned Bands, besides diverse other watchmen: y^{e} p^{e}tence is an app^{r}hension of some conspiracy of y^{e} Papists against y^{e} P'liam^{t} here, answearable to that against some Lo^{ds} in Scotl: & y^{e} alarme of popishe plots amuse & fright y^{e} people here, more then any thing, & therefore that is y^{e} drum that is soe frequently beaten uppon all occasions; & y^{e} noyse of an intenc'on to introduce Popery was that w^{ch} first brought into dislike wth the people y^{e} governement both of

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broke out on the 25th of October, and the King's memorandum, or apostyle, is dated the 30th. The return of the letter to Sir Edward, on the 4th of November, is a further proof of the rapidity of travelling at that period between Edinburgh and London.

The King's opinion respecting the interference of Parliament in Irish affairs, may be drawn from an anecdote preserved in an old tract in the British Museum; when in conversation with the Earl of Pembroke, in March 1641, His Majesty said, "The businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in; four hundred will never do that work: it must be put in the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a beggar myself, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can find moneye for that."

* This is the same person to whom, in 1642, the Lord Keeper Littleton delivered the Great Seal, when the King sent him for it. Littleton, terrified at what he had done, fled immediately afterwards to join the King at York. May states him to have been "a young gentleman, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty."

y^e^ Church and Comonwealth. I have not bene sparing to make knowne yo^r^ Ma^ties^ pious resoluc'on to mainteyne y^e^ doctrine & disciplyne of the Church of Engl: w^ch^ I perceave gives very good satisfac'on.

My Lo: Keeper having occasion to wayte on y^e^ Queene this day, did yesterday move y^e^ House for leave, & tould their Lo^ps^ that my Lo: Bankes had a co'misson dormant to be Speaker in his absence, but y^e^ Lo^ds^ said they would chuse their owne Speaker, & soe named y^e^ Lo. P. Seale*, whereupon my Lo. Keeper said he would (to avoide all question) rather stay, but y^e^ Lo^ds^ pressed him not to forbeare his iourney, least y^e^ Queene might take it ill, & soe his Lo^p^ goes this day to Oatlands, & y^e^ Lo. P. Seale is to be Speaker in his absence.

I comand you to speake with the Keeper & my L: Bankes to see if it can bee waranted by anie reule or president that the Vpper House may chuse there Speaker.

Judge Berkley† was yesterday att y^e^ bar in y^e^ Vpper House, & there heard his charge read, to w^ch^ he pleaded not guilty, & made a prudent answeare; whereupon tyme is given him till Tuesday next to produce witnesses concerning soe much of his charge as relates to misdemeanors. The House of Com'ons did yesterday by vote declare, that y^e^ 13 Bishops‡, (who are questioned for making y^e^ new cannons,) ought not to haue vote in y^e^ Lo^ds^ House in any busines; & they are this day to have a conference w^th^ y^e^ Lo^ds^ thereupon, & also touching y^e^ excluding of all y^e^ B^ps^ from voting in y^e^ Bill (w^ch^ is passed y^e^ Com'ons House) to take away totally y^e^ B^ps^ votes§. All yo^r^ Ma^ties^ best servaunts

You shall doe well to put the B: of Lincolne in mynde concerning the Pardon I thought fitt those 13 B^ps^ should haue for a Premunire, that you may giue order to the Atur: for it in my name if he shall thinke it fitt.

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* Henry Earl of Manchester.

† He was Justice of the King's Bench; was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of high treason, and afterwards fined in the sum of £20,000. besides being declared incapable of all further administration of justice.

‡ These were, Walter Carle, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Wright, B. Coventry and Lichfield; Godfrey Goodman, B. Gloucester; Joseph Hall, B. Exeter; John Owen, B. St. Asaph; William Piers, B. Bath and Wells; George Cook, B. Hereford; Matthew Wren, B. Ely; William Roberts, B. Bangor; Robert Skinner, B. Bristol; John Warner, B. Rochester; John Towers, B. Peterborough; Morgan Owen, B. Landaff.

§ The Bill went further than Sir Edward reports, for it included "Bishops and other persons in Holy Orders." It was to shut them not only out of Parliament, but also from the Privy Council, the Commission of the Peace, " or execute any temporal authority, by virtue of any commission."

Even the vulgar wit of the day was brought forward in contempt of the Church; and a pamphlet was industriously disseminated, under the title of, " Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops."

here pray for yo^{r} Ma^{ties} speedy & happy dispatch of affaires there, conceaving yo^{r} p^{e}sence would be of very much advantage to yo^{r} services here, & this is also y^{e} earnest prayer of

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster: 27^{o} 8^{bris} 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

Eden: 2: No:

By the King:

"I co'mande you to direct my L: Keeper in my name to issew out a Proclamation co'manding all Parlament Men to attend on the Parlament.

"Thanke Southampton, in my name, for stopping the Bill against the Bishops: &, that at my co'ming, I will doe it myselfe."

"For yo^{r} sacred Ma^{tie}."

"Yours apostyled."

27 8^{bris} Apost. 2^{o}. 9^{bris}.—R. 6^{o} 9^{bris} 1641 at 6. at night. by Mr. Brunker.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

My last to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} was of y^{e} 27th p^{e}sent, w^{ch} I sent by packet addressed to Mr. Th'rer. Yo^{r} Ma^{ties} long absence encourages some to talke in Parliam^{t} of highe matters. It was yesterday in debate in y^{e} Co'mons House, that y^{e} Parliam^{t} may have the approbac'on of all Officers, Councellors, Amb'dors, and Ministers, and yo^{r} Ma^{tie} y^{e} nomina-c'on*. The reasons alleaged for it were, first that it had bene soe

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* A most extraordinary speech was made on this occasion by "Master Smith, of the Inner Temple," which he has done posterity the favour to publish. In one part he observes: "Prerogative and Liberty are both necessary to this Kingdom; and, like the Sun and Moon, give a lustre to this benighted Nation, so long as they walk at equal distances; but when one of them shall venture into the other's orb, like those planets in conjunction, they then cause a deeper eclipse." He then concludes a string of uncouth metaphors by assuring the House that it was necessary "so to provide that the Mæcenas's of the times may not, like great jacks in a pool, devour their inferiors, and make poverty a pavement for themselves to trample on."

heretofore, & soe is conceaved to be an auntient right: 2ly that ye ill effects that have bene by ye councells & acc'ons of olde Officers, Councellors, &c. & ye feares that there may be ye like by the new; will make all that hath bene hitherto donne nothing, if this may not be graunted to secure them, whereby the kingdome may be as well pserved as purged. 3dly that yor Matie did heare partic'lar & privat mens advise in ye choyce of yor Offirs, Councellors, &c. & therefore it can be noe derogac'on for yor Matie to take therein ye advise of ye P'liament. Some said that untill such things as these shalbe granted they cannot wth a good conscyence supply yor Maties necessities: After a long debate this busines was at length referred to a Select Com'ittee to ppare forthwth heads for a peton to be psented to yor Matie to receave the P'liamts approbac'on of such Officers, Councellors, &c. as yor Matie shall choose, for better pvenc'on of ye great & many mischeifs that may befall ye Comonwealth by ye choyce of ill Councellors, Officers, Amb'dors & Ministers of State, wch peton is to be ripened wth all speede & to be psented to ye House: There appeared soe many in ye Com'ons House against this busines, that some conceave that there wilbe noe further proceeding in it, but I doubt it: howsoever I may not forbeare to let yor Matie know, that the Lo: ffalkland, Sr Jo. Strangwishe*, Mr. Waller, Mr. Ed. Hide, & Mr. Holborne & diverse others stood as Champions in maynten'nce of yor Prerogative, and shewed for it unaunswerable reason & undenyable psedents, whereof yor Matie shall doe well *to take some notice* (as yor Matie shall thinke best) *for their encouragm't.*

I co'mande you to doe it in my name, telling them that I will doe it myselfe at my returne.

The Com'ons House having gotten notice of ye new Bpps † that are

* Sir John Strangeways, knt. of Melbury Sampford, Dorsetshire.

† The superstitious feeling respecting political events at that period is curiously exemplified by a contemporary Writer, speaking of the occurrences immediately after Charles's return:

"It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busie citizen must needs cry, *No Bishops!* Some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else, it seemes, with blowes; what passed on either side in words none but themselves knew; the citizen, being more tongue than souldier, was wounded, and I have heard dyed of his wounds received at that tyme; it hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late King's *head was cut off,* the Scaffold standing just over that place."

On the contraire I command you to take order that these Billes bee expedited that they may with all possible diligence attend the Parlament.

now making, some did mervale that any man should move yo^{r} Ma^{tie} for making of B^{ps} in these tymes, when it is well knowne how great complaints are against them in generall, & some would have had a pet^{on} or message to be sent to pray yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to be pleased to stay y^{e} constituting of any more B^{ps} till y^{e} busines concerning Episcopacy shalbe determyned: but this moc'on was not resented in y^{e} House, & soe y^{e} discourse thereof fell *.

There was yesterday a great debate in y^{e} Upper House about y^{e} Bill for taking away the B^{ps} votes, & it was very doubtfull after a long dispute, w^{ch} side was likeliest to carry itt, but att length both sides agreed to put off y^{e} further debate thereof till y^{e} 10th of Nov^{r} next, before w^{ch} tyme it wilbe tryed, of what vallidity y^{e} impeachm^{t} against y^{e} 13 B^{ps} will proove to be.

The considerac'on of these partic'lar passages may be sufficyent to move yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to hasten yo^{r} returne, & I shall take y^{e} boldnes to ad to it one more, w^{ch} I observed att y^{e} Councell Borde, when Marq: Hertford † moved y^{e} Lo^{dds} (upon occasion of these words in Mr. Th'rers le^{tr} to me, *viz.* that he did hope y^{e} P'liam^{t} of Engl. would interpose & hasten yo^{r} Ma^{ties} returne) to consider whether it might not be fit to move y^{e} P'liam^{t} here to that purpose; most of y^{e} rest of y^{e} Lo^{dds} of y^{e} Councele declyned it, in regard y^{e} le^{r} was not written to y^{e} Boorde but to me, & that Mr. Th'rer left it to my choyce whether to acquaint them wth it or noe; whereby I observe that every one of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Pr. Councele is not fond of yo^{r} speedy returne hither. Yo^{r} Ma^{tie} can best make iudgm^{t} by there carriages how much it imports you to hasten hither.

I have delivered yo^{r} Ma^{ties} warraunt concerning yo^{r} Collar of Rubies, and am promised that this weeke order shalbe sent into y^{e} Low Countries for delivery of y^{e} same accordingly wth all dilligence possible. The

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* The Parliamentary History asserts that the motion for a conference with the Lords, for the purpose of drawing up a petition on this subject, was carried, on a division, by 71 to 53.

† Hertford, at this period, was Governor to the Prince of Wales. This branch of the Seymours became extinct in 1675.

Queene toulde me on Wensday last, that she would send an expresse to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} wthin a few dayes, w^{ch} I beleeve she hath donne by this tyme. This from my Lo. Keeper was delivered to me for yo^{r} Ma^{tie} this afternoone.

I assure yo^{r} Ma^{tie} I have bene warn'd by some of my best friends to be wary what I wryte to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, for that there are many eyes upon me both here & in Scotl. & that l'trs that come to yo^{r} Royall hands doe after oft miscarry & come to others view: Albeit this shall not deterre me from p'formaunce of my duty in advertising yo^{r} Ma^{tie} of all things, that shall occurre to my knowledge of certeynty, importing yo^{r} Ma^{ts} service, yet I humbly beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to vouchsafe to keepe to yo^{r}self what I take y^{e} freedome to imparte, least, in these tymes, that may be rendred to be treason in me, w^{ch} I humbly conceave to be y^{e} duty of

it is a Ley.

I shall.

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

I receaued this on Wedensday last. When ye delver this inclosed to my wyfe, desyre her, not to open it but when she is alone.

Westminster, 29^{o} 8^{bris} 1641.

Eden. 6 Nov.

Apost. 6^{o} 9^{bris}.—Re^{d} 11^{o} 9^{bris} by Mr. Tho. Killegrew *.

* This is the gentleman of facetious memory, who is generally known only as the Court buffoon of the succeeding reign, but who had other claims, not generally understood, upon the Royal notice. At this period he was, or had been, page to Charles the First; and was afterwards an attendant upon Charles the Second during his exile. Some allusions are made to him in subsequent letters; particularly where the Queen of Bohemia solicits a commission for him. His family was also, in some degree, connected with the Royal Family, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Sir William Killegrew, with Frederic of Zulestein, an illegitimate son of Henry Prince of Orange.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^{r} most excell^{t} Ma^{tie},

The 29th of y^{e} last moneth I sent yo^{r} Ma^{tie} a lt^{r} in a packet adressed to Mr. Th'rer, & on Satterday last about 7 at night I receaued by Capt. Smith * yo^{r} Ma^{ties} co'maunds apostiled 24^{o} 8^{bris}, & according to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} co'maunds I gave him yo^{r} Ma^{ties} lt^{r} to p^{e}sent it to y^{e} Queene. The relac'ons w^{ch} are here made by any that come from thence, are (for y^{e} most p^{te}) varied & reported afterward by others according to y^{e} sence and affec'on of each severall audito^{rs}, & soe become very uncertaine, & some are apt to credit & report y^{e} worst of businesses, & to silence what they like not, wherefore I humbly conceave, that a relac'on written by a good & unsuspected hand, would not only gayne best beliefe, but be lesse subiect to mistakes & misreports: & I hope when y^{e} exaiac'ons of y^{e} late disturbances there shalbe published, y^{e} same will cleere all doubts, & giue honnest men full satisfac'on. I have shewen y^{e} Queene & some Lo^{dds} the coppy of Marq: Hamiltons 2. and 3^{d} lt^{rs} to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, whereby he beggs yo^{r} Ma^{ties} pardon, w^{ch} argues he is not soe faultlesse, & innocent, as we would here render him. I humbly thanke yo^{r} Ma^{tie} that you have bene soe carefull of yo^{r} faithful servaunt, as to burne all such of my l^{rs}, as you returne not to me apostiled, w^{ch} soe much concernes my safety, as I assure your Ma^{tie}, I have bene warned by some of my best freinds both there and here, to be wary in

* This Captain Smith displayed great courage, as well as loyalty, in the King's service. In the battle of Edgehill, on the 22d of October, 1642, when Sir Edward Verney, the Royal Standard Bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, Smith rushed amidst the enemy and re-took it, for which he was instantly made a knight banneret, and received soon after a large gold medal, "with the King's picture on the one side, and the banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying day, in a large green watered ribband, crosś his shoulders." He fell, two years afterwards, at Cheriton fight, sometimes called the battle of Alresford.

my advertisem^{ts}, least being too good a servaunt (these are their very words) doe me hurt.

I have inclosed, sent yo^{r} Ma^{tie} y^{e} coppy of an order * of y^{e} Parliam^{t} concerning their abundant care of y^{e} Princes highnes safety and education, the reasons thereof were delivered yesterday at Oatlands by my Lo. of Holland † to y^{e} Queene, who (I heare) gave a very wise and discreete answeare to y^{e} same, as (I beleeve) her owne pen will very speedily acquaint yo^{r} Ma^{tie}.

It is said there is a new designe discovered of a later intenc'on then Mr. Percyes ‡ to have debauched y^{e} late Army, but what it is I cannot

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* A Conference took place on this subject between the two Houses: wherein it was urged that the Prince had recently been often at the Queen's residence at Oatlands; and, though the Commons did not doubt the motherly affection and care of her Majesty towards him, yet there were some dangerous persons at Oatlands, Jesuits and others, and therefore it was desired that the Marquis of Hertford should be enjoined to take the Prince into his custody and charge, attending upon him in person, and also that the Prince would make his ordinary abode and residence at his own house at Richmond. To this it was added, that Lord Hertford should place some person about the Prince to be answerable to both Houses; so that, in fact, the Prince would have been a complete prisoner! When the Message was sent to the Queen, she answered, that the Prince was celebrating his Sister's birthday.

† Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland (and second son of the Earl of Warwick), so created by James the First, in 1624. He is recorded in the "Loyal Martyrologie" by Winstanley, as a special favourite of Charles in the early part of his reign, being then Governor of Windsor Castle: yet, after that date, says Winstanley, "when the Long Parliament began to sit, and Religion became the bone of contention, he sided with them; but afterwards perceiving that they made Religion only a cloak to cover their rebellion, he deserted them, and took up armes for the Royal interest." Being defeated and taken prisoner, he suffered on the same scaffold with the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel, on the 9th of March, 1648. In the charge of his siding with the Parliament, Winstanley goes further than Dugdale, and those writers who copy from him; the latter asserting only that the favours heaped on Holland by Charles, made that Earl so fearful of the Parliament's enmity as to induce him not only to stand neutral himself, but also to persuade the Earl of Essex, his near kinsman, and Lord Chamberlain, to desert his Royal Master when forced to fly from Whitehall. De Larrey, a French historian, says of him that he possessed greater genius than his brother, Lord Warwick, who was "a person of an agreeable wit, perhaps a little too much libertine, but knew very well how to dissemble, and imposed on the people by an affected devotion, and going regularly to sermons."

‡ This passage shews clearly that there were two distinct plots, or so called conspiracies; though some writers have asserted the contrary, respecting the accusations brought forward against Percy, Waller, O'Neale, &c.

learne. My Lo. Keeper sent to mé this day to acquaint yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, that y^{e} p^{e}sent new Lo. Mayor lately sworne (named Rich. Gurney), being not in y^{e} Com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London & liberties, it wilbe necessary that y^{t} Comiss'on be renewed & his Lo^{p} put into it, w^{ch} may soone be donne, if yo^{r} Ma^{tie} please to signify yo^{r} pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to that purpose. The B^{p} of Chichester humbly desires yo^{r} Ma^{ties} licence to be absent from P'liam^{t}, for w^{ch} pu'pose I have (at his Lo^{ps} request) herein sent a warr^{t} for yo^{r} Ma^{ties} signature, if you shall think fitt to signe it. It was ordered on Friday last by y^{e} Com'ons, that there should be heads p^{e}pared for a Conference concerning a pet^{on} to be sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to stay y^{e} making of y^{e} new B^{pps}, but this hath not hitherto beene proceeded in any further, and some thinke it wilbe let fall.

Doe you it in my name.

I have syned it, but I will not haue you to make use of it but as my Wyfe shall direct you.

There is newes come to my Lo. Lieutenn't of Ireland of a Rebellion in y^{e} North of that kingdome, raysed (as it is said) by Papistes, whereof one Macguire * is one of y^{e} chiefest : I have not seene y^{e} l^{ter} concerning it, but y^{e} Lo^{ds} of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Privy Councell sate yesterday (when I was at Oatlands) in close Councell about it, & this day they were wth y^{e} House of Com'ons to advise concerning it as I heare : I beleeve yo^{r} Ma^{tie} hath before this receaved advertisem^{t} of y^{e} certeynty of this busines out of Ireland, & I doubt not but y^{e} Lo^{ds} of yo^{r} Privy Councell here, or my Lo. Lieutenant, will forthwth give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} an account, what they have advised upon herein : if their Lo^{pps} doe it not speedily, I shall write further of it, as soone as I may see y^{e} l^{ter} or know some certeynty of it, being unwilling to trouble yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in an affayre of that nature, but upon good grounds, & knowledge of p'tic'lars.

If yo^{r} Ma^{tie} could settle yo^{r} affaires well there, soe as yo^{u} might be here y^{e} next weeke, yo^{r} best servaunts here conceave it would then be in yo^{r} Ma^{ties} power by yo^{r} presence, to bring this P'liam^{t} to a reason-

I hope this next weeke will put an end to this Parlament, so that ye may expect me by the 20: of this monthe.

* He was brother of the Lord Macguire, who was afterwards tried by order of the Parliament, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, notwithstanding he pleaded his Irish Peerage.

able good conclusion, w^ch^ that it may be soe, is & shalbe ever y^e^ earnest prayer of

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster, Munday 1^o^ No^bris^ 1641.
Eden: Satterday: 6.

" For yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie."
" Yours apostyled."
Apost: 6: 9^bris^.—Rec^d^ 11^o^ 9^bris^. by Mr. Tho: Killegrew.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r^ most excell^nt^ Ma^tie^,

Since my lt^r^ sent yesterday by Mr. Barclay, I have receaved by Mr. W^m^ Murray yo^r^ Ma^ts^ co'maunds by apostile of y^e^ 28th of Octob^r^ & have delivered yo^r^ Ma^ties^ to my Lo. Keeper, together w^th^ a packet from Mr. Th'rer, conteyning y^e^ exa'iac'ons of y^e^ busines touching Marq: Hamilton &c. All w^ch^ were this morning read at y^e^ Councell Boorde, whereupon their Lo^ps^ resolved for y^e^ p^e^sent to make knowne in the generall, that they had receaved a faire dispatch concerning that busines, & that it was like to have a speedy, & quyet conclusion; & their Lo^ps^, being then to goe to y^e^ Parliam^t^ House about y^e^ Irishe busines, sealed upp y^e^ examinac'ons, & appointed too morrow in the afternoone to consider further of y^e^ same, & to advise in what manner to acquint y^e^ Parliam^t^ therew^th^. I heare that my Lo. Lieuten'nt of Ireland hath by a dispatch this morning sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^ an accompt of all y^e^ partic'lars touching y^e^ Rebellion in that Kingdome *, w^ch^ y^e^ Parliam here takes to hart, & there is a Com'ittee of 12 Lo^ds^ together w^th^ some of y^e^ House of Com'ons appointed this evening to goe into London to

* In vol. VI. of Somers' Tracts, page 378, is the Report of the Lord Keeper to the House of Commons on the 1st of November, 1641; drawn up from the dispatches of the Lords Justices to the Lord Deputy, who was then in England.

treate w^th^ y^e^ Lo. Mayor, Aldermen & Com'on Councell to borrow 50 m. l. to be forthw^th^ sent into Irland, to pay & encourage y^e^ old Army & alsoe such new souldiers as are there lately taken up to make head to y^e^ Rebells, for w^ch^ somes y^e^ Citty is to be secured by Act of Parliam^t^, both for principall & interest.

It is said that one Owen Conelles * (a servaunt of S^r^ Jo. Clotworthies) for making y^e^ first discovery of y^e^ Rebellion, & for some services donne against it, shalbe rewarded by y^e^ P'liam^t^ w^th^ y^e^ gift of 500^li^ presently, & be recommended to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ for a penc'on of 200^l.^ There is a Com'ittee of y^e^ Peers appointed to peruse all l^trs^ that are come out of Irland, to consider of y^e^ p^e^sent state of Irland, & to further examyne Owen Conelles touching that Rebellion upon interrogatories to be exhibited by y^e^ Comons, who are to be p^e^sent at y^e^ examinac'on †, & y^e^ same Comittee is further to consider of y^e^ Recusants in Engl: that are of estate & quallity & not convicted : The Lo: Lieut^t^ of Irland is desired by y^e^ Parliam^t^ (as I heare) to get together some Cap^ts^ and Off^ers^ here of Englishe to send over forthw^th^ into Irland, & his Lo^p^ himself is pressed to hasten over w^th^ all possible dilligence. This day father Phelipps (one of y^e^ Queenes priestes) was com'itted by y^e^ Lo^ds^

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* Conally's (Conelles) discovery arose from some accidental conversation, in a tavern, with Hugh Macmahon, grandson to the "Great Earl of Tyrone," on the night before the intended seizure of Dublin Castle by the conspirators, and which was to have been followed by a general attempt upon all the fortresses in Ireland. Burton says that both the gift and the *annuity* were *voted* to him by the Parliament, on the recommendation of the Lords Justices. He was also recommended to preferment. His master, Clotworthy, in 1640, was the seconder of Pym's first motion against the Earl of Strafford; he was also one of the great supporters of the self-denying Ordinance, yet he was loudly charged by the Army with defrauding the public purse of £40,000.

† It would be superfluous in this place to enter into all the Charges against the King, as the instigator of the Irish Rebellion; but their general futility cannot be better evinced than in a charge brought forward by one of his bitterest enemies: "I know he obliterated with his own hands the word Irish *Rebells*, and put in Irish *subjects*, in a manuscript discourse, writ by Sir Edward Walker," &c. The same writer accuses him of being so "tender hearted of the Irish, as not to suffer above fourty proclamations to issue out against those rebells in Ireland."—

Grebner's Astrology, p. 105.

May, in his History of the Parliament, p. 89, nearly repeats the same story, but says that the King ordered that no more than forty copies of the Proclamation should be issued.

of Parliam^t for refusing to be sworne vpon y^e Bible, saying it was a false translac'on *. There is to be too morrow a Conference between y^e 2 Houses, vpon severall heads; 1. touching y^e dissolving of y^e Covent of Capuchins; 2. about y^e list of y^e Queenes priests; 3^ly. about a list of y^e Princes servaunts, to y^e end that such as are suspected in religion or otherwise may be removed; 4^ly. about y^e governm^t of y^e Isle of Weight, that y^e same may be sequestred †. If y^e Houses of Parliament were full it is conceaved it would be much for y^e advantage of yo^r Ma^tie, & y^e good of the Kingdome, & therefore I humbly offer it to yo^r Ma^ties considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for yo^r Ma^tie *to write to my Lo: Keeper to cause a Proclamac'on to be forthw^th issued to require all y^e members of both Houses respectively (all excuses set apart) to attend y^e Parliam^t in person to consider of such affaires as concerne y^e peace & good of this kingdome & other yo^r Ma^ties dominions.*

I belive that I have done this in a former Dispach, but in all euents I co'mand you to reiterate to the Keeper, in my name.

Wee hope now shortly to heare of yo^r Ma^ties speedy & certeyne returne from Scotland, & that it may be w^th hon^r & safety shalbe y^e dayly prayers of

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
EDW. NICHOLAS.

The Com'ons are p^eparing a Declarac'on of y^e state of y^e Kingdome, as it was when they first met in Parliam^t.

Westminster, 2^o No^bris, 1641.

Eden. 9.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^tie."
"Yours apostyled."
Apost. 9^o 9^bris.—Rec^d 15^o 9^bris by Mr. Arth: Berkley.

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* On the preceding day several resolutions had passed the Commons respecting the Capuchin House in the Strand; and ordering that the Foreign Ambassadors should be sent to, to deliver up such Priests as were the King's subjects, then in their houses. Phillips was brought before the House as an evidence, upon the business of Benson, the member for Knaresborough, selling protections; and first refused the oath on pretence that it was too general, and might criminate himself: and when the Bible was brought, he said, "that the Bible used by them was not a true Bible, and therefore his oath would not bind him." His committal, after repeating this, was on the principle that the words were used without any occasion given, to the scandal of the Protestant religion, and in the face of Parliament.

† The Parliament, soon after, removed the Earl of Portland from the government of the island; and appointed the Earl of Pembroke in his stead.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

By my last I bade you expect mee on the 20. yet now I fynde that it will be the 24 before I can cum, but bee asseured that I shall differ no longer, for by the grace of God, I shall sett out from hence on the 18: without faile: & for warning my Lo: Major, take directions from my Wyfe, when to doe it, for though she knoweswhen Ishall meete her, yet I haue left to her the choice of the place, & when I shall cum to Lon don.

May it please yo^r^ most excellent Ma^tie^,

By my let^r^ of y^e^ 2^d^ of this moneth I advertised yo^r^ Ma^tie^ of y^e^ arrivall of Mr. W^m^ Murrey, & since he brings noe certeyne newes when yo^r^ Ma^tie^ intends to be here, but in generall that it wilbe shortly, I thought it my duty to put yo^r^ Ma^tie^ in minde, that y^e^ Lo: Mayor & Cittizens here doe much desire to have tymely notice what day yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will come to this Towne, that they may have y^e^ hono^r^ to waite on yo^r^ Ma^tie^. There came l'trs yesterday from Irland w^ch^ confirme y^e^ newes of y^e^ Rebellion there, & say that y^e^ Rebells are come w^th^in 20 miles of Dublin, & are very cruell to y^e^ Englishe Protestants, & have donne much mischeif alreddy in y^e^ country: — There is order here for sending p^r^sently 2000 foote & 500 horse from hence into Irland: and S^r^ Ja: Ashley*, & Seriant Maior Merrick and other Officers are forthw^th^ to goe away for that kingdome. The hast of this bearer, (who came even now to me from y^e^ Queene for a post warrant) will not give me tyme to write more to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ att p^r^sent, but that I assure yo^r^ Ma^tie^ yo^r^ presence here is now extreame necessary †, as well for yo^r^ affaires here, as in Irland: & I beseech God to send yo^r^ Ma^tie^ a speedy & safe returne, w^ch^ none desires more then

Yo^r^ Ma^ties^
Most humble & most obedient servaunt,
Edw. Nicholas.

Westminster. 3^o^ No^bris^ 1641, att 9. at night.
Eden: 9:

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* Sir Jacob Astley was Serjeant Major General of the King's Army-royal; he distinguished himself much during the Civil Wars, and was created Lord Astley of Reading. Merrick was afterwards knighted by the King; yet he joined the Parliament forces, was made Serjeant Major General by the Earl of Essex, and afterwards, at the siege of Reading, was appointed General of the Ordnance, being superseded in his former office by the famous Skippon, by order of the Parliament.

† It is a curious fact that the leading party in the House of Commons were as anxious for the King's coming back, as his friends could be; for on this day it was ordered by the House that a letter should be sent to the King, pressing his return.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

I wrote to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} a few lynes yesterday by an expresse sent by y^{e} Queene, & this morning I receaved yo^{r} Ma^{ties} com'aunds by apostile of y^{e} 30th of 8^{ber}. I have herewth sent yo^{r} Ma^{tie} a let^{r} from my Lo. Keeper (& to Mr. Th'rer a Bill) for new Sheriffs for this next yeare, that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} may be pleased to prick them there if you soe thinke fitt: My Lo. Keeper desired me wthall to send to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} y^{e} informac'on inclosed, w^{ch} his Lo^{p} receaved (for sparing of some vpon that Bill) since y^{e} same was made vp, that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} may be pleased to take them into considerac'on.

The Keeper will fynd by this inclosed to him that I meane not to pricke the Bill of Sheriffs vntill my cuming home, so that for the present there is no neede of his information.

The Lo^{dds} of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Privy Councell here have heard read all y^{e} exa'iac'ons concerning Mar: Hamiltons, and y^{e} Earles of Arguile & Lannerick absenting themselves, & since they receaved noe direcc'ons to com'unicate those exa'iac'ons to any other then to yo^{r} Privy Councell, they thinke not fitt to publishe y^{e} same, otherwise *then by declaring* (to such as they shall have occasion to speake wth about that busines), *that they finde nothing in all those exa'iac'ons, that in any sorte reflects vpon yo^{r} Ma^{ties}* hono^{r}. The exa'iac'ons themselves are by their Lo^{ps} left in my hands vnsealed, that any of y^{e} Lo^{ds} of yo^{r} Privy Councell may see & reade them, but I am to give noe coppies of y^{e} same, & y^{e} Lo^{dds} willed me to signify to Mr. Th'rer, that if yo^{r} Ma^{tie} please that there shalbe any further publication thereof, they expect further direcc'ons therein. I have com'unicated to y^{e} Lo^{dds}, & given them coppies of Mar: Hamiltons 3^{d} le^{tr} to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} doth give great satisfacc'on here to all men, that nothing in that vnhappy busines doth in y^{e} least manner reflect on yo^{r} Ma^{ties} hono^{r}.

They needs to doe no more, but as they haue & resolue to doe.

There needs no more.

The Parliam^{t}* here takes to hart y^{e} Rebellion in Irland, & hath expressed a great affec'con to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} service in that partic'lar. They

* Bulstrode, alluding to this Parliament, afterwards called the Long Parliament, observes that it was convened to meet on the 3d November 1641, "a most ominous day! for the Parliament

have resolved (as my Lo: Keeper desired me to signify to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}) to send thither 6000 foote & 2000 horse; whereof 2000 foote & 500 horse presently; & they are borrowing of y^{e} Citty 50 $^{m.\ l.}$, w^{ch} they hope wilbe sent, & in confidence, that they shall have y^{e} same to supply other paym^{ts}, they are now sending away 20 $^{m.\ l.}$. w^{ch} they have reddy in cashe, & was designed for other affaires. My Lo. Keeper saith he hath sent yo^{r} Ma^{tie} l'trs touching y^{e} Irishe Rebellion to the Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to consider of & take care for all things that concerne that busines, & will himself speedily give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} an Accompt of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} comaunds, w^{ch} he receaved this day in y^{e} packet of y^{e} 30th of 8^{ber}. I assure yo^{r} Ma^{tie} I find that it is noe easie matter in these mallevolent tymes, for an honnest man (that hath any thing to doe in affaires) to p^{e}serve himself & his reputac'on: but I hope yo^{r} Ma^{tie} will protect yo^{r} faithfull servaunts, that shall wth integrity & dilligence endeavour to serve you, as will ever

I shall not faile to protect you according to my Power, & (according to the owld Englishe compliment) I would it were better for your sake.

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Edw. Nicholas.

There is an Act passing for pressing of Soldiours for Irland, w^{ch} hath bene twice read, & is now in y^{e} Comittees hands.

Westminster 4^{o} No:^{bris} 1641.

Eden: 9:

" For yo^{r} Sacred Ma^{tie}."

" Yours apostyled."

Apost: 9^{o} 9^{bris}.—Rec^{d} 15^{o} November by Mr. Arthur Berkley.

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met that day, in 20 Hen. VIII. which began with the fall of Cardinal Wolsey." Indeed the superstition of men's minds, at that period, seems to have both hastened and aggravated the political confusion: but the date is wrong; it ought to have been 1640.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

I wrote to yo^r Ma^tie by packet y^e 4^th of this No^ber, & this now is to convey y^e inclosed from my Lo: Keeper: I hope it will meete yo^r Ma^tie on y^e way, for that I heare it said, that yo^r Ma^tie will set forth on Munday next, but because I am not certeyne of it, I haue directed this packet to Mr. Thr'er, w^ch otherwise I should haue addressed (according to yo^r Ma^ties com'aund) to my Lo^d Duke *. If yo^r Ma^tie doe not hasten hither, I doubt y^e p^eparations for Irland will goe on but slowly †, & soe may come too late to p^event great mischiefs there, notw^thstanding y^e care of our Parliam^t. Here are besides (I assure yo^r Ma^tie) other affaires that highly import yo^r Ma^ties hast hither: If yo^r Ma^tie please *to give leave to my Lo: Mayor & y^e Cittizens here to wayte on you into this Towne*, I beseech yo^r Ma^tie to com'aund that timely notice may be given of y^e day, that they may provide for it, for y^e best of y^e Cittizens expresse a great desire to shew their affec'on therein to yo^r Ma^tie, w^ch I humbly conceave it will not be convenient to declyne.

I onlie now repeate what in a former I sayd, that you receaue order from my Wyfe for this, what day it shall be; with this addition, that you direct my Lord Chamberlaine ‡ (I meane Essex) to waite on my Wyfe, who will giue him directions what Howses he shall prepare for my vse against my returne.

I humbly pray for yo^r Ma^ties happy and speedy returne, as being

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Most humble & obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 6^o No^bris 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden: 13:

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* Duke of Richmond.

† Yet the Parliament seems to have been very busy upon this subject; for not only was there a Declaration framed on the 4th, but letters were also sent to the Lords Justices, pressing the most energetic measures of defence.

‡ It is difficult to ascertain why the King expresses himself thus. Essex possessed this office until 1642, when he was superseded by Edward, Earl of Dorset.

Written on the reverse of the last Letter.

Since I wrote the other let^er^ to yo^r^ Ma^tie^, happening w^th^ y^e^ opportunity of this messenger (who I hope will deliver my let^r^ safe to yo^r^ Royall hands), I thought it my duty to make this addic'on to my former let^r^, that yesterday in y^e^ Comons House, it was moved to send Instruc'cons to y^e^ Englishe Com'ittees, to let yo^r^ Ma^tie^ know, that y^e^ Parliam^t^ here findes that ill Councells have bene y^e^ cause of all these troubles in Irland, and that vnlesse yo^r^ Ma^tie^ wilbe pleased to discharge y^e^ ill Councellors that are about you, & to take such as y^e^ kingdome can confide in, the Parliam^t^ doth hold itself absolv'd from giving assistance for y^e^ busines in Irland: Some that found fault w^th^ this expression were chequed, but there was noe p'fect resoluc'on in this, but y^e^ further considerac'on thereof was put off to a further day *.

I write this that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may see how extreamely necessary it is for you to hasten hither. I beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^ to keep to yo^r^self this addic'on, & to burne this let^r^, w^ch^ is now sent you from

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^

Most humble and most obedient servaunt,

Westminster 6^o^ No^bris^ 1641, EDW. NICHOLAS.

a^tt^ 12 a clock at Noone.

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* This is a very curious fact, illustrative of the private history of that time. It is not stated in the Parliamentary History, nor in the usual records for historical research. It is remarkable that Sir E. N. does not take any notice of the apology sent to the Lords on this day by the Queen, excusing Father Phillips, and praying forgiveness for him, "if it shall appear unto you that he hath not maliciously done any thing against the State, if, for my sake, you will pass by this present offence," &c. The Lords would have admitted him to bail, but the Commons refused.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

Since myne of y^e 6^th p^esent sent by Mr. Greene a servant of y^e D: of Richmonds, I receaved y^e same night here at Oatlands yo^r Ma^ties apostile of y^e 2^d, & have sent yo^r Ma^ties l're to y^e B^pp of London together w^th y^e Bills signed for y^e new B^pps. I shall carefully p'forme all yo^r Ma^ties com'aunds by yo^r last, & render yo^r Ma^tie a speedy account of y^e same. My Lo: Keeper sent me this evening this let^r to be conveyed to yo^r Ma^tie w^th all dilligence, w^ch is y^e principall cause of this dispatch. I beseech yo^r Ma^tie to be pleased *to burne or returne to me all my lett^rs*, for I perceave by y^e strict enquiry after the writer of Mr. Webbs let^r, that there is a vigilant & prying eye after all that is written hence, & I would not willingly, that y^e Lyons should be made iudges of my eares. Wee hope yo^r Ma^tie will set forth for these partes too morrow senight at farthest. I can say noe more to move yo^r Ma^tie to hasten hither then hath bene advertised. I pray God to send yo^r Ma^tie a speedy and safe returne. I am confident yo^r Ma^tie was never more welcome to y^e better sorte of Londoners then you will now be, & I beleeve y^e whole kingdome will reioyce to heare of yo^r Ma^ties happy returne, w^ch wilbe y^e best newes that hath this yeare come to y^e eares of

I returne this onlie to show you that I am carefull to doe what you desyre.

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Oatlands. 7^o No^bris 1641. Edw. Nicholas.

Eden. 13.

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas havinge reseaued a leter from London to nitgh (night): that there is many of the Lords that ar gone of in the contree and that the ar a fraid the shall want some for the bussinesse of the

bishops: having heard that Carnaruen * is in is owne hous some twentie milles of I belive very fit you should writt to him from the King to have him come to London for that time this bearer will cary your letter to him and having nothing to say more I rest

Your assured frend

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

R. 8o Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

This Letter, and the following ones up to the 10th of November, serve to fill up an hiatus in the Parliamentary History of this period.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

Yesterday I sent yor Matie a l'tr from my Lo. Keeper by packet addressed to Mr. Th'rer. This day the Com'ons House considered of ye heads of ye Instrucc'ons to be sent to ye Englishe Com'ittees, & after a long debate, they voted ye same in ye House, wch was thereupon divided, & there were (as I heare) 110. votes against, & 151. for those instrucc'ons, amongst wch there is one head to ye effect, (but a little quallified) of what I wrote in my postscript by Mr. Greene. Those instrucc'ons (I am tould) are to be transmitted to ye Lords.

You must see to cross this in the Lords House if it be possible.

It is here reported by those who have ye speediest & certeynest advertisemts from Edinburg, that yor Matie will not be here till Christmas: what reason they have for it I know not. The warrts for ye new Bps are passing as fast as may be: I this day put ye Signet to those for Yorke & Lincolne †.

By the grace of God those will prove false Prophets.

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* Robert Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon; slain in 1643 at the battle of Newbury. His Countess was niece to Sir Richard Browne, as it is stated in Bromley's Royal Letters; but how does not appear, for she was daughter of the Earl of Pembroke. When this nobleman was expiring in the field, he was asked if he had any suit to the King? He replied, that "he would not die with a suit in his mouth, to any King, but the King of Heaven!"

† These appointments did not take place.

I have signifyed yo^r Ma^ties pleasure to my Lo: Keeper to issue a Proclamac'on that all Parliam^t men attend in P'liam^t, but his Lo^pp saith a Proclamac'on must issue in y^e ordinary way, & be first signed by yo^r Ma^tie, wherefore I have by his Lo^ps advise this day sent a warr^t accordingly to yo^r Ma^ties Attorney, to p^epare such a Proclamac'on for yo^r Ma^ties signature, w^ch as soone as I can get from him shalbe speedily sent to yo^r Ma^tie. The Ea: of South^ton * hath bene in North^tonsh: this senight, but wilbe here Wensday next, when I shall not fayle to acquaint his Lo^p w^th what yo^r Ma^tie hath comaunded me. I heare there was this afternoone brought into y^e Com'ons House, & there read, *a Declarac'on of y^e State of y^e affaires of this Kingdome, w^ch relates all y^e misgovernm^t and vnpleasing things that have bene donne by ill Councells (as they call it) since 3^o. of yo_r Ma^ties raigne to this p^esent*, & it reflects soe much to y^e p^eiudice of yo^r Ma^ties governement, as if yo^r Ma^tie come not instantly away, I trouble to thinke what wilbe y^e issue of it: for surely if there had bene in this nothing but an intenc'on to have iustefyed the proceedings of this P'liam^t, they would not have begun soe highe as 3^o: The further considerac'on of this Declarac'on is to be had too morrow in y^e House of Com'ons. If yo^r Ma^tie shall not be pleased to *keepe to yo^rself* what I have written, and to burne this let^r, I may be lost. Yo^r Ma^tie cannot soe much p^eiudice yo^rself, (if you come away & leave all things there vnfinished), as you may now by delaying yo^r Ma^ties returne one day: I pray God there be not a designe to deteyne you there against the wishes & advise of all yo^r best servaunts here: God send yo^r Ma^tie a safe & speedy returne, soe prayeth alwayes

You must needs speake with such of my servants that you may best trust, in my name, that by all meanes possible this may bee stoped.

I shall most carefully.

Yo^r sacred Ma^ties

Eden. 13. Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 8^o No^bris 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

"For yo^r sacred Ma^tie."

"Yours apostyled."

8^o No^bris 1641. Apost: 13^o. 9^bris. Rec. 18. 9^bris.

Sent by Sir H: Hungate †.

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* Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. He died in 1667, without issue.

† Sir Philip Hungate, of Saxton, in Yorkshire, was the first Baronet, so created by Charles the First. No name of Henry appears in the Baronetage; therefore the person alluded to must have been one of the numerous Knights Bachelors of that reign.

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I am vere sory that my lettre did not come time enouf to go. I haue reseaued yours, and I haue writt to the King to hasten is coming. I send you the letter and if little Will Murray is well enouf I vould haue him go backe againe: to scotland whitout comin yer for a would haue him go to marow morning: tel him from me: but if he wher not well then you must prouide some bodie that will be sure for my letter must not be lost: and I vould not trusted to and ordinaire poste: I am so ill prouided whitt personnes that I dare truste that at this instant I haue no living creature that I dare send: pray doe whatt you can to helpe me if little Vill Murray can not go to send this letter and so I rest

Your assured frend,

Henriette Marie R.

"For your selfe."

R: 10° Nobris 1641. The Q: that I should send an expr: Mer w: her letr.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yor most excellent Matie,

My last was by Sr Hen: Hungate, wch I hope will come safe to yor Royall hands; & I now send this expresse by ye Queenes com'aund to convey her Maties l'tr, for her Matie saith she hath alreddy sent all those she can trust, wth expresses to yor Matie; Wee hope that some of them will shortly bring ye much desired newes of yor Maties returne.

I have spoken wth ye Bp. of Lincolne about yor Maties Pardon of ye 13 Bps for ye Premunire, & his Lop saith he wisheth *that ye pardon to them may be generall for all things else aswell as for ye Premunire,* whereof his Lop will consider better, & then I shall give yor Matie

With all my hart.

a further accompt of that partic'lar. My Lo: Keeper tells me that there are many precedents, that y^e^ Peers in P'liam't have chosen their owne Speaker, & that vntill y^e^ Lo: Burleighes later tyme, there is scarce any Record, that y^e^ King hath by l't^rs^ pattents appointed a Speaker for that House. Yo^r^ Ma^tie^ (I beleeve) hath heard that both Houses of Parliam^t^ made an Ordinance Satterday last, that y^e^ Lo: Lieutenant of Irland should forthw^th^ rayse Volontiers here in Engl: to be transported for suppressing y^e^ Rebellion in Irland: yesterday his Lo^pp^ acquainting some Parliam^t^ men, that he doubted whether he might rayse men w^thout^ warr^t^ vnder y^e^ Great Seale, his Lo^ps^ doubt was made knowne in y^e^ Com'ons House, & thereupon it was in that House declared, that an Ordinance of both Houses was a sufficyent warr^t^ for his Lo^ps^ levying of Volontiers by beating of the drum &c. & an entry of such their Declarac'on was accordingly made in the Register of that House. I heare that it is written from Irland, that y^e^ Rebells there giue forth, that they expect yo^r^ Ma^tie^ every day att Don Luce*, w^ch^ is a calumny raysed by them much to yo^r^ Ma^ties^ dishonor & disadvantage, only to iustify their Rebellion, & were fitt to be vindicated. The Declarac'on remo'strating y^e^ effects of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ ill Councells, was yesterday by y^e^ Com'ons House taken againe into considerac'on, & a 4^th^ parte thereof gonne thorrow w^thall & voted there, & y^e^ rest of it wilbe passed there, as fast as may be, & then it is to be transmitted to y^e^ Lo^dds^. There was yesterday a considerac'on in y^e^ Upper House concerning excluding y^e^ Papists Lo^dcs^, & after a long debate, that busines was let fall, only there was an Order made that y^e^ lawes against Recusants should forthw^th^ be put in execuc'on. Mr. Attorney† (according yo^r^ Ma^ties^ pleasure signified to him) hath drawne a Proclamac'on, to comaund all Parliam^t^ men to attend in Parliam^t^, & having shewed it to my Lo: Keeper, his Lo^p^ (as Mr. Attorney tells me) likes y^e^ draught, but saith he conceaveth it not fitt to issue any such Proclamac'on, & that he will shortly satisfie yo^r^ Ma^tie^ therein. I beseech God to send yo^r^ Ma^tie^ a

Com'and the Keeper in my name that he warne all my servants to oppose it in the Lords House.

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* Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim, the seat of the Earls of Antrim; but now in ruins.

† Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

this bearer will fully satisfie you in that.

speedy & happy *returne*, wherein all yo^{r} Ma^{ties} best servaunts here ioyne in prayer wth

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The cause concerning y^{e} 13. B^{ps}, and y^{e} Bill touching B^{pps}, is to be considered of, Friday next.

Westminster: 10^{o} No^{bris} 1641, at 12: at noone.

Eden: 15:

" For yo^{r} sacred Ma^{tie}."

" Yours apostyled."

10: 9^{bris} 1641. Apost. 15^{o}. Ret. by Sir H. Hungate, 20^{o} at one o'clock afternoone.

This was sent by Smith the Messenger.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

it is.

By the Queenes com'aund I sent yesterday one Smith expressly wth *her Ma^{ties} le^{r}, w^{ch} I hope he will p^{e}sent safe*, & wth dilligence to yo^{r} Royall hands. Wensday last there was a very great debate in y^{e} Lo^{des} House, touching Instrucc'ons p^{e}pared by y^{e} Com'ons to be sent to y^{e} Englishe Com'ittees att Edenburg; six of those instrucc'ons concerne y^{e} Rebellion in Irland, w^{ch} y^{e} Lo^{des} passed & approoved of, the 7th was concerning ill Councellors & Councells *, w^{ch} held a very long debate,

Thanke them from me,

wherein (I may not forbeare to advertise yo^{r} Ma^{tie}: *that y^{e} Ea: of Bristoll & his sonne* (y^{e} Lo: Digby) did argue wth soe much reason †

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* Mr. Prynne undertook to enlighten the Lords upon the subject of Evil Counsels. His reasoning was founded upon the anatomy of the human body. He also prophesied great advantages from a change, particularly if the King should not be permitted to select any servants except those approved by Parliament. Vide Parliamentary History, vol. X. p. 33 et seq.

† Yet Lord Digby had been an active enemy of Lord Strafford: but in a speech made to the House of Commons on the 21st of April, 1641, he recanted his former opinions respecting that Earl, so far as to refuse his signature to an official document, even whilst describing Strafford as " a dangerous and insupportable minister to free subjects." The whole speech is a most curious specimen of special pleading! His apparent objects, however, were to preserve his own consistency, and yet to save Lord Strafford's life; his speech closing with a solemn protestation against any sentence of death: " and I do, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood."

& iudgem't, as they got y^e^ 7^th^ Instrucc'on to be fairely laide aside, & yesterday att a Conference of both Houses, the Lo^des^ tould y^e^ Com'ons, that they agreed to 6. of y^e^ said Instrucc'ons, but y^e^ seventh was of soe great consequence, as they thought fit to leave it to a further tyme: Yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may be pleased to take notice of y^e^ singular good service that was in that busines donne by those 2. Noblemen, & especially by y^e^ Sonne, who (I heare) did beyond admirac'on.

By the grace of God I will doe it shortlie myselfe.

My Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attor: Gen'rall have deferred the issuing of y^e^ Proclamac'on to require all Parliament-mens attendaunce, as conceaving it to be vnseasonable att this tyme, & my Lo: Keeper hath promised that he will give yo^r^ Ma^tie^ satisfacc'on therein.

I have herew^th^ sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^ a speech published here in the name of Mar: Hamilton, that yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may see what artifice is here vsed by his friends to insinuate into y^e^ people a good opinion of his Lo^ps^ piety & integrity. The House of Com'ons was yesterday soe imployed about Irishe affaires, as they meddled not w^th^ their Declarac'on, remonstrating y^e^ ill effects of bad Councells. It is advertised out of Irland that y^e^ Rebells are 30. thousand strong, in severall places of that kingdome, & that they approche towards Tredaw*, for defence whereof, y^e^ Lo^ds^ Justices have sent 1000 foote, and 2 troopes of horse: if y^e^ Rebells shall defeate those forces, it is thought they wilbe soone for Dublin. The Lo^ds^ Justices write, that vnlesse there be p^e^sently sent over 10,000 men, & 100 ^m l.^ in monny, that kingdom wilbe lost: whereupon y^e^ Parliam^t^ hath ordered to increase y^e^ 6,000 foote (formerly directed to be raised) to 10,000: & they intend forthw^th^ to passe an Act for rayssing of 200 ^m l^ for ye service of Irland: And where they formerly desired to have only 1000. Scots, now they will desire to have 10,000. Scots to be sent into Ireland in such numbers as y^e^ Parliam^t^ shall give direcc'ons.

it is a poore one.

Yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may by these relac'ons perceave of what extreame necessity & importaunce yo^r^ Ma^ties^ speedy returne is, w^ch^ I beseech yo^r^ Ma^tie^ by all meanes to hasten, for notw^thstanding^ all the discourses in

* Tredagh—the Irish name for Drogheda.

Parliam^{t}, I see nothing put into acc'on. That yo^{r} Ma^{tie} may have a speedy, safe & hon^{ble} returne shalbe ever y^{e} earnest prayers of

Yo^{r} sacred Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The last night att 10. a clock after I had closed this let^{r}, I receaued by Mr. Tho: Killegrew yo^{r} Ma^{ties} comands by 2 apostiles, & am now going to Oatlands wth yo^{r} Ma^{ties} let^{r} to y^{e} Queene, having sent that to my Lo: Keeper: I shalbe carefull to p'forme what yo^{r} Ma^{tie} by that dispatch hath comaunded me. All honnest men will reioyce at y^{e} welcome newes of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} returne.

Westminster, 12^{o}: No^{bris}, 1641.

Eden. 18:

" For yo^{r} Sacred Ma^{tie}."

" Yours apostyled."

12^{o} No^{bris}. Apost: 18^{o}: Ret: by Mr. Proger* 22^{o} at 9. morning.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

he cam yesterday. I sent a let^{r} this morning to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} by Mr. Jo: Digby†, since my wrighting whereof I receaved yo^{r} Ma^{ties} by Mr. Killegrew, & shall carefully obey yo^{r} Ma^{ties} comaunds. This is only to conuey to yo^{r} Royall hands a Pardon for y^{e} 13 B^{pps}‡, p^{e}pared by y^{e} Bp of Lincolne,

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* Some notice of this Mr. Proger may be seen in " Les Memoires de Grammont," where he is spoken of as about the person of Charles the Second, and said to be " confident de ses menues plaisirs."

† Son to the Earl of Bristol.

‡ In a subsequent Letter, Sir E. N. again refers to the case of the Bishops, and to the fact of their demurring to the impeachment before the Lords, with the exception of Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded " Not Guilty." This was notified to the Commons by a Message from the Lords on the 12th.

who (it seemes) thought not fitt to trust any of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} learned Councell wth y^{e} drawing of it; his Lo^{p} sent me word that I should hasten it to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} (albeit you might be on yo^{r} way home) as I tendred y^{e} good of yo^{r} Ma^{ties} service, w^{ch} made me send it now, notwthstanding my owne humble opinion is, that since y^{e} hearing of y^{e} busines against these 13 B^{pps} was appointed to be this day, & in all likelihoode will not be put off to a day much farther, that it were better to deferre y^{e} passing of this Pardon till it shalbe seene what wilbe determyned concerning them, for if they shalbe sentenced by y^{e} Parliam^{t}, this Pardon coming afterwards, & not menc'oning their being sentenced, will not be sufficyent, & if they shalbe quitted it wilbe needlesse; Nay if it shall not be kept very secreat, it may be to their p^{e}iudice; But yo^{r} Ma^{tie} com'aunding me in this busines to pursue y^{e} direcc'ons of that able & experienced B^{pp}, I held it my duty to obey wthout disputing: If yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt to passe this Pardon att this tyme, you may be *pleased to signe it, as well on y^{e} back*, that it may passe by imediat warr^{t} as on y^{e} fore part of it, & to send it sealed up, wth *an expresse com'aund to my Lo. Keeper to seale*, who will otherwise I beleeve make some scruple to put y^{e} great Seale to it.

The returning of w'ch is the onlie cause of apostyling this.

But if [it] bee dated before (& therefor I haue not filled the Date) I suppose it may doe some good.

so I ham.

Doe you that in my name.

Yo^{r} Ma^{ties} of y^{e} 6th of this moneth giues me good hope that this packet will meete yo^{r} Ma^{tie} on y^{e} way, & therefore I have addressed it (as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} comanded) to y^{e} D. of Richmonde. God of his mercy p^{e}serve & protect yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, & send you a safe & happy returne, w^{ch} is y^{e} prayer of all yo^{r} Ma^{ties} best affected servaunts, as well as of

Yo^{r} Ma^{ties}

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

As I was closing this let^{r} my Lo: of Bristoll sent me word that his sonne Mr. Jo: Digby goes not for Scotland, and therefore I have sent that let^{r} wth this to yo^{r} Ma^{tie}.

Westminster, 12^{o} No^{bris}, 1641.

. *Eden*: 17:

The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Maistre Nicholas, I have reseaued your lettre I am sory you ar not well for I would haue ben glad to speake to you but it is of no haste therfore donat hastend your selfe for feare of being sick: I send you a lettre for Milord Keeper that the King ded send to me to deliuer it if I though it fit. the subject of it is to make a derclaration against the ordres of Parliamant which ar made withouct the King. If you beleue a fit time giue it him if not you may keepet till I see you.

the King will bee here sertaineleye the 20 of this monthe therefore you may aduertice the Maior of London. Your lettre that you did writt to Carnaruen is comme bak to mee and I burnt it. he was not at is hows it should be vere nessesairie that you should inquaire where (he) is and writt to him and send to milord Cotinton for is proxies for I heer he as to (two) and is owne. and send to milord Southampton and Dunsemoure* to send their proxies till the comme them selues: the are in Warwicshier. hauing no more to say I reste this 12 Novembre

Your assured frend,

Henriette Marie R.

"For your selfe."
12° Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^{r} most excellent Ma^{tie},

This is y^{e} first day since my falling sick, that I have bene able to sit vp to write: & albeit I shall doe it wth some difficulty, yet my duty will not suffer me to forbeare any longer to give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} an accompt, that by Mr. Barkley I receaved on Sunday night last yo^{r} Ma^{ties} comaunds in 3 apostiles dated y^{e} 9th of this moneth: All w^{ch} I have alreddy

* Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore; afterwards Earl of Chichester.

p'form'd, excepting that concerning giving notice to my Lord Mayor of y^e^ day of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ entring into London, whereof (I beleeve) I shall this afternoone have certeynty from the Queene.

Herew^th^ yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will receave a Proclamac'on for y^e^ attendance of y^e^ Parliam^t^ men, w^ch^ my Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attorney conceaved would have bene better to have bene forborne to be published till yo^r^ Ma^ties^ returne, w^ch^ is now so neere in expectac'on. The House of Com'ons hastens by all meanes y^e^ finishing of y^e^ Declarac'on or Remonstrance, & for y^e^ more speedy expediting of it, they have att y^e^ Com'ittee passed by many p'ticlars to avoide y^e^ delay of long debate.

The Order of y^e^ House of Com'ons for y^e^ number of Scots to be sent into Irland, was altered from 1000. to 5000. vpon Saturday last in y^e^ afternoone, & thoughe (wee heare) that y^e^ imploym^t^ of soe many Scots wilbe very acceptable to that Nac'on, yet it is here apprehended by wise men, that y^e^ same will exasperate y^e^ Irishe, & make them buckle more resolutely to a warre of Rebellion, then otherwise they would doe. Since y^e^ plot in delivering to Mr. Pym * a let^r^ w^th^ a plaster & a threatening in it, there was on Munday last in y^e^ evening, another as desperate and dangerous a conspiracy against him, & diverse members of both Houses, discovered by a poore zealous taylor, who, being in y^e^ fields mending y^e^ notes he had taken of a sermon, there happened to come (as he relates it) 2. soldiour-like men, soe neere him, as he overheard them telling each other, how many of their acquaintance were to be forthw^th^ imployed to murther diverse members both of y^e^

* The History of the King-Killers says of Pym, that "he was a rank Puritan, and the more dangerous, because he would outwardly appear zealous for the Church of England. Thus, like a subtle rebel, he was a great pretender to religion and reformation, ever finding faults, and inveighing against such as he called innovations and corruptions; yet with such counterfeit shews of respect as made him the more regarded, and his words the more pernicious" When the riots of the London Apprentices took place, soon after this date, the Lords sent a Message to the Commons demanding their concurrence in appeasing the tumult, and punishing the authors of it; but Pym opposed the measure, exclaiming, "God forbid that we should stifle the voice of Liberty, and oppose the just desires of the People!" A pamphlet of that period, alluding to the plot, is entitled "A damnable treeson by a contagious plaster of a plague sore, sent to Mr. Pym," &c.

Upper and Lower House, & this taylor * had y^e^ oportunity to take from those 2. mens mouthes y^e^ names both of y^e^ murtherers, & of y^e^ p'sons to be murthered: the reward to him that kil'd a member of y^e^ Lower House was 40*s.* & to him that murthered one of y^e^ Upper House £10. This discovery makes a great noyse in & about y^e^ Parliam^t^ House, & (however many wise men give no creddit at all to it, yet) it hath produced severall Orders for securing of y^e^ Parliam^t^, & Parliament-men, the coppies of some of w^ch^ I have here inclosed sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^. The Order of y^e^ 16^th^ p^e^sent †, w^ch^ requires that y^e^ rigour of y^e^ law be put in execuc'on against all Papists, that shalbe founde in London or Westminster after this night, is not (I heare) thought by some of y^e^ Com'ons to be severe enoughe, soe as it is conceaved there wilbe some more sharpnes added to that order this day: All y^e^ Papists Lo^des^ are alreddy removing out of this Towne vpon this order. ffriday last (w^ch^ was y^e^ first day of my falling into extremity) the Venetian Amb'dor complained att y^e^ Councell Boorde, that his l'rs had bene opened by y^e^ Com'ittees of Parliam^t^, & he was soe much incensed at it, as he there made his protest, & declared, that he would treate noe further, & thereupon w^th^drew himselfe (as I heare) to Greenew^ch^, till such tyme as he shall advertise that Republique w^th^ that affront as he termed it. The Agent of y^e^ D. of Florence is as highly distasted w^th^ some violence that hath bene vsed in serching his house by some officers or warr^nt^ of Parliam^t^: These distasts given to those Ministers will (it is thought) light very heavy on yo^r^ Ma^ties^ su^bts^ trading (to) those partes, & will proove a very great p^e^iudice & interrupc'on to y^e^ trade of this yo^r^ Ma^ties^ kingdome.

I heare from a very good hand, that there are diverse principall gen^t^ of Hertfordsh: who are desirous to tender their duty to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ att Ware, & to wayte on you into that towne, if yo^r^ Ma^tie^ shall make any stop there, & they will bring w^th^ them diverse of their neighbours & friends, who are desirous to shew how welcome yo^r^ Ma^ties^ returne is

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* His name was Beale. In fact the House could procure no further intelligence upon the subject; and it seems to have been either a piece of folly, or of roguery, on the part of the informer.

† Not recorded in the Parliamentary History.

into that country, whereof I thought good to give yo^{r} Ma^{tie} this tymely notice, for that I humbly conceaue it would not be amisse for yo^{r} Ma^{tie} in these tymes to accept grac'ously y^{e} affecc'ons of yo^{r} su$^{b'ts}$ in that kinde, whereby you will have oportunity to shew yourself grac'ous to yo^{r} people as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} passeth, & to speake a few good words to them, w^{ch} will gaine y^{e} aff'ons (especially of y^{e} vulgar) more then any thing that hath bene donne for them this Parliam^{t}. This day y^{e} examinac'ons against O'Neale were read in y^{e} Com'ons House, wherein were menc'oned some l'rs, & papers signed C. R., the effect of one of w^{ch} (sent to Capt: Leg *) was (as I heare), that he should speake with S^{r} Ja: Ashley according to instrucc'ons w^{ch} he had from yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, & let none see that let^{r} but only S^{r} Ja: Ashley, who, together wth S^{r} Jo: Conyers † (as I am tould but I beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to take noe notice thereof from me) have bene very large & partic'lar in their examinac'ons, w^{ch} (I heare) reflect vpon yo^{r} Ma^{ties} person: It is thought that y^{e} Parliam^{t} will condempne O'Neale, but they are not yet resolved where or how to trye him: they doubt y^{e} testimony against him will not be soe full, as in a legall way to condempne him at y^{e} King's Bench barre, & they resolve not (as yet) whether it wilbe fit to doe it by a Bill, according to their legislative power.

I have (as yo^{r} Ma^{tie} com'anded) given war^{t} to my Lo: Keeper to renew y^{e} Com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London, & to put in y^{e} new Lo: Mayor, who is a very well aff^{ted} servaunt of yo^{r} Ma^{ties}.

There is a Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to p^{e}pare Instrucc'ons for y^{e} Lo: Lieutenant of Irland, wherewth they are now in hand. The 13 B^{pps} did demurre to y^{e} busines ag^{t} them, but y^{e} Com'ons have in their House overruled y^{e} demurrer & voted that those B^{ps} shall answere in cheif. I dispatched y^{e} Bills for y^{e} new B^{ps} wth all expedic'on, & that busines is now in as good forwardnes as may be. I hope by that tyme yo^{r} Ma^{tie} shall returne hither, tō be able to goe abroade, in y^{e}

* Captain Leg, otherwise Colonel; but better known as "honest Will Leg;" and ancestor of the Earls of Dartmouth.

† This Conyers was afterwards, in 1643, nominated by the Parliament to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, after their forcing the King to dismiss Sir John Byron from that situation.

meane tyme, I will to y^e^ best of my strength & abillity p'forme y^e^ duty of

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 18: No^bris^ 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS TO THE KING.

May it please yo^r^ most excellent Ma^tie^,

Yesterday I wrote to yo^r^ Ma^tie^, & addressed it by packet to y^e^ D. of Richmond, as yo^r^ Ma^tie^ com'anded me when you should be on yo^r^ returne: Since that, I have receaved from y^e^ Queene 3 of my l'trs, all of them apostiled by yo^r^ Ma^tie^ y^e^ 13^th^ of this moneth, & I humbly acknowledge myself infinitely obliged to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ for yo^r^ grac'ous goodnes in returning and burning my l'trs. I shall carefully obey all yo^r^ Ma^ties^ com'aunds in those l'trs. I have herew^th^ sent for yo^r^ Ma^ties^ signature a draught for yo^r^ Royall assent for y^e^ B^pp^ of Lincolne * to be Arch^bp^ of Yorke: this was brought to me this day, & there is noe returne as yet made vpon y^e^ *Congé d'eslires* for any of y^e^ other B^pps^. I have herew^th^ alsoe sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^ a Bill conteyning a Com'ission to appoint y^e^ Ea. of Holland to be Lo: G'rall of all yo^r^ Ma^ties^ forces beyonde Trent, w^ch^ Com'ission yo^r^ Ma^tie^ gave order for, before yo^r^ iourney into Scotland, but it seemes by Mr. Attorney (who now brought me this by direcc'on from y^e^ Parliam^t^ to be sent w^th^ speede to yo^r^ Ma^tie^) that vpon y^e^ mistake of some name in y^e^ former draught it passed not y^e^ Great Seale: I tould Mr. Attorney I did beleeve yo^r^ Ma^tie^ would not thinke fitt to signe it now before yo^r^ returne; but howsoever he wished me to send it away to yo^r^ Ma^tie^ w^th^ y^e^ first, because he had promised soe much to y^e^ Lo^dds^ in P'liam^t^: this is all I know of this busines, & yo^r^ Ma^ties^ wisdome can best direct you what to doe in it.

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* John Williams, D. D. Dean of Westminster, and formerly Lord Keeper. To this draught the royal signature was given.

The busines against O'Neale is referred to a select Com'ittee to be p^e^pared reddy for y^e^ House against Munday next, & some thinke it wilbe hardly heard then, for albeit y^e^ Com'ons haue a very good minde to proceede roundly against him, yet (I heare) y^e^ proofes are soe broken, as they will not make a full & cleere evidence: The worst in all that busines is, that it reflects on yo^r^ Ma^tie^, as if you had giuen some Instrucc'ons concerning y^e^ stirring up y^e^ Army to pet^on^ y^e^ Parliam^t^: I hope it will appeare that yo^r^ Ma^ties^ intenc'ons were only to reteyne y^e^ Army in their duty & dependance on yo^r^ Ma^tie^. The House of Com'ons hath pressed y^e^ Lo^des^ very earnestly for removall of y^e^ Ea: of Portland from his gov'ment of y^e^ Isle of Weight, but y^e^ Lo^des^ yesterday, vpon his Lo^ps^ profession to liue & dye in y^e^ Protestant Religion, let fall that busines as by y^e^ inclosed yo^r^ Ma^tie^ will perceave. There hath bene nothing donne these 2. dayes by y^e^ Com'ons touching y^e^ Declarac'on remonstrating y^e^ bad effects of ill Councells, but it is thought that y^e^ same wilbe finished this weeke: There are diverse well-aff^ted^ servants of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ in that House, that oppose that Remonstrance w^th^ vnanswerable argum^ts^, but it is veryly thought that it will passe notw^th^standing *, & that it wilbe ordered to be printed w^th^out transmission to y^e^ Lo^des^. The Com'ons (I heare) haue intercepted some let^rs^ that passed betweene Mr. Crofts † & y^e^ Duchesse of Chevereux ‡, and gotten the key of their *cara-*

* The motion was carried by 159 to 148, on the 22d of the month.

† Mr. Crofts and Mr. William Murray, already mentioned, were two of those whom the Committee of Parliament, sitting at Grocers' Hall, declared to be persons of vile character, and enemies to liberty; passing at the same time a resolution that the King should be called on to dismiss them from his service.

Crofts had married the aunt of the Earl of Warwick; and she had also been very active in Court intrigue previous to this; as appears by a reference to Bromley's Royal Letters, page 85.

‡ This Lady was at the Court of England, for the first time, in 1638; and is mentioned by Pennant, in his Journey to the Isle of Wight, as having swam across the Thames, in a frolic, somewhere, as he supposes, in the vicinity of Windsor. He also records part of a Copy of Verses made on the occasion by a Sir J. M. whose opinion of the Lady's frigid chastity is laughed at by the Cambrian Antiquary. Sir J. exclaimed:

> "But her chaste breast, cold as the cloyster'd nun,
> Whose frost to chrystal might congeal the sun,
> So glaz'd the stream, that pilots, there afloat,
> Thought they might safely land without a boat;
> July had seen the Thames in ice involved,
> Had it not been by her own beams dissolved."

ches, whereupon Mr. Crofts hath this day bene exa'ied: as alsoe touching his soe frequent vissitting of Coll: Goring at Portsmouth, & y^e^ Coll: is also come vp by com'and of y^e^ Com'ons, & suspected, for that it hath bene informed, that he hath fortifyed that garrison to y^e^ land, & put forth some old soldiours & put in new; whereby yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may see, that euery small matter ministers feare here amongst us. I dare not as yet stirre out of my chamber, being still weake, but (if I shalbe able) I intend (God willing) to wayte on yo^r^ Ma^tie^ at Theobalds on Wensday next, & in y^e^ meane tyme I humbly rest

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Westminster: 19° No^bris^ 1641.

"For yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie^."

THE QUEEN TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Maistre Nicholas, I did desire you not to acquainte mi lord of essex of what the King commanded you touching is commin: now you may doe it and tell him that the King will be at Tibols vendnesday and shall lye there and upond thursday he shall dine at milord Majors and lye at Whitthall onlye for one nitgh and upon friday will goe to hampton-court where he maenes to stay this vinter: the King commanded me to tell this to my lord of essex but you may doe it, for there Lords ships are to great prinses now to receaued anye direction from mee: beeng all that I haue to say I shall rest

Your assured frand,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

"For Maistre Nicholas."

R: 20° No^bris^ 1641.

The Q: for me to signify to Lo: Chamb'lan.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^r most excellent Ma^tie,

I receaved yo^r Ma^ties com'aunds yesterday by S^r Hen: Hungate *, & this day by Mr. Proger, & shalbe carefull to observe y^e same, as I hope I shalbe able on Wensday next to give yo^r Ma^tie an accompt att Theobalds.

I have now againe receaved assuraunce, that (as I formerly acquainted yo^r Ma^tie) y^e Gent: & diverse of y^e best of y^e freeholders of Hertfordshire will wayte on yo^r Ma^tie a myle before you come to Ware, & if yo^r Ma^tie please to make a little stop in that towne, that y^e better sorte may there kisse yo^r Royall hand, & y^e rest be spoken to by yo^r Ma^tie, it will give them very great contentm^t: If yo^r Ma^tie please to come softly from Ware, y^e most of those will wayte on yo^r Ma^tie as farre as Theobalds, & if yo^r Ma^tie thinke not that convenyent, they will wayte on yo^r Ma^tie only a mile or two out of Ware, & soe receave yo^r Ma^ties grac'ous dismission. I am y^e more dilligent to give yo^r Ma^tie this advertisem^t, because I know those gent: will not fayle in this manner to shew their affecc'ons & duty to you, & that county being soe neere a neighbour to London, it wilbe a good encouragem^t & comfort to yo^r well affected people here, to vnderstand, that they have neighbours that have y^e like dutifull affecc'ons to yo^r Ma^ties person & governm^t, as these Cittizens here, who are constantly resolved to giue yo^r Ma^tie a magnificent recepc'on, notw^thstanding (I heare) there have bene some practises vnderhand to divert them from that their setled pu'pose.

By y^e Queenes direcc'ons I signifyed to my Lo: Chamb'layne on Satterday last, that yo^r Ma^tie intends to lye at Theobalds Wensday next, to dyne Thursday att y^e Guildhall, & that night to lye att Whitehall, & Friday to goe to Hampton Court. Coll. Goring gaue y^e House of Com'ons good satisfac'con Satterday last touching his fidellity &

* See before, Letter 8th November.

good affec'cons, and was thereupon dismissed*: The Com'ons have bene in debate about their Declarac'on touching y^e^ ill effects of bad Councells euer since 12 at noone, & are at it still, it being now neere 12 at midnight†: I staid this dispatch in hope to have sent yo^r^ Ma^tie^ y^e^ result of that debate, but it is soe late, as I dare not (after my sicknes) adventure to watch any longer to see y^e^ issue of it; only I assure yo^r^ Ma^tie^ there are diverse in y^e^ Com'ons House, that are resolved to stand very stiff for reiecting that Declarac'on, and if they p^e^vayle not then to protest against it. That yo^r^ Ma^tie^ may have a happy & safe returne‡ shalbe euer y^e^ prayer of

Yo^r^ sacred Ma^ties^

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Westminster, 22^o^ No^bris^ 1641. EDW. NICHOLAS.

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* Goring, in some subsequent transactions, is accused of acting a double part with the King and Parliament. When the troubles broke out, Goring, as Governor of Portsmouth, declared for the King; but that town being unable to sustain a siege, was soon lost to the Royal Cause. Goring then went to France, as Bulstrode says, "with the money he had received on both sides, without making good his promises to either." That Author adds that, "if his conscience and integrity had equalled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of the age he lived in; but he could not resist temptations, and was a man without scruple, and loved no man so well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him." Goring's high command in the Army, and subsequent rise to the Peerage, are supposed to have been occasioned, in a great measure, by the very active assistance which he afforded to the Queen, whilst in France, in procuring both money and arms.

† The debate was not over until three the next morning. Sir Benjamin Rudyard said, that "it looked like the verdict of a starved jury."

‡ The King did return on the 25th; which closed this portion of the Correspondence; and, it may be here noted, so satisfied was his Majesty with the loyal diligence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that on the next day, the 26th of November, 1641, he conferred the honour of Knighthood on him at Whitehall; as appears from a MS List of Knights of that reign in the Harleian Collection, No. 6832. In some old Tracts of that period there are recorded "Five most noble Speeches" spoke to his Majesty by the Mayors of several Cities on his route. The Mayor of York assured him—"Our well-tuned bells at this present time, to congratulate the welcome of so great a Prince, turne themselves, and doe willingly stand, as if Time commanded them soe to doe." This loyal Magistrate added—"Our wives conceive with joye, our children's tongues are untyed with alacrity, and each one doth strive to cry welcome home to so indulgent a Soveraigne, our fields do seeme triumphing in their gay diapry to welcome home your Sacred Majesty, the woods doe seeme to contemne a falling Autumne or a nipping Winter, and assume unto themselves their Spring liveries, and all to welcome home your most Sacred Majesty."

The Mayor of Stamford, after describing himself as the King's "abject Lieutenant," talked of the loyalty of his fellow citizens, saying that "each would have bin glad to have entertained the place of a speaker;" whilst Huntingdon's right worshipful Magistrate boasted, "that although

The Elector Palatine to Mr. Browne.

Sir,

Yrs of the $\frac{19}{29}$ past, brought along wth it soe good effects of yr endeavours in my affaires, as that besides yr owne assurances & my Residt Pawls constant testimonie of yr assiduity, the contents of what it hath procured in my favour, doth clearely confirme me in confidence, & augment my obligation towards you.

My constant ill fortune hath taught me not to stand att this time much upon formalities wth those whose helpe I need, therefore I must rest satisfied wth what the mentioned letter wants thereof, in hopes it will be supplied wth reallity when it comes to the push.

I thanke you also for yr good aduertisements to Pawel, & am very glad to find by yr last concerning Madlle de Rohan *, the care wch the King my gracious Vncle hath of those that doe him acceptable service. And soe desiring the continuance of yr good offices in wht still further concerne the good of my interests, I assure you that I shall euer remaine

Yr most affectionnate frend,

Haghe the 7th of Sept: 1643. Charles.

" For Mr. Browne †, Residt to the King of Gr: Britt: att Paris.

Indorsed,
From Pr: El: Palatine 7: Sept. 1643.

Rome's Hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs, crocodilicall chickens, yet under the shield of Faith, by you our most Royal Sovereigne defended, and by the King of Heavens as I stand and your most medicable councell, would we not be fearful to withstand them."

* This Lady was only daughter of the Duke de Rohan, one of the great leaders of the Hugonot Party in France; and who signalized himself in the affairs at Rochelle and Isle du Rhe. In Hardwick's State Papers there is a Letter from Sir Henry de Vic to Lord Conway, dated from the Coast of France in 1627, in which she is said to be on the point of marriage with the Count de Soissons; a match which the Duke of Buckingham also describes as most desirable for the Protestant Cause. Vide pages 34, 38, Hardwicke's State Papers.

It was at one time intended by Charles the First that Prince Rupert should marry Mademoiselle de Rohan: and in the Harleian Collection, vol. III. 6988. 86. there is a Letter from the King to Prince Maurice in favour of the match.

The Elector Palatine, the writer of this Letter, returned, soon after this date, into England, where he had long been a pensioner. His Brothers were true to the Royal Cause; but he actually joined the Parliament, and sat in the Assembly of Divines.

† Afterwards Sir Richard.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oxford, 30 Jan: 1644 *.

Nicholas, I shall ad nothing to the seuerall good newes you will receaue by your fellow Secretairs letter, but the surpryse of Compton House by S^r W. Compton †: & to bid you tell your fellow Comissioners ‡, that if there be any Treaty proposed concerning Scotland (of w^ch I forgott to speake to them at parting) theire answer must be, to demand a passeport for a gentleman to goe from me to see what stat the Marquis of Muntrose § is in, there being no reason, that I should treate blyndefolde in so important a business, nor without the knowledg of him whom I haue now cheefly employed in that Kingdome & who hath undertaken my seruice there, with so much galantry, when no boddy else would: so I rest

Your asseured frend

Charles R.

R 31° Jan^i. 1644.

His Maties letr to me by Mr. Skipw'th || concerning Scotland during ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

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* There is a long hiatus here in the Correspondence; evidently arising from the King's return. Nicholas seems to have been constantly attached to his Majesty's person, until his appointment as one of the Commissioners pending this well-known Treaty. The "good news" to which his Majesty refers, may have been the entrance of the Scottish army into England, which took place on the 16th.

† Sir William Compton was third son of the Earl of Northampton. His two elder brothers were also active in the King's service.

‡ These were, Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Hertford, Earls of Southampton, Kingston, Chichester; Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, Culpepper; Sirs Edward Nicholas, Edward Hyde, Richard Lane, Thomas Gardiner, Orlando Bridgman; Messrs. John Ashburnham, Jeffery Palmer; and Dr. Stewart.

§ Montrose had long been faithful to the King's cause, though the King had been kept ignorant of it by the artifices of the Marquis of Hamilton; for though in the beginning of the troubles in Scotland, as far back as 1641, Montrose had joined the Covenanters, yet seeing reason to change his politics, and trusting to the weight of his family alliances, he came to England with the loyal intention of rendering all the service in his power to the King. On his arrival at the English Court, Hamilton, so generally accused of deceiving Charles with respect to Scottish affairs, contrived so artfully to throw slights upon Montrose, that the latter returned to the Covenanters; with whom being again disgusted, he wrote to the King expressing his loyalty and desire of serving him in the strongest terms; but it is asserted that Hamilton took the letter out of his Majesty's pocket, in the night, and sent it to the Covenanters in order to destroy Montrose's character in every quarter.

|| Perhaps Fulmar Skipwith, of Newbold Hall, afterwards created a Baronet by Charles II.

Sir Edward Nicholas to the King.

May it please yo^{r} sacred Ma^{tie},

I have herewth sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} coppies * of such papers as passed betweene yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Comission^{rs} here yesterday, & y^{e} Londoners touching y^{e} Militia, w^{ch} this afternoone yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Com'ission^{rs} are to make appeare to be a power most naturally & legally in yo^{r} Ma^{tie}: this morning wee are to observe y^{e} fast according to yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Proclamac'on †, but it must be donne here in y^{e} Inne, for wee cannot be permitted to have y^{e} Booke of Com'on prayer read in y^{e} Church here, & wee resolve not to goe to any Church where the Divine service established by law may not be celebrated.

Oxford 6 Feb.

Heerafter you shall doe well to marke their orders to saue us the labor to fynde out, w'che answers w'ch, as wel as to send the Papers themselfes.

You have done well, but they, barbarusly.

I have made reddy the dispatch to y^{e} King of Portugall w^{ch} wilbe tendred to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} under my hand. I hope yo^{r} Ma^{tie} upon y^{e} advertisem^{t} I sent to yo^{r} Ma^{tie} & P. Rupert yesterday, hath before this taken order to p^{e}vent that Woodstock be not garrison'd as those of London have com'aunded. The Comission^{rs} from London say, that S^{r} W^{m} Waller ‡ is marching Westward as farre as Winchester, & those partes, wth 6000 men; and that there is an Army of about 26,000 Scots to come into England att the opening of y^{e} spring: They vapour much att London, but I heare they are much devided amongst themselves. 276. 352. 574. 662. hath 123. 63. 21. 25. 290. 657. 116. 276. 352.

Setle the Weekely dispaches for France with the Portugall Agent, & send me word how.

I haue.

No Bragges must stager, much less alter you in the way you ar, in constantly adhering to Conscience, Justice, & Honnor.

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* The King's military affairs at this moment were beginning to decline; for both the armies of Essex and Waller had now been augmented by recruits from the Metropolis and its vicinity, as well as from other associated Counties. Thus reinforced, these two Parliamentary Generals carried every thing before them, and advanced into Oxfordshire, where they hovered about the King's head-quarters, and kept the Royal Army in constant alarm.

† This fast was appointed by the King, for a blessing on the Treaty then pending at Uxbridge. In the Mercurius Rusticus is a copy of the prayer ordered for the occasion; but as it spoke of the "unnatural War," and prayed the Almighty to "let the truth clearly appear, who those are, which under pretence of the public good do pursue their own private ends," it is not surprizing that obstacles were thrown in the way of its celebration.

‡ Waller was not a very fortunate general; but he was one of the "Self-denying Ordinance" men. Walker says of him, in the History of Independency, "that he lost two armies, yet was a gainer by the employment."

In this, free dealing is the best. Concience is not to be sould at any rate; but if they will helpe me in the Militia to purpose, I will assist them for theire Arears.

225. 276. 428. offring 163. 300. since 173. 276. 340. 225. 276. Militia, soe as 276. 10. 26. 198. 166. satisfac'on. 278. 225. 626. but I know not ye p'ticlars, having not had tyme to speake wth them concerning their discourse, & when I know it, I shall not rely much upon it. God preserve yor Maties person & prosper yor designes, soe prayes

Yor sacred Maties

Most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Uxbridge 5o ffebr: 1644. EDW. NICHOLAS.

In the King's hand at the bottom of this Letter:

"I should thinke, if in your priuat discourses, (I nowais meane in your publique meetings) with the London Comissioners, you would put them in mynde that they were arrant Rebelles & that their end must be damnation, ruine, and infamy, except they repented, & founde some way to free themselfes from the damnable way they ar in (this Treaty being the aptest) it might doe good; & cheefly, if Hertford or Southampton would doe it, though I beliue it will haue the owen operation by any of you, well strenthened with arguments: but the more of you that speakes in this dialect, the better: This is written not as your Maister but your Frend C. R.

Owld Vulpone is not of my opinion, therfor I am not confident concerning this postcrip, but refer my selfe to your 353 : 116 : 276 : 352 : 225 : 276 : 428 : 560. the Sh. of the Exche: Office.

"For yor sacred Matie."

"Yours apostyled."

$\frac{5}{8}$ ffebr. 1644.

My Ler to ye King apostyled concerning or proceedings in ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxford 8. Feb: 1644*.

Nicholas, as I haue hitherto approued of your proceedings, so I will nott now censure them: since, upon the place, you may have founde such reasons as you haue not fully expressed to me: but, to deale freely, I could haue wished, that ye had used more reseruation concerning the Militia: for though I could be content to buy Peace at the rate ye haue sett downe, yet ye might haue reserued something to haue

* The points referred to in this Letter require no historical illustration; but the Letter itself is a most remarkable document with respect to the private history of the Negociations at Uxbridge.

beene drawen on by degrees upon debates, w^ch^ me thinkes is a more popular way, then coming at first to the height of your concessions, to leaue your selfes nothing but negatiues, in case they should make any aproaches to you: And for the tyme, I should thinke a much shorter tyme then three years were sufficient, to secure the performance of conditions, whereas one cannot tell how any men may be tempted, being so long setled in a manner in the Regall Power, to fynde excuses & delayes for the parting with it, besydes the people being once inewred to that way of gouernement, may not be so willing to returne to the owld way, as beliuing it of less subjection then Monarchicall: So I rest

Your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

If you be pressed to giue a positiue answer concerning Scotland, remember to follow the directions I gaue you, in that particular.

Indorsed, R. 9° ffebr. 1644.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Oxford 11 Feb. 1644.

Nicholas, the directions I gaue you concerning sending to Muntrose, I meane only should extend to those things w^ch^ meerly concerne Scotland, so if that wer the only case, it would be no hinderance to you for what concernes the Militia: but I doe not yet conceaue, how I can giue way, that ether of my Kingdomes, should haue a hand in the gouernement of the other, without breache of trust to eather: yet in this I doe not so restraine you (so that ye still keepe the number, that I shall nominat, at least equall to the other, & enlarge upon no other points) but leaue it to your discretions what to doe, in case you shall fynde a Peace may be gotten by it: But as for those things w^ch^ meerly concerne Scotland, I sticke close to my former order of sending to Muntrose, not being ashamed to auow that I shall be much guyded by what I shall heare from him, & should be much more ashamed to treate

in those things, without at least comunicating with him, who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me

Your asseured frend

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

11° ffebr: 1644. R: 12.

His Maties concrning Scotland.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas, concerning the answers to the King of Denmarke & D: of Courland, Digby shall giue you my directions: As for the draught of the paper for Mondayes conference, I lyke it well, & for the critesisme I haue made upon it for the change of the tence, is only that ye should not seeme to agree concerning the Militia of Scotland, before that of England were setled: lyking so well what ye haue alreddy done touching that Article, that I com'and you not to vary a jott from the substance of it, unlesse it (be) to enlarge my power, or shorten the tyme: As concerning a safe-conduct for a messenger to Scotland, I meerly intend it for those things, w^ch^ only concernes that Kingdome: to w^ch^ I am still constant, leauing you to your Christian liberty, to what shall reciprocally concerne bothe; but, by your fauors, I understand not, how any demand can breake off a Treaty, indeed insisting upon some, may doe prittely that way. At this tyme I haue no more to say: but, goe not a title lesse concerning Religion & Churchegouernement, & so I rest

Your asseured frend

Oxford 15 ffeb: 1644. CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

R: 16° ffebr. 1644.

The King concerning the Scots being for the Militia of England.

(A Fragment.)

Oxford 17 Feb: 1644.

Memoriall for Se: Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Vxbridge.

1. First for Religion & Churche Gouernement, I will not goe one jott further, then what is offered by you alreddy:

2. And so for the Militia, more then what ye haue alowed by me: but, euen in that, ye must obserue, that I must haue free nomination of the full halfe; as, if the totall number Scots and all, bee Thirty, I name Fiueteene; yet if they (I meane the Englishe Rebelles) will be so base as to admitt of Ten Scots, to Twenty Englishe, I am content to name Fiue Scots & Tenn Englishe: and so proportionably to any nomber that shall be agreede on.

3. As for gaining of particular Persons: besydes Securitie, I giue you power, to promis them Rewards for performed seruices, not sparing to egage (engage) for places, so they be not of great trust, or to be taken away from honnest men in posession: but as much profitt as you will: with this last, you ar only to acquaint Richemond, Southampton, Culpeper, & Hyde.

Indorsed, "R. 17° ffebr: 1644. The Kings Memoriall concerning Religion and Militia during ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

The King to Prince Rupert.

Ticknill* 14 June 1644.

Nepueu,

First I must congratulate with you, for yor good successes, assuring you, that the things themselues are no more welcom to me, then that

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* Tickenhall, near Bewdley. Whilst Charles was here, he paid a formal visit to Bewdley, previous to which the Corporation met to determine upon the mode of receiving the Royal visit. The

you are the meanes. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for w^ch^ I haue taken all possible wayes, having sent both to Ireland & Bristoll: As from Oxford this bearer is well satisfyd that it is impossible to haue at present, but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leaue you to iudge, hauing but 36 left: but what I can gett from Bristoll (of w^ch^ there is not much certainty, it being threatned to be besieged) you shall haue.

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charges are entered upon the Town Books; and it appears that the sum of two shillings was expended in repairing the Corporation Pew in the Church, and sixpence for sweeping out that sacred edifice; making in all, the grand total of two shillings and sixpence sterling!

In a very minute account of the King's affairs at this period, written by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, and preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 4229, it is stated that the King arrived at Bewdley on the 12th; after having made that very arduous and judicious retreat from Oxfordshire, in which he evaded the pursuit of both Essex and Waller, by forced marches over the Country between Witney and Worcester, along what is now the Cheltenham Road. The march upon Bewdley is said, by Sir Edward, to have been made with the intent of saving Worcester from a siege, of drawing Waller further from London, and also of enticing him into a difficult country, where the King's Army, then without artillery or heavy baggage, might have considerable advantages over him. Waller, however, avoided the Western side of the Severn, and fixed his head-quarters at Bromsgrove, contenting himself with advancing a small body of horse to Kidderminster, the "Foreign" of which town, as it is called, reaches to the Eastern end of Bewdley Bridge. The King's foot were all in Bewdley on the 14th, and the horse quartered along the Severn towards Bridgenorth.

The King was so much aware of the delicacy of his situation at this moment, that on the day preceding the date of this letter, he had formed a Council of War, directing them to meet every day and report their proceedings in respect to forming a plan of retreat, either into Wales or upon Shrewsbury; and on this day the Council and King determined to retreat back to Worcester, and so on to Evesham. He was closely followed by Waller; but, immediately after this date, eluded him so far as to reach Daventry before him, and finally defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge on the 29th of June.

At the date of this Letter the King had got intelligence that York was besieged by the Scottish Army (just before the Battle of Marston Moor), which was also joined by Fairfax and Lord Manchester; this explains the military orders here given, which are perfectly in consonance with the existing accounts of Prince Rupert's conduct previous to that battle. It may be remarked, however, that Bulstrode, as well as others, brings an accusation against Rupert for fighting the Rebel forces after raising the siege; but the express words of the King imply a desire not only for the relief of York, but also for a battle with the enemy, else why did he allude to "beating the Rebel armies" as a means of enabling him to spin out time? This is a most important fact in the history of the Civil Wars; for the Marquis of Newcastle, and other General Officers, were so disgusted with the Prince for fighting, against or without orders as they supposed, that they left England immediately, going to Hamburg, and thereby the whole of the North and loyal Yorkshire were lost to the Royal Cause!

But now I must giue you the trew state of my affaires, w^ch^ if their condic'on be such as enforces me to giue you more peremptory com'ands then I would willingly doe, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteeme my Crowne little lesse, vnlesse supported by yo^r^ sud-dain march to mee, & a miraculous conquest in the South, before the effects of the Northern power can be found here: but if York be re-lieved, & you beate the Rebels Armies of both Kingdomes w^ch^ are before it; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (vpon the defensive) to spin out time, vntill you come to assist mee: Where-fore I command & coniure you by the duety & affecc'on w^ch^ I know you beare me, that (all new enterprises layd aside) you immediatly march (according to yo^r^ first intention) with all yo^r^ force to the reliefe of York: but if that be either lost, or haue freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot vndertake that work: that you immediatly march with your whole strength to Worster, to assist me & my Army, without w^ch^, or yo^r^ having releived York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards haue, most infallibly wilbe vselesse vnto me. You may beleive that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus vnto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no wayes doubt of your punctuall compliance with

Yo^r^ loving Oncle & most faithfull frend

CHARLES R.

I commanded this bearer to speake to you concerning Vauasor.

(Copy.)

At a Councell at Oxford, 5° December 1644. Present
The Kings most excellent Ma^tie.

Prince Rupert	Lo: Chamberlaine
Prince Maurice	Ea: of Berks
Lord Keeper	Ea: of Sussex
Lord Treasurer	Ea: of Chichester
Lo: Duke of Richmond	Lo: Digby
Lo: Marq^s Hertford	Lo: Seymour
Lo: Great Chamb'laine	Lo: Culpeper
Ea: of South'ton	Mr. Secretary Nicholas

Mr. Chanc^r of y^e Exchеq^r.

A Letter being then read written by y^e Earle of Essex to his Highness Prince Rupert Generall of his Ma^t's Armyes in these words,

" S^r,

There being a message sent from his Ma^tie by y^e Committees of both Kingdomes that were lately at Oxon concerning a safe-conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & E: of South'ton without any direc'con: I am commanded by both Houses of Parliament to give yo^r Highnesse notice, That if y^e King bee pleased to desire a safe-conduct for y^e Duke of Richmond & y^e Ea: of South'ton w^th their attendants from y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliam^t of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England, and y^e Commission^rs of y^e Kingdome of Scotland now at London, an answere to the Propositions presented to his Ma^tie for a safe and well grounded Peace, it shalbee graunted.—This is all I haue at present to trouble youre Highnesse, being

Yo^r Highness humble Servant,

3° Decemb: 1644. Essex."

Which Letter and y^e expressions therein being fully considered & debated, it was by the whole Councell vnanimously resolved, That his Ma^ties desire of a safe-conduct in y^e termes expressed in that Letter, would not bee any acknowledgment or concession of y^e members of y^e

Two Houses sitting at Westminster to bee a Parliament, nor any wayes prejudice His Majesties cause.

Whereupon his Ma^tie declaring openly at y^e Boord, that since such was their Lo^ps opinion, that hee did therefore and (eo animo) consent thereunto. And accordingly his Ma^tie desired his Highnesse Prince Rupert, as his Ma^ties Generall, to retorne this answere:

"My Lord,

I am commanded by his Ma^tie to desire of yo^r Lo^p a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and y^e Ea: of South'ton w^th their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accomodac'ons for their journey in their coming to London, during their stay, and in their returne when they shall thinke fit from y^e Lords & Com'ons assembled in y^e Parliament of England at Westminster, to bring to y^e Lords and Commons assembled in y^e Parliament of England and y^e Commission^rs of y^e Parliament of Scotland now at London an answere to y^e propositions presented to his Ma^tie for a safe and well-grounded Peace. Resting

Yo^r Lo^ps Servant,

Oxon. 5^th Decemb^r 1644. RUPERT."

Which said Answer was accordingly sent to London by a Trumpeter.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The following is in the hand-writing of Sir E. N.

Memorandum: that the King & myself of all the Councell Boorde were the only persons that concurred not in opinion; that it was fitt to call those sitting at Westm^r a Parliam^t. P: Rupert thoughe he were p^rsent did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this Councell; But by the orderr & practice of the Councell Boorde, if the maior parte agree to any act or order, all the Councellors that were p^rsent att the debate, albeit they dissented are involved, & are to be named as if they consented.—E. N.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hemly Hall*, 16 May, 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued, & thanke you for your seuerall dispaches, but haue no newes to send you in recompence to yours, nor expect to sende you any untill we shall come to sum'on 488 : Chester 338 : w^ch^ is our first designe 361 : being not yet resolued whether to goe afterward †: I am glad you goe so well on w^th^ your provisions 448 : 54 : 74 : & hope you will take as great care that you be not disturbed by mutinous people: this is all at this tyme from

Your most asseured frend

Charles R.

Let hencefoorthe Crown L^e^: 337. signefy e 1 : o 40 : n 30 : t 70 : r 33 : i 23 : b 50 : u 71 : t 24 : i 40 : o 31 : n 73 : & Portland 447 : p 74 : a 47 : p 10 : i 48 : s 25 : t 53 : 72 : 75

Being newly come hither to Bisberry ‡, I haue certaine intelligence that S^r^ John Pryce, being Gouernor & in Mungomery Castell, is declared, & houlds it for me.

16^o^ Maij 1645. R: 21°.
The King to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Chetwin, 18 May 1645.

Nicholas,

I receaued yours of the 16. this morning, to w^ch^ I haue litle to answer but to thanke you for your often aduerticements §, & to tell the Mar-

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* In Staffordshire, the seat of Lord Dudley.

† On the day following the date of this Letter, measures were taken by the Parliament for the siege of Oxford; for the Commons, on the 17th of May, sent a message to the Lords, to let their Lordships know "that the House of Commons, out of a desire to put an end to this miserable war, do think it fit that siege be laid to the City of Oxford, for the taking it, it being the centre of our troubles."

‡ Bibury in Oxfordshire.

§ It was, however, the King's intention about this period, to have done more for Sir Edward than mere thanks; for in a Letter to the Queen, dated on the 27th of March, intercepted and

quis Winchester that he recompence his Woode losse out of Wallops* : for newes I refer you to your fellow Secretair & frend, the generall being, that we ar (God be thanked) all well & in hart, the Rebelles hauing twyce offered to beate up some of our quarters, but wth losse to themselues : I desyre to know how you goe on in your recuting (recruiting) & fortefications, as well as you haue satisfied me concerning your prouisions : So desyring you to send thease inclosed to 454 : I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

(Address) "for your selfe."

Indorsed; 18^{o} Maij. 1645. R. 21^{o}. The King to me.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Wiston†, 4 June 1645.

Nicholas, I haue receaued yours, of the 30: May, this morning, none of yours hauing yet miscarried; but I would not answer any of them

myself^{e} untill 292 : 287 : I 177 : were 307 : marching 222 : 182 : towards 273 : 36 : 10 : 33 : 20 :
you wthout any thing else
53 : 73 : 313 : 75 : 298 : 232 : thinking of 92 : 285 : 74 : 44 : 4 : 54 :
before I haue ed you yet
45 : 76 : 105 : 134 : 46 : 77 : 177 : 157 reliu 133 : 78 : 313 : 312 :
I must freely wth you that my army
177 : 212 : deale 376 : 203 : 79 : 298 : 313 : 283 : 17 : 84 : 83 : 325 :
being not 4000 foote &
is so weake (105 : 182 : 226 : 70 : 80 : 143 : 497 : 375 : 93 : 81 :
scarce horse as I
55 : 112 : 53 : 45 : 82 : 3500 : 174 : 73 :) 95 : 177 : 74 : 54 : 14 :
shall vn to reliue
11 : 4 : 6 : 73 : 292 : willingly hazard 273 : 33 : 46 : 5 : 23 : 60 : 57 :

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published by the Parliament, he says, "As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards : For Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secr. Nich. if he then would have received it ; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it."

* Evidently in reference to the sequestrations inflicted upon that gallant and loyal nobleman.

† There are several places of this name ; but it seems probable that the Wiston here meant, is in Nottinghamshire.

Oxon before Lo. Goring * or Garrarde be
436 : 105 : 134 : 382 : 234 : 75 : 7 : 12 : 34 : 33 : 44 : 105 : 76 :
joyned to me an absolute
184 : 31 : 45 : 21 : 273 : 221 : except such 13 : 32 : 77 : 10 : 50 :
necessity
53 : 40 : 4 : 61 : 70 . 46 : 78 : 32 : 57 : 1 : 44 : 54 : 55 : 45 : 71 : 85 :
that Oxon wilbe lost if not
283 : 436 : 305 : 105 : 79 : 4 : 42 : 53 : 72 : 183 : 226 : 70 : 78 : re-
by such a day, wherfore as you love
liued 106 : 267 : 11 : 123 : 302 : 134 : 97 : 313 : 5 : 43 : 63 : 44 :
my p^e^servation use
80 : 18 : 86 : 81 : 243 : 54 : 45 : 33 : 62 : 11 : 70 : 185 : 82 : 291 :
of prolonging yo^r provisions
46 : 83 : all possible meanes 233 : 244 : 196 : 182 : 314 : 448 : 55 :
though it be by chasing out all
77 : 286 : 178 : 105 : 106 : 78 : 2 : 14 : 13 : 54 : 182 : 232 : 90 : un-
people who haue not prouision
necessary 47 : 44 : 40 : 48 : 6 : 45 : 304 : 157 : 226 : 71 : 79 : 448 :
for themselves & stinting
134 : 281 : 19 : 53 : 46 : 5 : 57 : 54 : 74 : 93 : 75 : 55 : 70 : 24 : 30 :
D. of Yorke not ed to
71 : 182 : euery one (117 : 233 : 512 : 226 : 72 : except 133) 273 :
a small proportion
73 : 10 : 74 : 53 : 17 : 11 : 4 : 44 : 77 : 244 : 47 : 40 : 33 : 70 : 185 :
of meate euery day & doe
78 : 233 : 221 : 12 : 71 : 45 : 79 : 129 : 86 : 80 : 123 : 93 : 118 : 45 :
not me to you w^th^out very very
226 : 72 : 81 : hasten 221 : 273 : 313 : 298 : 232 : 294 : 74 : 60 : 44 :
necessity for
33 : 84 : 74 : absolute 30 : 46 : 3 : 45 : 53 : 55 : 23 : 70 : 85 : 83 : 73 :
upon the faith of a Christian
134 : 293 : 235 : 281 : 137 : 233 : 75 : 10 : 76 : 1 : 14 : 33 : 23 : 53 :
noe tyme be lost for
70 : 24 : 11 : 30 : 77 : 226 : 498 : shall 105 : 78 : 5 : 40 : 54 : 72 :
yo^r succour how soone it may
134 : 314 : 488 : 78 : 16 : 41 : 36 : 266 : 235 : 45 : 79 : 178 : 209 :
be donne w^h^ any of not hazarding
105 : 121 : 298 : 92 : probability 233 : 226 : 71 : 73 : 16 : 12 : 56 : 13 :
like I stay at
34 : 20 : 182 : 199 : 77 : mad men ; which 177 : shall 55 : 72 : 10 : 86 :
Harborow (w^ch^ is my morrows
94 : 74 : 15 : 11 : 34 : 50 : 43 : 35 : 39 : (299 : 178 : 17 : 84 : 216 : 41 :

* Goring at this period was engaged in the siege of Taunton, and had been ordered, as Bulstrode asserts, by letters from the King, to quit that place and join his Majesty, who was afraid, just before the battle of Naseby, that the enemy might be too powerful for him. Bulstrode says that he wrote the General's reply, in which Charles was urged to act upon the defensive until Taunton should be taken ; but this writer hints some strong suspicions of Goring being actuated by sinister views. The whole passage is curious. Vide Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 124. Edit. 1721.

38 : 55 : 222 (march) :) 262 (some) : 498 (tyme) : 273 (to) : 75 : 8 : 12 : 281 (gather) : 34 : 293 (up) : straglers 93 (&) : 273 (to) : 219 (make) : 448 (provision) : 273 (to) : 486 (supply) : 313 (you) : 134 (for) : 90 (this) : 282 (service) : 318 : & then wee shall 222 (march) : 76 : 64 : 11 (faster) : 53 : 70 : 44 : 33 : 234 (or) : 77 : 54 (slower) : 5 : 42 : 307 : according to intelligence. So I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

Indorsed, 4° Junii 1645, " the K^g to me."

_ The decyphering is in the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Daintry, 9 June 1645.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued so many letters from you, that I beliue none of them ar miscaried*, & this morning one from you of the 7. & w^th it one of the same date from all my Comissioners except Southampton & Dorset by w^ch I perceaue they were not so much stressed by the seige as the rest : but the cheefe end of this is, by you to send this inclosed to 454 : tell 394 : that I haue receaued 165 (his) of the 16/26 of May but would not stay this messenger untill it was desyfered : I will say no more now, but if we peripatetiques get no more mischances then you Oxfordians † ar lyke to haue this somer, we may all expect probably a merry winter. So I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

" For your selfe."

9° Junij. 1645. R. 10°. His Matie l'tr to me.

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* The fact is, however, that Charles's general correspondence was, at this time, much interrupted; for the letter of Goring, already alluded to, was intercepted by Fairfax, and induced the Rebel Commanders to bring the King to action at Naseby, before he could be joined by the army from the West.

† A letter written by his Majesty, on this day, to the Queen, was intercepted by the emissaries of the Parliament. In it, he assured her that the Rebels had been forced to raise the siege of Ox-

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Daintry, 11 June 1645.

Nicholas,

As I thanke you for aduerticing me, so I much wonder 94 (at) : 281 (the) :
204 (letter) : 93 : 221 (& message) : 53 : 55 : 10 : 7 : 44 : 73 : 299 (wch) : 281 (the) : 406 (Lords) : 54 : 74 :
50 (brought) : 33 : 40 : 60 : 8 : 14 : 70 : 75 (me,) : 221 : for you know 283 (that) : 281 (the) : 351 :
76 (Councell) : 36 : 11 (was) : 53 : 77 : 30 : 129 (neuer) : 78 : 37 (wont) : 40 : 31 : 71 : 79 : 273 (to) : 80 (de-) :
20 (baite) : 45 : 51 : 12 : 23 : 72 : 46 : upon any matter 226 (not) : 70 : 81 : 244 (pro-) :
249 (pounded) : 133 : 273 (to) : 281 (them) : 17 (by) : 82 : 106 : y^e^ 398 (King) : & certainely 178 (it) : 307 (were) :
a strange 285 (thing) : 183 (if) : 83 (my) : 18 : 84 : 222 (marching) : 182 (Army) : 325 (espetially I being
94 (at) : 281 (the) : 173 (head) : 233 (of) : 281 (them) : 19 : and) should be gouerned 106 (by) : 73 :
17 (my) : 85 : 74 : 53 : 24 (sitting) : 70 : 182 : 351 (Councell) : 94 (at Oxon) : 436 : the 303 (when) : it is scarce
fitt for my selfe 94 (at) : 267 (such) : 11 : 124 (a) : 71 : 12 (distance) : 31 : 1 : 45 : to give any
47 (positiue) : 43 : 53 : 26 : 70 : 25 : 63 : 57 : 439 (Order) : & indeed it added to my 39 :
42 (wonder) : 30 : 20 : 44 : 33 : 283 (that) : Vulpone 109 (could) : 226 : 72 (not) : 73 : 14 : 23 (hinder) : 30 :
21 : 45 : 34 : 282 (this) : as the Gouernor tould me he did such an other
181 (indiscreete) : 124 : 2 : 35 : 25 : 71 : 46 : 74 : 17 : 41 : 72 (motion) : 185 : but few dayes
agoe : howeuer I desyre you to take the best care you may that 281 (the).
199 (like of) : 233 : 282 (this) : 105 (be) : 226 (not) : 71 : 77 (done) : 121 : with heerafter ; of w^ch^ I

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ford, in consequence of his march after the taking of Leicester ; and that quarrels were then very frequent between Fairfax's and Cromwell's soldiers. He also observed that his affairs never were in so hopeful and so fair a way ; adding, in the tenderest manner, that all he wished for, in case of eventual success, was the undisturbed enjoyment of her society !

will say no more, hauing freely & fully spoken of it to 406 : 16 : Lord 13 : 70 : Hatton 72 : 43 : 32 : to whom I refer you, & rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

The Gouernor hathe earnestly desyred me to thanke Vulpone & your selfe for the great assistance ye haue giuen him in my absence, w^ch^ I hartely doe, desyring you to continew so; for I fynde he will haue need of all helpes.

R: 14^o^ Junii. 1645. The King to me concerning the l'trs sent his Mat^ie^ by the Councell when he was at Daintree.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

*Lubnam, 13 June 1645.

Nicholas, this is first to send this inclosed by your meanes to 70 : the 454 : Queene 240 : then to lett you know you ar lyke to heare of me tomorow†. I marche to 4 : 10 : Land 30 : 20 : 11 : 50 : 12 : Abay 84 : 82 : after that to 17 : 44 : Melton 5 : 70 : 40 : 31 : & so to 51 : 45 : 6 : Belvoir 60 : 42 : 23 : 33 : but I

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* In Leicestershire. This Letter, as noted by Sir Edward Nicholas, was written on the very day before the battle of Naseby.

† The "inclosed" Letter is not in the possession of the Editor; but, on a comparison of dates and facts, it appears to have contained the news of the capture of Leicester. It was at midnight, after this Letter was written, that a Council was held in the King's tent, and a resolution taken to give battle to the enemy: but it also appears by this Letter, that when Charles retired to rest on that night, he had no intention of adopting those measures which, recommended by a *midnight Council*, proved the entire ruin of his affairs.

asseure you that I shall looke before I leape farther 32 : 43 : North 34 : 72 : 14 : 73 : but I am going to supper, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Woluerhampton 17 June.
This was written befor the Bataile.

" For your selfe."
17° Junii 1645. The King to me before ye Battaile at Naisby.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS*.

Nicholas, I thanke you for the freedom you haue used in your letters to me, & as for the 281 : 23 : ill 4 : 6 : intelligence 395 : 105 : 70 : betwixt 36 : 24 : 87 : 71 : my 73 : Soldiers 17 : 84 : 484 : 53 : I beliue I haue found the bottom of it, & haue put such a remedy to it, as hope heerafter to haue little troble that way: and am confident, that there is 226 : 288 : 113 : 233 : 487 : with 10 : 153 : 55 : 72 : 382 : 93 : 414 : 104 : 477 : 165 : 295 : 76 : 64 : fancies 11 : 30 : 1 : 26 : 44 : 54 : for this I haue very good ground: but now I desyre to know who ar the melancolly men amongst you, that is to say if any dispare of our business, (for we heere thinke that we had so much the better, as we might spare them thus much & yet be upon equall termes) & in particular what 478 : 421 : Southampton 385 : 93 : 406 : 54 : 45 : 18 : 46 : 34 : thinkes of my present affaires: I haue so good hopes of my Welshe leauies that I dout not but (by the grace

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* This Letter is without date of place; but it, and several of the subsequent ones, mark the King's route between the battle of Naseby and his arrival at Newark; a space of time during which Bulstrode describes him as " flying from place to place, not well knowing which way to turn himself." It is evident, however, that he had specific plans in view; on account of which he visited Wales, Shropshire, and afterwards Huntingdon and Yorkshire, before he proceeded to Newark.

of God) to be in the head of a greater Army within this two monthes, then any I haue seene this yeare, & so I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

This is in my owld cyfer to show I haue not lost it; send this inclosed where you use to doe.

" For your selfe."

R: 8° July 1645. The K^s to me.

PRINCE RUPERT TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Sir,

I sent you word by Col^l Terringham that I had receaved your letter by this women, as alsoe the unfortunat losse of brige Watter, sence w^ch I heare noe sertay'ty of the Enemy's motions. there is a shippe landed at dartmouth laden w^th 200 bar^l of powder and store of arms. If 209 : Fairfax 474 : advance 53 : 76 : 33 : 99 : 10 : 40 : speedily 343 : 40 : 225 : to 347 : us 363 : Wee 369 : 28 : shall 87 : 97 : bee 110 : forced 76 : to 347 : quit 308 : Bath 437 : for want 13 : 54 : 81 : 50 : of 278 : men 248 : and 100 : victualls 616 : 30 : 527 : but if 604 : 91 : hee 183 : give 174 : us 363 : 20 : time 51 : 17 : 38 : 43 : wee 369 shall doe 125 : well 373 : 273 : 158 :—I heare but little from G^ll Goring*. Prince 544 : Charles† 280 : is 207 : at 101 : 4 : Pendennis 140 : 40 : 79 : 207 . Castle 96 : 452 :

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* Goring had been defeated by Fairfax, on the 10th of this month, at Suttonfield, near Bridgewater, which town surrendered to the Parliament on the 23d. Colonel Windham, the Governor, made a gallant defence, for he had been educated in principles of rational loyalty. Some years afterwards, when he assisted Charles the Second in his escape, he told the King, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons: " My children," said he, " we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns; but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But, whatever happen, *do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown.* I charge you *never to forsake the Crown, though it should hang upon a bush.*" Hume's England, vol. VII. p. 199. edit. 1812.

† Charles (the Prince) had first been under the tuition of the Marquis of Newcastle, afterwards of the Marquis of Hertford; also of Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. His education, latterly, was at Oxford, of which University the Marquis of Hertford was Chancellor.

it is reported that 354. Sr 431. Jo: 190. Berkly 174. hath 81. giuen 153. five 204. hundred 158. to 347. some 328. body I 205. know 218.—for 148. to 347. stop 30. 50. 27. Prince Charles 6. 40. 544. from coming 160. 119. 208. 66. to 347. Exeter. 470. I doubt we shall shortly see the mistery of this*. Sir 482. R. 353. Grenvile† 282. ye 225. only 594. souldier 208. in 353. the 371. West 207. is 76. dis-contented 78. 40. 77. 90. & 100. is 207. at 101. his 184. owne 284. house 85. 24. 33. 28. 43. wch he will defend. What ye 499. King 371. will 125. doe 205. I 218. know 267. not. 456. Lo: Digby send 28. s 13. word 76. (part erased) 40. or 205. I 30. shall 85. 97. as 108. 102. so on 2. 82. 90. as 102. some 328. speculation 30. s 20. 31. are 98. brought 61. 44. 24. 36. 66. 87. 50. 20. to 347. 301. 16. proiection 40. 10. 50. 211. 604. 341. Pray god this prove well. Just as I am writing I heare that the 280. Scots 353. 592. Army 427. is 207. past 4. 102. 50. 20. betweene 110. 50. 369. 80. 40. Monmouth 37. 24. 81. 39. 27. 36. 51. 87. & 90. 97. 53. Abergainy 61. 43. 44. 177. 41. 94. 31. this inclosed is conserning the commissioners of the asseise, whoe are soe bond up by the members att Oxford that noething can be issued wthout their consent; if they were but soe farr trusted as that, in such case as now we are in, (when we need powder and provisions) monys might be issued from thence to such uses as shall be most necessary for his Maties service in the guarison, I shall be accountable that none shall be desired by me wth out there be a great necessity. I pray lett me have a speedy answer, wch will infenetly oblige

Your most faithfull frend

RUPERT.

Bristol 27 of July.

27o July 1645. Rec. 31. Prce Rupert to me.

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* Berkeley was high in the Prince of Wales's confidence about the time of this "mystery"—for when Goring complained of the proceedings of the Prince's Council, Berkeley was sent, along with Sir Hugh Pollard and Colonel Ashburnham, to hold a private conference with him on the subject.

† Sir Richard Grenville was soon after proposed to command the foot in the Army of the West, when the insubordination of the troops, through the misconduct of Lord Wentworth, rendered some new arrangements absolutely necessary. But Grenville, contrary to expectation, refused to act; and he was therefore sent prisoner to the Castle in Mount's Bay, where he remained until the successes of the Parliament Army in that quarter induced the Prince, lest he should fall into their hands, to permit him to transport himself to the Continent.

Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir

As I told you our resolution in my last by the woman 369 (we) : 98 (are) for-138 (ced) 347. 308 (to quit Bath.) 437. 499 (The King) intends 148 (for) 592. a fine 459 (designe:) you may be sure that I have hand in it, for I have this from others: this is alle our news: pray write often to us; I have receaved but one expresse from you, the rest were by messengers of my owne. So I rest

Yo^{r} most faithfull frend

Bristoll 29th of July. Rupert.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Cardife 4 Aug. 1645.

Nicholas, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary * to giue you a full accont as well of our proceedings heere, as resolutions; I will nether troble you nor my selfe with repetitions: only for my selfe, I must desyre you to lett euery one know, that no distresse of fortune whatsoeuer shall euer make me (by the grace of God) in any thing receade from those grounds I layed doune to you, who were my Comissioners at Uxbridge; & w^{ch} (I thanke them) the Rebelles haue published in print: & though I could haue wished that paines had beene spaired, yet I will nether deny that those things ar myne, w^{ch} they haue sett out in my name, (only some words heere & there mistaken, & some com'as misplaced, but not much materiall) nor, as a good Protestant, or honnest man, blushe for any of those papers; indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justefy my selfe: & yet I would faine know him, who would be willing that the freedome of all his priuat letters were publiquely seene, as myne haue now beene;

* Lord Digby.

howsoeuer, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take theire fortunes; it is, concerning the Mungrill Parlament: the trewth is, that Sussex* factiousness, at that tyme, put me somewhat out of patience, w^ch^ made me freely vent my dis-pleasur against those of his party to my Wyfe, & the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by theire raising and fomenting of basse propositions: this is cleerly euidenced by my following excuse to her for suffring those people to troble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater incon-ueniences w^ch^ they had & wer more lykly to cause heere, then there. I am going to supper, so I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

I have reaued (received) your new cyfer as for example, my 224 : (erased) 302 : 181 : in 176 : that 276 : 14 : 54 : 11 : 308 : 216 : 17 : 1 : 181 : 72 : 232 : 18 : 35 : 2 : 50 : 151 : 51 : 60 : 316 : 110 : 168 : Husbands co- 346 : maund 308 : wch 316 : 98 : you 290 : are 295 : to 36 : use 70 : according to 290 : the 277 : nature 225 : 19 : 43 : 3 : 37 : 80 : of 231 : the 277 : thing 280 :

Indorsed, Cardiff 4^o^ Aug: 1645. R. 10. The King to me concerning the Mungrill P'liam't.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Bridgenorthe 9 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, this morning I receaued yours of the 30: July, w^ch^ re-quyres no answer but thankes for your often aduertisments: & parti-cularly for those w^ch^ ar of most freedome, in answer to w^ch^ I shall desyre you, (with the lyke freeness) to take heed that Digby's 358 : 51 : friends 376 : make 53 : 210 : not 229 : 17 : : most 50 : of 220 : 231 : suspicion 277 : 511 : against (erased) 401 : for 147 :

* Thomas Lord Saville, recently created Earl of Sussex.

I cannot con from you that Digby (erased)
174 : 111 : 229 : 18 : 115 : ceale 148 : 316 : 276 : 358 : 39 : 31 : 19 :
*
35 : 53 : perfectly 453 : 96 : and 94 : all 276 : that 98 : are 104 : beleeved 202 : 83 : to 290 : be 104 :
his freinds that there is no
170 : particular 376 : 52 : & I asseur you 276 : 277 : 1 : 36 : 60 : 181 :
dispatch yet come to me from
229 : 124 : 72 : 32 : 17 : 61 : 41 : 315 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 148 : 401 :
For newes, I refer you to your frends, only I must tell you that to morrow I intend to march to Lichfield 403 : & 96 : soe 266 : to 290 : Newarke 437 : ye 277 : next 227 : 524 :
day; but if ye Irish be come
109 : 175 : 277 : 78 : 2 : 79 : 51 : 42 : 104 : 116 : of wch I haue
then I turne to Chester
good hope 277 : 27 : 174 : shall 17 : 43 : 3 : 28 : 37 : 290 : 340. My last was from Cardife, wch was written in such haste that I forgot to bid you send me word (wch now I earnestly desyre you not to forget to doe) how my printed letters ar, & haue beene, sensured at Oxford, by the seuerall sorts of people, according to theire dyuerse humors; this is all at this tyme from

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

In the voide place of your last cyfer at the end of the Ws of the hindermost alfabet I haue filled it, with the word *want:* lykewais the two others at the end of the Ys with *yesternight* & *yonder.*

9ber Aug: 1645. R. 16o. The King to me from Bridgenorth.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Huntingtoune 25 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue this morning receaued yours of the 13: Aug: with fower printed Oxford Papers concerning my published Letters, & am glad to fynde that you there make so faire (indeed just, as concerning my Religion, Kingdomes & Frends) an interpretation of them, & par-

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* These figures were decyphered by Sir Edward Nicholas, but erased with a pen; yet may in part be restored.

ticularly that you haue so great a confidence in my constancy to my just Cause: And now me thinkes I wer too blame if I did not justifie the trewth of your opinions concerning me, by my owen declaration, w^ch^ is this, that let my condition be neuer so low, my successes neuer so ill, I resolue (by the grace of God) neuer to yeald up this Church to the gouernement of Papists, Presbiterians, or Independants, nor to injure my Successors, by lessning the Crowen of that ecclesiasticall & military power w^ch^ my Predecessors left me, nor forsake my frends, much lesse to lett them suffer when I doe not, for theire faithfulness to me, resoluing sooner to liue as miserable as the violent rage of successefull insulting Rebells can make me (w^ch^ I esteme far worse than death) rather then not to be exactly constant to thease grounds; from w^ch^, whosoeuer, upon whatsoeuer occasion, shall perswade me to receade in the least title, I shall esteeme him ether a foole or a knaue; but you will aske me, *Quorsum hoc*, Yes, for without this warning, the tender personall affection of some might giue me troblesome aduyce, & yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affaires, & not knowing this my resolution, w^ch^ I comand you to publishe to all whom their quality or judgement makes fitt for such discourses, & so I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

You may say confidently, & giue me for author, that the Peace in Irland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions.

25 Aug: 1645. The King to me from Huntington containing his Resolus'on neuer to quit y^e^ Church Gouernement, his friends, or to diminishe the Crowne of that millitary or eccl'all power w^ch^ was left him by his p^e^decessors.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Doncaster 18 Aug: 1645.

Nicholas, I haue sent this bearer expressly to giue you a particular account of my present condition, w^ch^ considering what it was at the beginning of this monthe, is now (I thanke God) miraculously good;

and indeed the gentleman in thease parts showes themselfes really affectionat & harty in my service: acting cherfully (without any grumbling) what I desyre. Now I expect, not only that (lyke Ants) you haue plentifully prouyded your selfes for Winter, but lykewais that you so recrute your selfes in men & armes, that it may be a lusty stocke for a next years Army: So I rest

Your asseured frend

CHARLES R.

As I haue com'anded my Sone to comend me to all the Laydis, so you must to all the Lords my Frends, & particularly to Vulpone, & tell the Gouernor that he has forgotten that he sent me a cyfer.

Doncaster 18° Aug. 1645. R. 23. The King to me.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Ragland * 9 Sep. 1645.

Nicholas, I receaued yesterday bothe of your letters (for I perceaue by their markes, that you haue yet written no more) with the advertisments from London, w^ch^ as you say is worthy my notice, but without considering make this answer, that the just contrary, concerning the new discouery of my Com'ission in a letter to the two Queenes † about the Irishe Papists, is trew: for indeed that roag Hartogen made such a foolishe proposition, but it was flatly denyed by me, & (if my memory much faile me not) my Wyfe tooke occasion upon some clause in my answer, wherby it semed to her (in w^ch^ she was mistaken) as if I thought she had lyke the proposition, to disclaime any parte in it (so far from aprobation) but only the transmitting of it to me, w^ch^ certainly was not fitt for her to refuse: & this (with many other ansome expressions of her affection to me, euen to the ventring of being thought a Protestant in condemning the Irish proceedings) was, as I

* The King's adventures at this antient Castle are too well known to require illustration.

† Queen Henrietta Maria, and her mother the Queen of France, the widow of Henry IV.

beliue, in that letter w^ch^ Tom Elliot deliuered me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9 of May last; for I am sure the most of that letter was concerning the Irish business, & I know the reason why the Rebells haue not printed it is, because it cleers that point more then any of those betweene vs, w^ch^ ar published: That all this is trew, & that the Rebelles haue all this under my Wyfes hand & myne, I comand you to affirme positiuely in my name upon all occasions of this subject: but it is possible that all I mention to be, is not in the letter Tom Elliot brought me (though I am sure most is), but then it is in some other. So you see cleerly the trewth of this business, by w^ch^, if it be brought to light, (w^ch^ I comand you to endeuor, with all possible industry) I must haue honnor; for where my owen justifies me (w^ch^ I am sure my Wyfe can produce, lett the Rebells doe what they will) I care not what lyers can inuent in this kynde. For what else remaines unanswered in your two letters I refer you to your fellow Secretary, & rest

Your most asseured frend
CHARLES R.

R. 24° Sep^bris^ 1645. His Maties Le^r^ to me that ye Rebells have not printed some lrs of his Ma^tie^ & ye Queens w^ch^ iustifie their Maties in ye busenes conc^r^ning Irland.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Bridgenorthe 1 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas, none of your letres haue hitherto miscarried, this day hauing receaued the 12^f^ by Wytefoord, & shall at this tyme, more insist upon telling you of my desynes & giuing you directions, then in answers, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary to supply that: first then, (that you may know whither to send to me) I intend my course towards Newarke 437; where I shall take further resolutions according to occasion: Vnderstanding that my 224 : horse 173 : under 293 : 83 : Lo: 36 : 3 : Goring 380 : is lykely

to be eather 14 : 37 : beaten 32 : 17 : 38 : or 27 : 232 : starued 53 : 19 : 32 : 2 : 43 : 36 : 84 : where 307 : 277 : they 47 : 20 : are 98 : I haue com'and him 169 : to 290 : breake 14 : 2 : 36 : throughe 33 : 62 : 37 : 60 : 283 : to 290 . me 213 : now they must passe 238 : by 110 : or 232 : neere 226 : Oxon 443 : wherfor my plasure is, that you take that oportunety to 290 : send 264 : D 125 : of 231 : Yorke 541 : to 290 : me 213 : for since it is the fashion to yeelde 314 : 17 : townes 54 : 68 : 27 : 35 : basely * 52 : 70 : 14 : 33 : 52 : 36 : 207 : none can blame me, to venture 43 : 35 : 27 : 19 : my 44 : 3 : 224 : 59 : 39 : children 79 : 4 : 84 : 2 : 36 : in 27 : an 176 : army 95 : 323 : 47 : 90 : rather 2 : 33 : 277 : 3 : 18 : then 39 : 36 : to 27 : be 290 : 104 : 60 : besieged 16 : 36 : 52 : 38 : 78 : 24 : 127 : I haue no more to say but that I approue of all your aduyses in your last, & meanes to follow them: one of thease inclosed is for the Queene of England 247 : 231 : 363 : the other speakes it selfe. So I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

" For your selfe."

1° Octobr 1645. His Matie to me concerning sending ye D. of Yorke to him by Lo: Goring.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Nicholas,

When you shall have considered the strange and most inexcusable deliverye vpp of the Castle and Fort of Bristoll †, and compared it with those many precedinge aduertisments w^ch haue been giuen mee, I make noe doubt, but you and all my Counsell there will conclude that I could doe noe lesse, then what you will finde heere inclosed, in my care of the preseruation of my Sonne, of all you my faithfull servaunts there, and of that important place, my Citty of Oxford. In the first

* This evidently refers to the King's displeasure against Prince Rupert for the loss of Bristol.

† Alluded to in the preceding Letter.

place you will finde a coppy of my Letter to my Nephew; secondly, a reuocation of his commission of Generall; thirdlye, a warrant to Lieutenant Coll' Hamilton to exercise the charge of Lieutenant Gouernor of Oxford in Sir Thomas Glemhams * absence; fourthly, a warrant to the sayd Lieutenant Colonell Hamilton to apprehend the person of Will: Legge † present Gouernour of Oxford; and lastlye, a warrant to bee directed to what person shall bee thought fittest for the apprehendinge my Nephew Rupert, in case of such extreamitye as shall bee hereafter specifyed, and not otherwise. As for the circumstance and timinge of the execution of all these particulars, as farr forth as they may admitt of some howres delay more or lesse, I must referr it to my Lord Treasurers ‡ care and yours to aduise of, vpon the place, how it may be done with most securitye, and accordinglye to direct the manner of proceedinge. But yett I shall tell you my opinion as farr forth as I can judge at this distance, w^{ch} is, that you should beginne with securing the person of Will: Legge, before any thinge be declared concerninge my Nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the Lords both the revokinge of my Nephews commission, and my makinge S^{r} Thomas Glemham Gouernour of Oxford, the better. As for the deliuery of my Letter to my Nepheu, if hee bee at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to bee as soone as possiblye may bee after the securinge of Will: Legge. But if my Nepheu bee not there, I would then haue you hasten my Letter unto him, and in the meane time putt the rest in execution.

The warrant for my Nephewes commitment is onlye that you may haue the power to doe it, if in stead of submittinge to, and obeyinge my commaunds in goinge beyond sea, you shall finde that hee practise

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* The King appears to have reposed great confidence in Sir Thomas Glemham; notwithstanding his surrender of Carlisle on the 28th of June preceding, but not until after a long siege, and finally despairing of succour. Indeed, he had distinguished himself, from the first, in the Royal Cause; having been second in command in Yorkshire, under the Earl of Cumberland.

† This is a piece of private history not noticed in the Peerage; but it is incumbent to record that the King's suspicions of his old and faithful friend, the ancestor of the present noble family of Dartmouth, were eventually ascertained to be without the slightest foundation.

‡ Sir John Culpepper.

the raysinge of mutinye or any other disturbance in that place, or any other, in w^ch^ case the sayd warrant for his committment is to bee deliuered unto whome you and my Lord Treasurer shall thinke fittest for it to bee directed unto, and by that person to bee putt in execution. Lastlye I enjoyne you the care to lett all the Lords know, that whateuer is done in this kinde, is out of my tender regard of their safetye and preseruation, and that they shall speedilye receiue for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessarye proceedinge. I rest

Your most asseured frend

Hereford, Sept: 14^th^ 1645. CHARLES R.

Tell my Sone that I shall lesse greeue to heere that he is knoked in the head then that he should doe so meane an action as is the rendring of Bristoll Castell & Fort* upon the termes it was. C. R.

R: 17° 7^bris^ 1645, by Mr. North. The King to me.

Copie of Pr: Ruperts &c. Petition deliuered at Newarke †.

May it please your most excellent Ma^tie^,

Whereas in all humility wee came to present our selues this day unto your Ma^tie^, to make our seuerall greevances knowne, Wee find we haue

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* The King's anger at the surrender of Bristol is not surprizing, when it is recollected that Prince Rupert actually possessed 140 pieces of mounted cannon, 100 barrels of powder, with 2500 foot, 1000 horse, and 1000 trained bands and auxiliaries; but then he had not more than sixteen days provisions for such a force. Indeed the King's feelings at this precise period must have been very bitter; since the immediate and consequent loss of Devizes, Winchester, Basing House, Berkeley Castle, and Chepstowe, reduced his affairs to a situation almost desperate.

† The affair that gave rise to this Petition deserves notice; for the King having at this moment gone to Newark, as a place of the best security, some differences of opinion arose amongst his confidential Officers respecting the defeat of Lord Digby at Sherborne, which General Gerard asserted to be the result of treason. Digby's character, however, was supported by Bellasis, the Governor, and several others; but the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, sided with Gerard. At length swords were drawn, and the King rushed in to part them; but when it was found that his opinion was in favour of Digby, Prince Rupert, and 400 of that party, actually threw up their Commissions, as

drawne upon us some misconstruction by the manner of that, by reason your Ma^tie thought that appeared as a mutiny, Wee shall therefore with all humblenes and carefulnes present unto your Ma^tie, that wee, the persons subscribed, whom from the beginning of this unhappy warre haue giuen such testimony to your Ma^tie and the world of our fidelity and zeale to your Ma^ties person and cause, doe thinke our selves unhappy to lye under that censure; and as wee know in our consciences our selues innocent and free from that, wee doe in all humility therefore (least wee should hazard our selues upon a second misinterpretation) present these reasons of our humblest desires unto your sacred Ma^tie, rather in writing than personnally, which are these:

That many of us trusted in high commands in your Ma^ties service, haue not only our com'ission taken away without any reason or cause expressed, whereby our honors are blemished to the world, our fortunes ruined, and we rendred incapable of trust or command from any forraigne Prince; but many others (as we have cause to feare) designed to suffer in the same manner.

Our intention in our addressing our selues to your Ma^tie, and our submissiue desires, now are; that yo^r Ma^tie wilbee graciously pleased, that such of us as now labour under the opinion of unworthinesse and incapacity to serue your Ma^tie, may at a Councell of Warre, receiue knowledge of the cause of your Ma^ties displeasure, and haue the justice and libertie of our defence against what can be alleaged against us, and in particular concerning this Government; and if upon the seuerest examinac'on our integrity and loyaltie to your Ma^tie shall appeare, that then your Ma^tie be graciously pleased to grant us, either reparation in honour, against the of our ennemys, or libertie to passe into other partes, which are the humblest desires of

Your Ma^ties

most obedient and loyall subjects and servants.

Burton declares in his Civil Wars, though this Petition seems to imply positively that their Commissions were taken from them.

There appears a strange inconsistency in the accounts given of those affairs by the various contemporary writers of that period. The curious reader will find much amusement in referring to Bulstrode's Memoirs, page 127 et seq.; also to Clarendon, &c. &c.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Newarke 10 Oct: 1645.

Nicholas,

none of yours haue yet miscarryed, haueing yesternight receaued your 14th letter: before this, I hope, Sr Tho: Glemham will be come to you, whom I have com'anded to take particular care of purging Oxford of mutinus & disaffected persons; & least he should not be bould anufe, hauing yet but a verball com'and, I thinke fitt now, that you should show him this, under my hand, that my pleasure heerin be dewly executed, whomsoeuer it may concerne: As for your Ticket of Accommodation, that I may understand it the better (for it yet seemes to me but an insignificant peece) I com'and you to send me the two Colonels Fox & Murray *: being possible that it may receaue such illumination, by the illustration of circumstances, as what hitherto seemes but a darke chaos, may breake foorth into a *lactea via*, leading to Peace:

For what concernes Will: Legge 401 : I haue no 229 : suspicion 511 : of 231 : but 109 : what 305 : 358 : Lo: 96 : Digby 316 : 166 : 176 : informed 147 : 213 : 83 : me, wch satisfies me as to what 305 : I 174 : 166 : have 122 : done 109 : but 229 : not 17 : beliue him 169 : 24 : guilty 43 : 78 : 4 : 18 : 79 : 35 : of 231 : trickery 521 : before I see more 221 : particular 467 : proofs 72 : † 1 : 54 : 57 : 7 : 51 : Our Northerne newes ‡ we hope to be as good as your Westerne, though yet not so fully ratified, but 109 : in 176 : confidence 350 : 29 : 58 : 35 : 277 : thereof 2 : I 231 : 174 : thinke fit 143 : to 290 : advance 87 : 43 : 31 : 27 : 61 : 36 : 10 : a 32 : daye 20 : or 118 : two's 51 : 232 : 568 : march 212 : and 60 : if 96 : Montrosse 175 : be 417 : in 104 : 176 :

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* The whole of this affair is curious, and is very little noticed in the history of that time.

† It is a certain fact, of which the King was afterwards well assured, that the insinuations against Legge's loyalty were founded on falsehood.

‡ Alluding evidently to the victory gained by Montrose at Kilsythe in Scotland: but the King's hopes were soon after quashed, when Leslie defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh.

that part as I hope he is there I
276 : 113 : 99 : 174 : 172 : 167 : 181 : 30 : 277 : 28 : and 174 :
intend to joyne wth
176 : 19 : 38 : 27 : 85 : 10 : 290 : 179 : 28 : 37 : 30 : 303 : 169 :
So hoping shortly to send you more certanty of our good newes, & how I shall dispose of my selfe, then yet I can, I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for my wyfe
224 : 68 : 47 : 7 : 35.

" For your selfe."

10^{o} 8^{bris} 1645. R: 17. 1645. His Ma^{tie} to me concerning Coll: Will: Murrey. The 17th of 8^{ber} Col: W. Murrey was sent for by the Lo^{dds}, & his Maties pleasure signified to him to attend y^{e} King accordingly.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Newarke 16 Oct. 1645.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued 17 letters from you, for w^{ch} I hartely thanke you, wee being verry much cheered by your frequent dispaches, wherfor I dout not but you will continew in so doeing: I wrote to you upon Fryday last, wherin there was a letter for my wyfe
224 : 68 : 49 : 7 : 35 : 30 : 300 : & lykewaise in that dispache (I will not say that all was in myne) you were answerd concerning the Gouernor of the Deuyses, & all others in his predicament, as lykewais the L: Hatton: so that now I haue but fower particulars to answer: I begin with the Earle of
277 : 126 : 231 : Norwich*
431 : about whome I embrace & thanke you for your motion, & comand you to send him word accordingly; secondly for Mr. Atturny †, tell him if the Rebelles neuer did but justice or what they had lawfull power to doe, then his answer good, otherwais it is not worthe a button: wherfor if he confesse my power, lett him accept my offer, otherwais I

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* Previously spoken of as General Goring.

† Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

shall know what I haue to doe: as for Rainsford, let the Judges proceede: lastly concerning 200 : 277 (the) : 125 (Duke) : 231 (of) : 541 (York) : 300 : if (as I hope) 380 : haue 156 : 271 : 176 : 277 : 525 : then 276 : 440 : concerning 169 : 302 : 27 : 54 : 17 : 10 : 163 : 72 : 35 : 28 : 20 : 109 : 175 : 380 : 104 : 374 : 83 : 30 : 290 : 250 : 277 : 525 : 96 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 303 : 170 : 173 : in that case it wer a folly in 213 : 290 : 194 : 224 : 266 : 29 : 36 : 40 : 101 : 443 : in the meane tyme 115 : 58 : 37 : 31 : 4 : 38 : 50 : 305 : I haue written in this 293 : 17 : 78 : 5 : 6 : 60 : 279 : 447 : 79 : 18 : 47 : 136 : 236 : as I haue sayed 109 : 277 : 27 : 70 : 83 : 38 : 59 : 6 : 98 : 35 : 90 : 224 : 302 : 167 : 36 : 1 : 176 : first 290 : 412 : 383 : (174 : 177 : 169 : 276 : 540 : 231 : cyfer 211 : 36 : 10 : 213 : 229 : 18 : 20 : 71 : 2 : 48 : 19 : 30 : 279 : 290 : 169 :) 277 : 27 : 40 : 290 : 277 : 50 : 3 : 37 : 51 : 19 : 90 : this is all, so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Methinks you might 51 (settle) : 35 : 17 (an) : 4 : 36 (intelligence) : 10 : 31 : 27 : 391 (to) : 290 (yr) : 277 (next) : 525 (by) : 110 (London) : 400 : 300 :

I send you heerewith the trew coppy of an intelligence from neere Ferrebriges, from one who hath the report of a discreet honnest man: by the Army he meanes Digby and Landale*, wch part I beliue trew: but for the former, I know the particular of my Wyfe, false: & for the rest, I leaue you to judge, not yet knowing what to say.

341 : 209 : 266 : 27 : 10 : 390 : 51 : 20 : 290 : 151 : 436 : 391 : 148 : 400 : 307 : 147 : 174 : 1 : 35 : 58 : 54 : 75 : 77 : 36 : 28 : 83 : 37 : 169 : 290 : 316 :

16° 8bris 1645. R. 22°. The King to me concerning making ye Earl of Norw'ch Capt: of the Garde, & the Attor Herberts removall.

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* Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicolas, . 224 (my) : 176 : 289 (intenc'ons) : 17 : 180 : 53 (are) : 20 : 98 : (110 (by) : 157 (Gods) :
29 : 60 : 39 (helpe) : 36 : 4 : 74 : 37 :) 290 (to) : 14 : 3 : 37 (breake) : 34 : 64 : 38 : 283 (throughe) :
277 (ye) : 475 (Rebelles) : 18 : 374 (forces) : 53 : 600 (and) : 96 : 152 (get) : 290 (to) : 443 (Oxon*) : 290 (to) : 308 (wch) :
128 (end) : and that 224 (my) : 238 : 52 (passage) : 33 : 26 : 37 : 209 (may) : 104 (be) : 303 (wth) : 221 (more) :
38 (ease) : 32 : 52 : 35 : 40 : 96 (&) : 70 : 53 : 37 (security) : 59 : 43 : 3 : 79 : 29 : 49 :
I would haue you acquaint the Gouernor with these commands from
me: that he 264 (send) : 86 (all) : 277 (the) : 173 (horse) : 276 (that) : 209 (may) : possibly 104 (be) : 53 :
74 (spared) : 34 : 3 : 38 : 84 : 148 (from) : 443 (Oxon) : 290 (to) : 329 (Banbury) : 233 (on) : 554 (Sunday) : 227 (next) : with
these 83 (directions) : 78 : 2 : 36 : 59 : 19 : 79 : 233 : 53 : 290 (to) : 277 (the) : 346 (Comander) : 36 :
3 : 176 (in) : 59 (Cheif) : 39 : 36 : 82 : 7 : 38 : that he 183 (keepe) : 53 (scouts) : 59 : 56 : 44 :
19 : 52 : 290 (to) : 68 (wards) : 33 : 2 : 83 : 53 : 70 : 84 (Daventry) : 37 : 43 : 38 : 27 : 17 :
3 : 47 : 90 : 96 (&) : 300 : 39 : 34 (Harburrow) : 3 : 14 : 46 : 1 : 2 : 56 : 46 : 26 : 42 :
200 : 96 (&) : 83 : 79 (diligently) : 6 : 82 : 24 : 37 : 29 : 19 : 207 (hould) : 42 : 57 : 43 : 4 (intelli-) :
84 (gence) : 391 (with) : 303 (the) : 277 (Gov'nor) : 379 : 232 : 231 (of) : 16 : 36 (Belvoir,) : 4 : 46 : 57 : 79 : 3 :
231 (of) : 305 (what) : 374 (forces) : 53 : 207 (ly) : 176 (in) : those 239 (partes) : 53 : 224 (my) : 3 : 37 : 266 (resolution) :
4 : 46 : 19 : 180 : being 290 (to) : 24 (goe) : 56 : 38 : 276 (that) : 69 : 34 (way) : 47 : 175 (if) :
303 (wth) : 97 (any) : 254 (reasonable hazard) : 88 : 70 : 39 : 34 : 23 : 34 : 2 : 85 (I) : 174 (may) : 238 (passe:) :
109 (but) : 175 (if) : S^r^ Thom: Glemham† 144 (findes) : 174 (I) : 116 (come) : 229 (not) : 17 : 290 (to) : 329 (Banbury) :
110 (by) : 551 (Thursday) : 227 (next) : 116 (come) : 263 : 27 (senight) : 78 : 24 : 42 : 19 : 277 (then) : 29 : 167 (he) :
209 (may) : 83 : 3 (draw) : 34 : 69 : 20 : 16 (back) : 32 : 59 : 64 : 277 (the) : 173 (horse:) : you must

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* To this plan, Bulstrode tells us the King was led by the circumstance of the rebel army being now in force on the North side of Trent. The whole of the letter being in cypher is an evidence of the King's great desire for secrecy, and in consonance with the recorded fact, that he imparted his resolution to none, except to two or three of the nearest trust about him."

† Then Governor of Oxford.

remember that 53 (secrecy) : 37 : 58 : 1 : 38 : 61 : 49 : 176 (in) : 279 (this) : 239 : 79 (particular) : 59 : 43 : 4 : 34 : 3 : 215 (must) : 104 (be) : 317 (your) : 59 : 39 : 37 (cheifest) : 78 : 7 : 38 53 : 19 : 112 (care) : I will only allow you to 274 (tell) : 277 (the) : 379 (Gouernor) : 232 : 231 (of) : 182 (it) : 320 (who) : 215 (must) : 104 (be) : answerable for the 124 (discretion) : 59 : 3 : 38 : 17 : 180 : 96 (&) : 80 : 84 : 78 : 207 (dilligence) : 24 : 38 : 27 : 58 : 38 : 231 (of) : 277 (the) : 73 : 37 (person) : 3 : 53 : 233 (that) : 276 : 52 : 39 : 94 (shall) : 346 (comand) : 17 (those) : 39 : 54 : 53 : 38 : 173 (horse) : 176 (in) : 58 : 39 (cheif) : 37 : 78 : 7 : 38 : so I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Newarke 29 Oct: 1645.

Giue me an account of this.

29 8bris 1645. The King to me by Parsons.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Nicholas to Sir Henry Vane the Younger*.

Sr

You cannot suppose the worke is donn, though God should suffer you to destroy the King: the miseryes which will ineuitably follow are soe plaine in view, that it is more then necessary some speedy expedient be found for their preuention. Is it not cleere to you (to me it is) that Spaine and ffrance will instantly conclude a Peace: and that ffrance makes great preparations to ioyne with the Scotts (when the breache between you and them shall happen) whilst Spaine labours to be Protector of Ireland, and will vndoubtedly carry itt. Consider well, whether the season is not proper for this designe, when the wealth of this Nation is already soe exhausted, and the sufferings of the people soe great, that they are noe longer to be supported. This is reason, tis not to cast a bone amongst you: The only remedye is (and it is a safe and honourable one for you) that you sett your selfe, the gentle-

* This letter is highly deserving the attention of the historian and statesman, and forms a remarkable illustration of the events of that period.

man that was quartered with you, and all his and your freinds to preuaile, that the King may come to London vpon the termes he hath offered; where, if Presbitery shall be soe strongly insisted vpon as that there cann be noe peace without itt, you shall certainly haue all the power my Master cann make to ioyne with you in rooting out of this kingdome that tyrannicall Gouernment; with this condition, that my Master may not haue his conscience disturbed (yours being free) when that easy worke is finished. Loose not this faire opertunity, the like was neuer offered, nor euer will be; for itt brings all things of benifitt and aduantage imaginable, both to the generall and to your particular; to him that was quartered with you, and to his & your freinds: and shall be honestly made good. Trust to me for the performance of itt: waigh itt sadly, and againe relye upon me. Bee confident, that neither he that carryes this, nor he that deliuers it to you, knowes any thing of itt. *(Not signed.)*

Written at the bottom by the King.

"This is a trew Coppie of what was sent to Sir Hen: Vane the Younger by my comand. C. R."*

March 2, 1645:-6:

Indorsed,

2º Martij 1645. By his Maties comaund these are to S. H. Vane sign'd wth yᵉ Kings owne hand.

Copy of another Letter from the King to Sir Henry Vane the Younger:

Sʳ

I shall only add this word to what was said in my last: that you hasten my business all that possibly you cann; the occasion lately giuen, being fairer then euer, and donn on purpose. Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I coniure you, to dispatch that curtoysye for me with all speed, or it will be too late, I shall perish before I receiue the fruits of itt. I may not tell you my necessityes, but if it were necessary soe to

* How little effect was produced by this remonstrance, may be easily imagined, when addressed to a man whom De Larrey characterises as "more rigid, more a Presbyterian, and more a Parliamentarian in his sentiments than either Pym, Hampden, St. John, Fiennes, or Hollis!"

doe, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfill my desires. This is all: trust me, I will repay your fauour to the full. I have donn. If I haue not an answere within foure dayes after the receipt of this, I shall be necessitated to finde some other expedient. God direct you, I haue discharged my dutye. *(Not signed.)*

Written at the bottom of this letter by the King.

"This is a true Copie of what was sent by Jack Asheburnham & my comand to Sir Harry Vane the younger. C. R."

The King's promise to Mons. de Montreuil concerning those that should come with him to the Scots Army:

I doe promise to Mounsieur de Montreull, that none shall come along with me to the Scotts Army, or meet me there, who are excepted by those att London, but only my two Nepheues, and Jack Ashburnham *. Notwithstanding, the said Montreull is to receaue this my protestation, that all my seruants, and all others who doe adheare to me, shall be saued from ruine, or any publique dishonour; which is a condition that my wife writt to me that not only she, but likewise Cardinall † Mazarine, were absolutely of opinion that I was sooner to

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* The King's confidence in Ashburnham was very great at this crisis. In fact it was a very short time before, that his Majesty was obliged, by the approach of Fairfax, to escape from Oxford in disguise; and this he did as the servant of Ashburnham: after which he joined the Scottish Army before Newark. Yet Ashburnham is suspected, with great appearance of truth, of having misled the King when he was taken prisoner in 1648, either through treachery or folly. Bulstrode, in his Memoirs, asserts that when the King arrived in great privacy at the house of Lady Southampton, and that Ashburnham went up stairs to his Majesty's bed-chamber, and told the King that Colonel Hammond was below at supper, and had given assurance of honour for his Majesty's safety, but not of liberty for his person, the King instantly, with much emotion, struck his hand upon his breast, exclaiming, "And is this all? Then I am betrayed!"

† Mazarine had recently become Prime Minister of France, in consequence of the death of Richelieu. The latter bore an implacable malice and hatred to England for her interference respecting the French Protestants, particularly in the affairs of the Isle du Rhe, and Rochelle. It is curious to compare this opinion of Mazarine with the well authenticated fact that, notwithstanding his outward appearance of friendship, he was actually tampering with the Parliament and keeping up a good correspondence with them, through the medium of Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador!

dye, then not to haue. And as for Church Gouernment, as I haue already, soe I now againe promise, that assoone as I come into the Scotts Army, I shall be very willing to be instructed concerning the presbiteriall gouernment: whereuppon they shall see, that I shall striue to content them in any thing, that shall not be against my conscience.

CHARLES R.

Indorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas.

"The King's promise to Monsieur de Montreuil * concerning those that should come wth him to ye Scots' Army: wch promise was written by Mr. Jo: Ashbournham, and signed by the King; but wthout date."

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castle 16 Maij 1646.

Nicholas, since my last I had neither sufficient tyme nor matter to write to you, but now I haue enough of either, yet I shall to ease both our paynes, contract my thoughts, meerely to what is (for the present) necessary for you att Oxford †. ffor directions then, know that you are not to expect releefe, soe that I give you leaue to treate for good condi-c'ons. Let those of Exeter be your example: the additions must be the taking care particularly of the University, and to trye if you can

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* Montreull, or Montreville, seems in this affair to have been the tool of Mazarine in deceiving the King; for all the contemporary writers, Warwick, Bulstrode, &c. assert that he promised, in the name of the King of France, that Charles should be secure under the protection of the Scottish army.

† Oxford was at this moment nearly reduced; so that Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, in answer to a summons, asked permission to send a messenger to the King for orders. This, however, was refused by Fairfax, as several historians declare, and the City was delivered up, but not until after a treaty of some weeks continuance, as the City did not surrender until the 24th of June. The facts contained in the indorsements possess considerable interest for the future historian.

When this letter was written the King was with the Scottish Army, who had retreated thus far after the surrender of Newark to the Parliament Army.

In "Memoirs of the Two last Years of Charles the First," by Herbert, there is an allusion to the King's consent, through the Lords of the Privy Council then at Oxford.

gett the Duke of Yorke to be sent hither to me, as alsoe all my seruaunts who wilbe willing to come (of w^ch^ number I am sure you are one) but feare you will not get leaue, and those goods w^ch^ I haue there.

These directions I would haue you keepe very secreat, that you may make the better conditions: ffor the number and choyce, I leave to the Lordes discrec'ons (the Gouernor being one), but you must give out that releefe will come. Jack Ashburnham is this day gonne for ffraunce. I haue noe more to say, so I rest

Your most asseured frend

CHARLES R.

Indorsed,

"16^o^ Maij 1646. R. 10^o^ Junii & y^e^ next day read to y^e^ Lo^ls^.

The King to me from New Castle giving leave to treate, &c.

This ltr & that of y^e^ 2^d^ of June were read to all ye Lods and gent. about this towne (Oxford) on Sunday y^e^ 20th of June 1646."

This Letter was written in cyfer, but the figures are for the most part blotted or run through with the pen, but are decyphered and filled up by Sir Edward Nicholas.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castell 2 June 1646.

Nicholas, since I saw you, I receaued but one letter from you, w^ch^ was of the 5th of May; & this is but the 3^rd^ that I haue written unto you, hauing sent a duplicatt of my last about 9 dayes agoe. For direc'cons, I shall in substance repeate what I last sent you, w^ch^ is that, because you are to expect noe releef, I giue you leaue to treate for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your guide, w^ch^ I beliue wilbe graunted you, hauing a particular care that my Sonne & two Nephueus haue permission to com to me whersoeuer I shalbe: as lykewais that the freedome of y^e^ University be preserued, & that all my seruaunts, who ar willing, may come to me with the few goods that I haue there. I omitt news att this tyme, because it will doe little good to you, & troble me; so, comanding you to asseur all my frends, that

no change of place shall (make) me alter my affection to them; I rest

Your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

I aduise excepted persons to agree for Exeter conditions, & for noe better.

When my goods ar sent, forget not all the bookes w^ch I left in my bedchamber.

Indorsed.

2° Junii 1646. R: 11°, read to ye L^des ye next day. The King gives leave to treate.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

New Castell 24 June 1646.

Nicholas,

I haue receaued yours of the 6: & 9: of this monthe w^ch requyres no other answer but thanke you for your intelligence & to comend you for your resolution; only I thinke you needed not to burne my cypher; but howsoeuer lett me heare from you as often as you can, & asseure all my frends that I am constant to all them who will not forsake themselfes, of w^ch, I know you ar none, so that I am

Your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

In hope my cypher is not sacrifised I 209 : desire 141 : 56 : 63 : 17 : 67 : you 429 :
to 360 : send 341 : me 250 : 78 : word 31 : 18 : 81 : where 412 : my 351 : in : Jewells no : 418 : 56 : were 111 :
w^ch 413 : I. H. 449 : had, 197 : and 112 : if 213 : my 251 : 90 : Cabinet * or 27 : 40 : 7 : 67 : p : w^ch 413 : I 209 :
left 234 : w^th 409 : you 429 : be 121 : burned at : ad : 19 : if : 147 : or 281 : not. 270 :

24° Junii 1646. The K. to me.

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* The King's anxiety about his Cabinet is not surprizing, if we recollect the very unhandsome use which had formerly been made of letters seized by the Parliamentary forces; when even the common expressions of conjugal confidence and tenderness were tortured into political crimes, or made the jests of the lowest revolutionary ruffians.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

New Castell 16 Aug:

Nicholas, I receaued yours by the last post, wherby I understand what course you intend to take, w^ch^ I approue of, yet I thinke it not necessay (necessary) to write 422 : 360 : to 550 : Marq: 520 : H: 269 : nor 17 : Earl 503 : of 280 : South- 356 : ampton 84 : 107 : 43 : 282 : for 162 : hauing 200 : 216 : 258 : (erased) 133 : 280 : 366 : selfes there 365 : 280 : 251 : 84 : 282 : 7 : 281 : 122 : 431 : 216 : 383 : 251 : 56 : 67 : 46 : 75 : 70 : 59 : 112 : 57 : 78 : 281 : 81 : 360 : 361 : 319 : 27 : 148 : 58 :

Com'end me to all my Frends, & asseure them of my constancy; & I asseure you that I haue sent where you ar goeing, being confident that you will be very well receaued there, so I rest

Your most asseured frend

CharlesR.

This inclosed is for 14 : 47 : he : 68 : 21 : 35 : 6 :

16^o^ Aug. 1646. The King to me *.

In the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The Reasons why his Ma^tie^ thought good to send his Proposition of y^e^ . . . of December, 1645, to London, were, for that

His Ma^tie^ hath noe Army att all, nor any forces but what are in his Garrisons.

Noe meanes or monny either to satisfy or keepe together his Officers or to supply or pay his Garrisons, but the contribuc'ons of the coun-

* This part of the correspondence is important, as it took place about the period when the Scottish army were engaged in the negociations for his delivery to the English Rebels. In a Glasgow publication of Original Letters (1766) there is one from a Scottish Commissioner, who observes, " many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself." This letter was written on the 7th of August, 1646, at the period when Charles refused to agree to the Scottish propositions.

try, w^ch^ being wasted by y^e^ souldiors of both sides, & extremly disaffected, are reddy every day to rise ag^t^ his Ma^ties^ Garrisons, as being not able any longer to undergoe the heavy pressures w^ch^ y^e^ necessitys of his Ma^tie^ souldiors & y^e^ absence of his Ma^ties^ Governm^t^ dayly put upon them.

That his Ma^tie^ having lost Bristoll, hath noe meanes to be supplyed from forraigne partes w^th^ armes or munition, or materialls for making of either, of w^ch^ he begins alreddy to be in want.

There is noe meanes to raise any considerable forces for an Army ag^t^ y^e^ next Spring: for that all Wales was lost p^e^sently after y^e^ losse of Bristoll, & since that, Munmouth & Hereford.

Chester is in imminent danger to be likewise lost: Newark & Belvoir Castle* are besieged & in danger.

In y^e^ west there are about 5 or 6000 horse & foote, but there are there soe great divisions amongst the cheif Officers, & y^e^ Councell that attend y^e^ Prince, as for want of condvct these forces are soe disunited, & y^e^ country soe disaffected to them by reason of the soldiors rapine & oppression, as y^e^ country rises against them whensoever they come into any place not in a body, & the country is soe wasted, as it cannot feede them when they lye together in a body. Besides, the Cornishe will not be drawne further than Devonsh^e^.

Exeter is soe close besieged, as very little or noe p'visions can passe into it, & it is not supplyed for many monthes†. . . . . is possessed by S^r^ Tho. ffairfax forces, & the King hath in Devon now noe poste

* The Earl of Rutland had sided with the Parliament, but Belvoir was garrisoned by the King's forces.

† It has been said by contemporary writers that the King, being now in distress, had no hopes from a proposition to Parliament, but merely complied with the earnest entreaties of his confidential friends. The message, which he sent, was filled with tender expressions respecting the miseries of the nation, of which it manifested a very deep sense, in consequence of the existing civil distractions. It conjured the Parliament, as they would answer it to Almighty God, for all blood spilt, or yet to be shed, and as they tendred the preservation of their religion, calling upon them also by all the bonds of duty and allegiance to their King, of compassion for their bleeding Country, or charity to themselves, that they would dispose their hearts and judgments towards a just and speedy settlement of affairs: but it answered no other purpose than to draw forth demands even more imperious than those during the Treaty of Uxbridge.

but Dartmouth, & there are likewise forces marched thither to blocke it upp.

The Seige of Plymouth is soe weekly prosecuted for want of force as they have lately releeued themselves and burnt some of our quarter neere it.

S^r^ Tho. Fairfax & Crumwell haue lately sent into these p'tes neere 1500 of their best horse, w^ch^ shewes that they are much too strong for his Ma^ties^ forces in those partes.

These Western horse are drawing towards Oxon & are to ioyne w^th^ other forces w^ch^ are to come from London under Coll: Ringingborrow, & all that can be spared from Coventry, Warwick, Gloucester, & Northampton, & out of Buckinghamshire (w^ch^ it is beleeued will in all make noe lesse than 8000 foote and 4000 horse & dragoons) & ar designd p^e^sently to block upp Oxon att a distance.

Denington Castle is blockt upp by forces that lye in Newberry & the Country thereabouts.

This being his Ma^ts^ p^r^sent condition in England, & there being noe peace concluded in Ireland, nor any considerable forces possibly to be drawne from that Kingdom in any tyme to assist his Ma^tie^:

The Mar: of Muntrosse being still in y^e^ highlands, or noe neerer then Glascoe, & in what condition his Ma^tie^ is not certeynly assured, soe as there is little hope of tymely ayde from him:

From Fra. or Holland there was nothing but faire & fruitless p'misses, they having not in all this tyme afforded his Ma^tie^ any considerable assistance, nor soe much as publickly declared ag^t^ those att London:

Upon these considerations his Ma^tie^ resolved to send to London y^e^ .... P'positions, w^ch^ being as low as he can goe w^th^ p^e^serving of his conscience and hon^r^ he doubts not but God will give a blessing to y^t^ his intentions; And that if his s^bts^ doe not harken to y^e^ reason he offers, his Allies will consider how farre his interest may worke theirs.

Indorsed, Reasons why his Ma^tie^ sent his Proposic'ons to London, dated Dec^r^ 1646.

The King to the Speaker of the House of Peers.

Holdenby (Holmby) 6 Martij. 1646-7.

C. R.

It being now 17 dayes since I wrote to you from hence, & not yet receiuing any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you; and indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not at this time trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended by some of my Chaplains *, whom I esteem & reuerence, is that w^ch^ is so necessary for me (euen considering my present condic'on, whither it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlem^t^ of the present distracc'ons in Religion) that I will slight diuers kinds of censures, rather then not obtain what I demand. Nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being totally grounded upon reason. For I desire you to consider (not thinking it needfull to menc'on) the diuers reasons w^ch^ no Christian can be ignorant of, for the point of conscience. I must assure you that I cannot as I ought take into consideration those alterac'ons in Religion w^ch^ haue, & wilbe offred unto me, w^th^out such helps as I desire, because I can neuer iudge rightly of, or be altred in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denyed me. But when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to striue for victory in argum^t^, but to seeke to submit

* The sentiments contained in this letter are so completely in unison with those in "Eikon Basilike" (art. 23, 24, pp. 201 to 218, edit. 1648), as to afford proof, if proof were necessary, of the authenticity of that work from the royal pen.

The letter itself was written about two months after the King had been given up to the Parliament, and about three months previous to his seizure by Cornet Joyce, on the part of Cromwell and the army.

A very minute and interesting account of these transactions will be found in Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the "Two last years" of the unhappy monarch.

There is a remarkable passage, alluding to those circumstances, in a letter from the Earl of Panmure to Lord Wariston, dated 23d January, 1647; where he says, "His Majesty is so well resolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I saw him for any thing. He thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate. If our posterity find not the smart thereof, it is well."

to truth, according to that judgem^{t} w^{ch} God hath giuen me; always holding it my best & greatest conquest, to giue contentm^{t} to my two Houses of Parl^{t} in all things w^{ch} I conceiue not to be against my conscience or hon^{r}. Not doubting likewise, but that you wilbe ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

To the Speaker* of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lo: & Co'mons in the Parl^{t} assembled at Westm'r.

Indorsed,

6^{o} Mar: 1646. Coppy of y^{e} King's 2d lt^{r} for some of his Chaplaines.

A Memorandum in King Charles the First's own hand-writing:

Freedome in Conscience & Honnor and Security for all those that shall come with me, & in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set doune at such of my Garisons as I shall name to them: w^{ch} condition I hope not to put them to, for I shall not differ with them about Ecclesiasticall businesses, w^{ch} they shall make apeare to me not to be against my conscience; & for other matters, I expect no difference, & in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two Queenes. And befor I take my jurny I must send to the Marquis of Montrose to aduertice him upon what conditions I come to the Scots Army, that he may be admitted forthwith into our conjunction, & instantly march up to us.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

"A Note written with y^{e} Kings owne pen concerning his going to y^{e} Scotts."†

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* Lenthall.

† This memorandum throws considerable light upon what may well be considered as the obscurest part of Charles's history during the Civil War.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Oatlands, 19 Aug. 1647 *.

Nicholas, to ease my paines, I haue comanded Oudart † to answer some particulars in your last letter: this being only to thanke you for your aduertisments & freedome: desyring you still to continue the same, asseuring you that I haue a particular care of you, w^ch^ I hope shortly shall be visible to all the World: so I rest

Your most asseured constant frend

Charles R.

Oatlands $\frac{2}{12}$ Aug. 1646.
His Ma^ties^ ltr to me.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Nicholas,

Yo^r^ fidelity & industry in our seruice & eminent affecc'ons to our person, haue made in us too great an impression to be forgotten; on the contrary you must continue in this confidence, that we very highly retaine you in our value & remembrance, as you will finde if it please God to restore us to a condic'con for it. As an earnest whereof at present, you will receive herewith a direction to our dearest Sonn the Prince on your behalfe, whom as we know you will serue with the same duety and zeale as you haue serued us, so will he assuredly giue you that reception & admission to his confidence w^ch^ you haue had with us. We thanck you for yo^r^ severall letters & aduises, and are

* It was on the 3d of June that the King was seized by Joyce, and after a desultory progress arrived at Oatlands on the 14th of August; and soon after he removed to Hampton Court.

† Oudart was afterwards one of the King's Commissioners in the Conferences at Newport with the Parliamentary agents. In such confidence was he with the King as to be employed during that treaty in writing his private dispatches to the Prince of Wales. Vide Warwick's Memoirs, p. 325.

very tenderly sensible of yo^r^ pressures, and if you could gett them removed by the help of friends, we thinck you would do well not to neglect so doing in respect of yo^r^ family, there being no certainty yet what successe will follow this Treaty. That Providence w^ch^ permits these afflictions to lye upon Us, We trust will yet in good time take them off. Doe you continue yo^r^ affections towards Us, not doubting of the constant fauor to you & yo^rs^ of

Your most asseured Frend

CHARLES R

From Newport in y^e^ Isle of Wight 24 Novemb: 1648 *.

To Secr: Nich'as.

His Ma^ties^ Farewell Speech unto y^e^ Lords Com'issioners at Newport in y^e^ Isle of Wight †.

" My Lords,

You are come to take your leaue of mee, and I beleeue wee shall scarce euer see each other againe :—but Gods will be done. I thank God I haue made my peace w^th^ him, & shall w^thout feare undergoe what hee shall please to suffer men to doe unto mee.

My Lords, you cannot but knowe that in my fall and ruine you see yo^r^ owne, and that alsoe neere to you. I pray God send you better frends then I haue found.

I am fully informed of y^e^ whole carriage of y^e^ Plott against mee & myne, and nothing soe much afflicts mee as the sense and feelinge I haue of y^e^ sufferings of my subjects, and y^e^ mischief that hangs ouer

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* The several historical facts, to which this letter refers, are too well known to require commentary; but the letter itself is of consequence to Sir Edward Nicholas's claim on the patronage of Charles II. alluded to in a subsequent letter to the Monarch respecting the office of Secretary; and illustrates the political character of that Monarch.

† The Commissioners were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Middlesex; Viscount Say and Sele; Lord Wenman; Messrs. Pierpoint, Hollis, Crew, Bulkeley; Sirs Henry Vane, jun. Harbottle Grimstone, and John Potts; Serjeants Glynne, and Browne, and some others.

my three Kingdomes, drawne upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their owne interestes and ends."

These words his Ma^tie deliuered w^th much alacrity and cheerefullnes, w^th a serene countenance, & carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus he parted w^th y^e Lords leauing many tender impressions (if not in them) yet in y^e other hearers *.

His Ma^ties farewell Speech to the Lo^des at Newport 1°. Dec. 1648.

Paris †, Nov. 6, 1649. St. No.

Sir,

To giue you an account of the vastnesse of this packett, give me leaue to tell you, that together with this booke w^ch I send you, there came in half a score persons of consideration, who with very much passion desired me to represent to Jersey, the high indignity by this base edition ‡ offered to our blessed Master, and the great injury rendered to his Majesty that now is.

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* This conference took place almost immediately before the King's being put to death, an event so pointedly referred to in a work recently published in the United States, that an extract from it cannot fail to be interesting. The author, the Reverend Doctor Stiles, President of Yale College, in his History of Three of the Judges of Charles II. first published in 1794, remarks, in allusion also to the French Revolution—"The era is now arrived, when tribunals for the trial of delinquent Majesty, of Kings and Sovereign Rulers, will be provided for, in the future politics and constitutions of Sovereignties, Empires, and *Republics:* when the heroic and high example of doing justice to criminal royalty, of the adjudication of a King, will be recurred to and contemplated with justice and impartiality. And, however it has been overwhelmed with infamy for a century and a half, will hereafter be approved, admired, and imitated; and the memoirs of those suffering exiles will be immortalized with honour."— Dr. Stiles was not half so good a conjurer as old Grebner!

† Charles, at the period of his father's murder, was at the Hague with his brother in law, the Prince of Orange; after which he went to France to join his afflicted mother; but having been proclaimed King throughout Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and Londonderry, he would have proceeded there, had he not been forewarned that such a procedure would produce much alarm amongst the Protestant friends to his cause. He therefore went no further than Jersey, where he was proclaimed King, a short time previous to the date of this Remonstrance.

‡ If it were necessary to enter upon the controversy respecting the authenticity of "Eikon Basilike," this letter might be adduced as a proof against Bishop Gauden's claim to that work. The

You will finde a preface to this Booke, w^ch^ tends to proue that our blessed Master might be, nay perhaps was, a Papist in his heart, notwithstanding this Booke. That what instructions & com'ands were giuen to his Sonne for his firmenesse to the Protestant Religion, were giuen out of politique considerations meerely, and many other particulars, w^ch^ I hope will bring it to the hands of the common-hangman.

This Marsys is one who setting out the tryall of the late King, and y^e^ manner of his murther, stiles himselfe "*Interprete et Maistre pour la langue Françoise du Roy d' Angleterre regnant à present et de son Altesse Royale le Duc d' Yorke son frere,*" in w^ch^ Booke he stiles Queene Elizabeth (of euer blessed memory) Jezabell. He setts downe a false and faigned speech of the King's at y^e^ time of his being murthered; & being charged with it, he said he thought fitt to make that speech as spoken by him, since the speech he did make was poore and below a King. He hath sett forth diuers other things, an extract whereof I shall shortly send you, the least of w^ch^ would deserue a whipping in England in good times to speake moderately. I p^e^sume you will giue this busines a thorough sifting there in councell, and send some directions to S^r^ Rich: Browne how to proceede here; that it may appeare who sett him on worke here, and who giues him these exact coppies, w^ch^ he pretends to haue under y^e^ King's owne hand, and those other peeces of the King's, w^ch^ he so braggs of, and promises he will bring them to light, so soone as he obtaines leaue to publish them. I hope some course wilbe taken that he may be discharged of his titles of relation to the King, and that his Ma^ty^ will hereupon giue order, that a true coppy may be printed in french of his Father's Booke, declared by him to be authentique, waving both the editions either of

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wish here expressed was not fulfilled specifically; though afterwards in some measure gratified by the publication of "Eikon Aklastos" in 1651, as a vindication of the original work against the attacks of "Eikonoklastes."

This letter was written by Sir Edward Nicholas during his retreat from England, after the death of his royal master. He appears to have then been resident with his son in law, Sir Richard Browne, who still remained Chargé d' Affaires at the French Court.

The inquisitive reader will find some interest in comparing this letter with the very copious and impartial essay on this subject by Mr. Nichols, "Literary Anecdotes," vol. I. p. 522.

Huguenot or Papist, and that this command be grounded upon the ill editions of both these persons and partys.

Indorsed, " 6° Novem: 1649. Concerning Marseis his translac'on of the Kings booke."

Sir Edward Nicholas to King Charles the Second.

May it please yo^r Ma^tie *,

I came to yo^r Ma^tie out of duty to serve you if I could, not out of designe to gaine preferment, & thoughe I understood well, that yo^r Ma^ties Privy Councell here was neither of number nor weight equall to y^e importaunce of yo^r Ma^ties affaires, yet yo^r Ma^tie being then resolved to goe for Irland (where I conceaved there would be an addition of Councellors answearable to y^e weight of yo^r aff^res) I did y^e more willingly tender my humble services here.

But since its not now councellable for yo^r Ma^tie upon y^e change of yo^r busines in Irla: to goe thither, I held it my duty humbly to advise you, that I find yo^r aff^res of soe great importaunce, & of such a nature, as (in my poore iudgem^t) it will not be possible for you to man'age y^e same w^thout a steddy, setled, & more full Councell of able, graue & experienced p'sons of unblemished integrity, whose honor, esteeme, fidellity, & prudence may raise y^e reputac'on of yo^r Councell from that great contempt it lyes under both at home & abroade; & whereby forraigne Pr^ces may be encouraged to assist yo^r Ma^tie, & yo^r Royall party in Engl: to appeare more vigorously for you.

D. Richmond
Ea: Arundell
Ea: Derby
Ea: Norwich
E. South'ton.
Sir Art. Hopton;
Mr. Cha: Exch.
Ld. Hutton.

If for want of such a setled & ho^ble Privy Councell, yo^r Ma^tie shalbe necessitated (as lately) to call (upon every important occasion) such to Councell who are not sworne, it will not much satisfy yo^r party in Engla: nor advantage yo^r aff^res. Besides yo^r Privy Councell wilbe att a great disadvantage, when they are to give their advise upon oath, & are by y^e same obliged to be secreat, & y^e others shalbe att liberty & under noe tye att all.

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* Written by Sir Edward Nicholas, and alluded to in a former note.

My humble advise therefore is, that yo^{r} Ma^{tie} forthwth endeavour by all meanes possible to get a Councell composed of a convenient number of such ho^{ble}, experienced, & faithfull p'sons, as may be equall to y^{e} great importaunce of yo^{r} p^{e}sent aff^{res}, & above y^{e} contempt that yo^{r} now Councell lyes under, aswell in yo^{r} owne Court, as abroade, wthout w^{ch} it will not be possible for you to goe throughe yo^{r} greate businesses.

As for my owne particular *,

I humbly beseech yo^{r} Ma^{tie} to give me leave to put you in minde, that att St. Germains y^{r} Ma^{tie} comaunded me to wayte on you in this place, where you were pleased to tell me you should have occasion to make use of my service as Secre'^{ie}, & to that end yo^{r} Ma^{tie} comaunded me to gett prepared a signet, & other provisions fitting, w^{ch} accordingly I p'vided att my owne cost. I was there further tould from yo^{r} Ma^{tie}, that when I came to Jersey, I should be sworne Sec'rie. And since I came hither, yo^{r} Ma^{tie} tould me I should be sworne, as soone as I came into Irla: Now since yo^{r} Ma^{tie} goes not for Irla: I humbly desire that I may be sworne before yo^{r} Ma^{ties} dep'ture from hence:

1. Because, I know y^{e} busines belonging to a Sec'rie of State ought not to be p'formed by one that is not sworne in y^{e} place.

2. For that y^{e} busines I shall doe (not being sworne), will not have that creddit & esteeme, as is requisitt for y^{e} advantage of affaires of that nature.

3. That it wilbe a great disrepute for me (who have had the honor to serve yo^{r} Royale father 7 yeares in that Office) to execute any considerable p'te thereof, & not be established in it by oath, w^{ch} only can make a man capable of p'formaunce of the duty of that place, as it ought to be.

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* De Larrey, a French historian of those times, says of Sir Edward Nicholas, that he had much better qualities and more zeal for the late Monarch, than the preceding Secretary of State, Windebank. He adds, that he was truly devoted to the Church of England; and having, besides, as much integrity as ability, he was as faithful to the son as to the father. "Charles II. recompensed his fidelity, and restored him, in 1658, to the post that his father had given him; if this employment was honourable to him, all the profit redounded to the King, who conferred it on him not till he left France, and when he was a wanderer from Court to Court, and from Country to Country." But this was precisely agreeable to the Royal promise; as appears from Charles's reply.

Yo^r Mat^ies obiection, that if you sweare me, you must doe y^e like for Mr. Long *, is rather a discouragement then satisfac'con to me, who did hope my soe long faithfull service to yo^r Royall father would have moved yo^r Ma^tie to make more difference betweene us, since I have hitherto (I thanke God) carryed a cleere reputac'on in all my wayes.

Wherefore its my most humble suyte, that yo^r Ma^tie wilbe pleased either to give order, that I may be sworne yo^r Ma^ties Sec'rie (whereby I may be enabled to doe you service), or else that I may have leave w^th yo^r Ma^ties gracious favour, to retire untill my faithfull & disinterested service may be of more use in yo^r Ma^ties affaires.

"For yo^r Ma^tie."

Indorsed, "Je lis ce papier au Roy a Jersey 31 de Janvier. St. V^x 1649."

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Charles R.

In regard of our many great & weighty businesses, Wee are resolved & promise w^th all convenient speede to increase the number of Our English Privy Councellors in a considerable proporc'on answearable to y^e importaunce of our affaires.

Wee are alsoe resolved principally to make use of & rely on, the faithfull advise of our sworne Privy Councell in y^e managem^t & determinac'on of our important affaires.

Wee likewise resolve & promise, to sweare and establishe S^r Edw: Nicholas in y^e office and place of one of our principall Secritaries of State, the first man Wee admit to or constitute in that office, and as

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* Mr. Long was only engaged by Charles in a private capacity; and during the interregnum; his name is not entered upon any of the lists of office.

The King seems to have had a personal attachment towards Mr. Long. It is, perhaps, not irrelevant also to observe that if the handwriting of the two rival Secretaries had been allowed any weight in the discussion of the question, Mr. Long would have been a successful opponent of Sir Edward; his mode of writing being nearly equal to copper-plate printing, whilst that of the latter is often scarcely intelligible.

soone as Wee shall dismisse Rob^{t} Long from our service. Given at our Court att Castle Elizabeth in our Island of Jersey the $\frac{14th}{24th}$ of ffebr: $16\frac{49}{50}$.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

St. Johnstons: Sept. 3. 1650*.

Mr. Secr: Nicholas, I haue giuen this bearer his dispatch, and haue signed all the Commissions, with 53 blankes w^{ch} I desire you to fill up as you shall haue occasion, there are two com'issions for Marq: 445 : Hertford 388 : that if one should miscarey the other might serue. I haue sent you here inclosed a letter of credance to the Prince of Orange †, that if you should haue occasion of his assistance you may use it; but pray have a care that you doe not press him about money, for I haue had so much from him allready that it were a shame to seeke more of him. This bearer will accquaint you with my condition better then I can doe in a letter, I shall only say this to you, that you cannot imaien the 245 vilaney x3 : 160 : of m8 : the 8 : (illegible) 191 : w5 : 175 : m9 : t6 : & p : 64 : 49 : their v6 : 104 : 47 : party 213 : 7 : indeed it has done me a great deale of good, for nothing could have confirmed 138 : 81 : 109 : 14 : 12 : 2 : me 170 : more 13 : 220 : to 242 : the 245 : Church bb : 254 : 73 : of n8 : England 349 : 153 : then being x9 : 26 : here 139 : 69 : t3 : seing 151 : w5 : theire s3 : hip- e4 : poerisy ‡ 20 : q6 : 75 : h : 8 : v2 : I shall send the D: of Yorke's 245 : 575 comission and Lo: Gerrard's 374 : 49 :

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* Written during Charles's visit to Scotland, when he was crowned King. It was on this day that the Scots were defeated at Dunbar. Charles went to Scotland in June; and towards the latter end of July Cromwell took the command of the English Army in that Kingdom.

Charles sailed from Schevling in Holland, in the preceding June, and landed at Spey, in Scotland, soon after. On the 15th of July he was proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross; and afterwards proceeded to St. Johnstone's, which place had been appointed for the meeting of the Scottish States.

† Father of William the Third.

‡ This is a new fact for the Writers of Scottish History. The report also that Charles was

by Oudart, who I will dispatch within this 2 or 3 days. I had allmost forgot a bussines of great importance, it is to speke to the Pr: of Orange to send hether 218 : a 30 : 4 : smack 169 : 44 : 38 : or n7 : a 12 : e8 : hering gg : w : buss 5 : wth 262 : five 111 : x2 : or 190 : six 229 : 39 : men 19 : to w2 : lie k4 : 33 : here f5 : pre r4 : to 240 : n 25 : di yy : n 45 : g 34 : it 145 : is g5 : to 242 : carrey 80 : s3 : 7 : ouer p7 : 64 : a 30 : messenger 170 : 228 : 45 : d4 : 14 : when x7 : aq : there w5 : 220 : is 147 : occasion 477 : I being at the charge of keeping them when they are here. I 141 : would z3 : have 138 : the 245 : r8 : x2 : vessel 4 : 228 : 24 : 44 : come nn : 47 : to w2 : 171 : Montrose m6 : 222 : t3 : 320 :* I would haue you and Mr. Atorney to stay in holland as being the place that is the neerest to this Kingdome and where I shall haue occasion of your services : I have no more to say to you at the present but to assure that I am and euer will be

Your most affectionate friend
CHARLES R.

THE KING TO MRS. TWISDEN.

Taken from a Copy.

Mris Twisden,

Hauing assurance of your readines to performe what I desired of you by my Letter of the 7th of February from Jersey, according to your Brothers promise, in order to the conveying to me the George and Seales left me by my blessed Father, I haue againe imployed this bearer (in

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forced to perform public Kirk-penance by the Presbyterians, is mentioned in a ludicrous manner in a Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Queen of Bohemia, preserved in Bromley's Royal Letters, page 153.

* This plan is a manifest proof of the little reliance which Charles placed upon his Northern friends. Whether he doubted their power or their loyalty does not exactly appear; but it is evident that he wished to ensure the means of escape, independent of their exertions in his favour. The whole Letter is a good commentary upon the histories of that period.

whom I haue very much confidence) to desire you to deliver the said George and Seales into his hand for me, assuring you, that as I shall haue great reason thereby to acknowledge your owne and your Brothers civilitys and good affections, in a particular soe deerely valued by me, soe I will not be wanting, when by Gods blessing I shall be enabled, deseruedly to recompence you both for soe acceptable a service don to

Your louing friend

CHARLES R.

St. Johnston, 2. 8ber 1650.

THE KING TO MR. WILLIAM HINTON.

Taken from a Copy.

Mr. William Hinton *.

Your many faithfull services done to my deere Father of blessed memory and to my selfe, & the constant continuance in your loyall affections to my just cause, are soe very remarkable, as I shalbe euer mindfull to acknowledge them, and to gratify and reward you for them. The condition of my affaires requiring that a considerable sum'e of money be speedily sent into Holland, I doe at present desire you by such private meanes as you shall conceiue most safe, to convey or returne thither by bills of exchange for my use, such sume's of money, as either you haue or shalbe able to procure by loane, or otherwise, of my well affected subjects, towards my supply: and as I doubt not you will comply with all readines & industry with this my desire, soe I will that you assure all those who shall contribute to ye support of my occasions, yt I shall willingly repay them, when God shall enable me, and also further recompence them to their content: and will par-

* This Letter confirms the suspicion, hinted at in a preceding note, that Charles was more anxious for a safe escape to the Continent, than sanguine of success from the state of affairs in Scotland.

ticularly consider you for the paines you shall imploy herein as a service very acceptable to

Your louing friend,
CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2. 8ber 1650.

THE KING TO SIR JOHN GREENVILLE.

Taken from a Copy.

Sr John Greenvile *, considering how important it would be for the good of my affaires to haue a body of men in a readines to countenance any attempt that shall be made by my good subjects in the West †, for recovering my just rights, their owne libertys, and suppressing the present barbarous and bloody Vsurpers, especially in a place soe neere and opportune for the seconding any such enterprize as that under your charge; I haue thought good to desire and require you, to gather & entertaine as many souldiers, and to prouide what store of armes & munition you can possibly, and as may consist with the necessary subsistance of ye garrison under your com'and, to be ready to be seasonably transported on any good occasion: In wch busines soe highly conducing to the good of my seruice, as I am very confident your particular relation and affection to my person and interests will prompt you to imploy your utmost industry and assistance, soe you may rest assured, that wt you shall therein performe shall ever be acknowledged on any seasonable occasion that may manifest your deserts and ye esteeme and kindnes I haue for you, who am

Your very louing friend
CHARLES R.

St. Johnstons, 2 Oct. 1650.

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* He was afterwards Earl of Bath.

† This Letter was written at the period when Charles, weary of that particular Scottish faction which kept him enthralled, was engaged in a plan to join the opposite party, but was prevented by actual force. There is a letter of Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington, in the Miscellanea Aulica, p. 152, which gives an interesting detail of these events.

The King to Sir Richard Grenville.

Taken from a Copy *.

S^r Rich: Greenville, though it be not seasonable for me to giue powers to any to appeare for me, in regard of the diverse affecc'ons and dispositions of y^e people I haue to deale with in the present conjuncture of my affaires, yet I held it requisite to cherishe the good affecc'ons of those who haue the like kindnes for me as I haue observed in you, desiring you to continue constant therein, and to keepe your selfe in readines for my imployments when it shalbe seasonable, and in the meane time not only to be your selfe very secret and circumspect in what concernes my interests, but by all meanes to procure that all others be soe likewise, least if the Rebells shall discerne and app^ehend any disposition & intention in any of my good subjects to assist me, they shall, to p^event the same, use violence on those that are best inclined to my service. I haue soe great confidence in your affection as I am assured of your readines, and when there shalbe a fitt opportunity you shall be sure to heare from

Your very louing friend
Charles R.

St. Johnstons, 2^d of 8^ber 1650.

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* This Letter is highly deserving of notice, as a proof both of the good policy and of the good heart of the youthful Monarch. Shortly after this he lost a warm friend in the Prince of Orange, who died on the 24th of the month.

The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir Edw. Nicolas. Though I haue much desired your company and aduise, yet not with the hinderance of the Kings seruise, nor your one inconuenince: but that now upon the death of the Prince of Orange I haue more neede of your councell then euer, which I desir you to comunicat to me by letter or any other waye as you shall thinke fitt. I desire you also to moue my Lord Culpeper* for monye to defray the charges of the Kings horses; as well for the Kings honor, as to preserve 3 of the best of them for the Kings use. I desire you would aduise me wheither I may not presse my Lord Culpeper to lend me 1500 or 2000 Pounds, to be repayd if the King allow it not: the wanting of those supplies which I expected from the King and the Prince of Orange enforces me to this councell, wherein I desire your assistance with my Lord Culpeper if you aproue of it; desiring you to beleiue that I shall euer be

Your very affectionat freind

Bruxells, Nouem: 12. 1650. James.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas.

$\frac{c}{12}^{o}$ Nobris 1650. R. $\frac{a}{18}^{o}$. The D. of Yorke from Bruxells to me.

Copie of y^e^ Dukes leter to my Lord Culpeper.

My Lord, the Kinges horses are to be sold for money to pay for their meat. Some of them are much pris'd by his Ma^ty^, and cannot be sold to their worth: therefore I desire that you would lay downe the money due for their charges, so that the Kinges honor may be preserued, and

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* The first peer of that name. He supported the King's Cause with great loyalty during the whole of the Civil War, and was an exile, for twelve years, with Charles the Second; on whose Restoration he was made Master of the Rolls.

the best of y^e^ horses still kept for y^e^ Kings use: w^th^ w^ch^ I am sure his Ma^tie^ wilbe well pleased.

I rest your very louinge freind

Bruxells, Novemb. 12, 1650. JAMES.

THE DUKE OF YORK TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS *.

Sir Edw. Nicholas, I haue receiued yours of the 8. of Nouember from the Hage, and with it that from Dicke Fanshaw, and I haue as you desired me lett the King know why I had not you heare with me, which he knows very well was not your fault, and I am sure he is well satisfyde with you, and has the same esteeme he always had for you, of which I am confident before this tyme you haue knowledge of in his hauing sent for you to come heither to him, which makes mee now that I shall not say any thing more to you, because I hope to see you shortly, till when you may assure your selfe that I shall euer be

Your most assured freind

Paris, Nou. 18, 1651. JAMES.

THE KING TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Paris, April 6, 1652.

Mr. Sec. Nicholas, I haue receaued yours of the 28 of the last month, and doe very well approue of your sending me intelligence in your letters to the Chancelour †, by whom you shall againe receaue my pleasure, and information of all my purposes and resolutions, and

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* This Letter was written after the unfortunate battle of Worcester, fought on the 3d September. It was on the 2d of November that Charles landed in Normandy.

† The Earl of Clarendon; but he is not marked on the lists as Chancellor until 1658; the Great Seal effectively being at that period in commission.

directions concerning your selfe, w^ch^ the unsetlednesse of my condition heitherto hath kept me from sending so positiuely to you, as I hope shortly to doe. In the meane time assure your selfe I rely upon no mans fidelitie and affection more then on yours, and you shall allwais find me to be

Your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

THE PRINCESS DOWAGER OF ORANGE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Breda, 21 July, 1653 *.

Mr. Secretarie, I haue been so long without giuing you thanks for all y^r^ letters, that if I did not hope you would not impute it to neglect, I should not know which way now to desire you to continu, but your knowing how little I loue this exercise will (I dout not) justifie mee enough in y^r^ opinion. I am very vnsertain of my stay here, because it depends vpon his Majestis remoue †, who I wish with all my hart would not come into thesse parts till hee sees what becoms of the treatty, for I do much aprehend at last thay will agree: the Hollanders desiring nothing more. By this imagine how ill his Ma^tis^ receiption will bee: Pray let mee know your opinion of this, and whether you beleeue ther will be a peace, which in doing you will much oblige

Your affectionate friend

MARIE.

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* From the Princess Dowager of Orange, in reference to the Treaty then pending between Holland and the English Commonwealth. The Negociations were finally settled on the 5th May, 1654.

† Charles the Second was then at Paris. From a Letter written by Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington, very soon after this period, it appears that the King's dependance on Dutch friendship was greater than his Sister's, as he believed the eagerness to conclude a Treaty with Cromwell was not the wish of the States, but merely of a party which then was predominant. Vide Miscellanea Aulica, p. 158.

The King to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Paris, Sept: 28, 1653*.

Nicholas, I am very well pleased with the paines I perceaue by your letters to the Chancelour you take in my seruice, and you must upon all occasions lett those good men know, who communicate freely with you, that I am very sensible of their affections to me w^ch^ I will requite when it shall be in my power: I am exceedingly troubled at any factions and iealosyes amongst those who wish me well, and will use all my power to compose them, and if you meete with any who have hearetofore bene averse to those wayes, w^ch^ haue bene most conducinge to my seruice, or bene opposite to that party w^ch^ hath bene most tender of me, you may confidently assure them, if they haue now changed ther mindes, I will be there harty frind, and be very carfull to aduance there interest, and to requite there good will: In the particular w^ch^ you and S^r^ M. L: haue consulted, I thinke best to acquiesse in that generall, untill there shall be some declaration of at least an inclination towards me, and you shall let Mon^r^ Be: (to whome you are to commende me kindly) know that I shall then make it appeare, that it is in my power to add more strenght to those states then is imaginable: If you haue interest in any discreete person who is a confident of Count Williams, I would be glad he should know, that I haue great kindnesse for him, and doe much depend upon his good will and frindshipe to me in all my concernements, as indeede I do †; proceede as you haue begun, w^ch^ is very acceptable to

Your constant louing frind

CHARLES R.

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* This Letter was written only a few weeks previous to Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. The initials in the latter part evidently refer to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Mons. Bedon.

† The King's mode of expression with respect to Count Williams is extremely remarkable. It seems as if policy had taught him sometimes to express favour and affection to those for whom he had a very different feeling, and towards whom, the addition of "as indeed I do" would not have been strictly consistent with truth.

Copie of the Kings (Charles II.) letter to the Duke of Glocester concerning his being tempted to turne Papist.

Cologne Nov: 10: 1654*.

Deare Brother,

I haue receaued yo^rs without a date in w^ch you tell me that Mr. Mountagu has endeauourd to pervert you from yo^r religion. I doe not doubt but you remember very well y^e com'ands I left w^th you at my going away concerning y^t point. I am confident you will observe them; yet yo^r letters that come from Paris say that it is y^e Queenes purpose to do all shee can to change yo^r Religion †, in w^ch if you do hearken to her or any body els in that matter, you must never thinke to see England or mee againe, & w^tsoeuer mischiefe shall fall on mee or my affaires from this time I must lay all upon you as being y^e onely cause of it. Therefore consider well what it is to bee not onely y^e cause of ruining a Brother that loves you so well, but also of yo^r King & Country. Do not lett them p'suade you either by force or faire p'mises; for the first they neither dare, nor will use, and for the second, as soone as they have perverted you they will haue their end, and then they will care no more for you. I am also informed y^t there is a purpose to putt you into y^e Jesuits' Colledge, w^ch I command you upon y^e same

* The King left Paris for Cologne on the 18th of October, and there he received much attention and kindness from the Princes of Germany.

† In some private instructions given by the King to the Duke of York, and dated the 13th July, 1654, there is a passage which confirms Charles's anxiety about his Brother, and strongly marks the Queen's breach of promise on this subject. "I have told you that the Queen hath promised me concerning my brother Harry in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt shall be made upon him to the contrary; in which case you will take the best care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, since you cannot but know how much you and I are concern'd in it." Vide Miscellanea Aulica, p. 108. The "Mr. Montague" alluded to was Walter Montague, who had lately entered into Priest's Orders, and, upon the death of Father Philips, became the Queen's Confessor. Carte, in his Life of Ormond, speaks of his "busy temper, spiritual pride, and furious zeal;" vide vol. II. p. 163. Some further particulars of this bigotted Abbot of Pontoise, who was second son of the Earl of Manchester, may be found in page 676, vol. II. of the Sidney Papers.

grounds neuer to consent unto. And when soeuer any body shall goe to dispute wth you in Religion doo not answere them at all. For though you haue the reaso' on yo^{re} side, yett they being prepared will haue y^{e} aduantage of any body y^{t} is not upon y^{e} same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say unto you, Remember y^{e} last words of yo^{re} dead Father, w^{ch} were to bee constant to yo^{r} Religion & neuer to bee shaken in it. W^{ch} if you doe not obserue, this shall bee y^{e} last time you will heare from

(Deare Brother)
yo^{r} most affectionate brother
CHARLES R.

THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS*.

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade to finde by your letter that you are safelie arriued and all your companie at Aix †, and that you found the King and my Neece ‡ so well in health and so kinde one to the other, which has euer bene so since I haue knowen them. I beleeue indeed the seperation will be hard, but when there is no remedie one must be content. As for my iourney up hill I cannot tell what to say to it, S^{r} Charles Cottrell § shall informe you how it goes but slowlie on, and which is stranger that it is not my fault. Dr. Morley has made a verie good description of the Queene of Sweden ‖ : she gaue an assigna-

* Written by the Queen of Bohemia, Sister to Charles the First. This, and several others, are very interesting specimens of her Majesty's style of epistolary correspondence. She seems to have possessed an admirable facility of introducing a greater variety of persons and things into a smaller space than falls to the lot of mankind in general. In short, her Letters in this Volume form an interesting commentary upon the grave affairs of that important period.

† Aix-la-Chapelle.

‡ Henrietta, Dutchess of Orleans.

§ He is repeatedly mentioned in Letters from the Elector Palatine to his Mother, preserved in Bromley's Collection; and appears to have been attached to the personal service of the Queen of Bohemia.

‖ The far-famed Christina. It was in this year that she abdicated the Throne. There were several personal squabbles between the Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Ex-Queen of Bohemia; and

tion to the French Ambassadour to meet her at Breda, whither he went, and so did the Prince and Princess * of Tarente and most of our French gallants, who came all sneaking home againe, for her greef was so great for the beating of the Spanish Armie before Arras† as she would not goe to Breda. She sent another account than that to the Ambassadour as you may imagin, but the Landgrave writt the truth to his Neece the Princess of Tarente. We haue yet heere no particullars of this defeat, but in generall it is a verie great one. I long to heare what part my Godsonne had in it, for I still thinke of him, being my cheefest comfort next your excellent Master. I ame verie glad your daughter is so well‡, I doe not wonder at it, she is so well vsed, and now she has her father with her she is the more content, and I take it verie well that all this makes her not forget her frends heere. I assure you I long to haue her heere againe. I am verie sorie for poore Killegrew §, she was a verie good gentlewoman. You will heare by M^ris^ Howards letter howe great a scape my little Nephue escaped yesterday vpon the bridge at the Princess of Oranges house, but God be thanked there was no hurt onelie the coache broken: I tooke him into my coache and brought him home. The Princess of Orange went from hence vpon

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the former felt a considerable jealousy of Elizabeth, who at this period was the correspondent of Des Cartes and of William Penn. Christina, even after her abdication, still attempted to mingle in politics. She even affected to treat and negociate with Cromwell. She also offered several personal slights to the Queen of Bohemia; which may account for the manner in which she is spoken of upon several occasions.

* Her Majesty's spleen against Christina seems to have affected her feelings even towards her own relations; for Emilia, Princess of Tarente, was daughter of William, Elector of Hesse Cassel, whilst Charles, the Elector Palatine, son to the Queen, was married to Charlotte, another daughter of the Hessian Elector. The Prince was Henry Charles de la Tremouille, then in the service of the States, and in command of the Hessian Cavalry. His connection with these august Families procured him to be chosen a Knight of the Garter in 1653, along with the young Duke of Gloucester.

† Allusive to the defeat of the Spaniards by the French on St. Louis' Day, when their lines were forced, whilst besieging Arras, with great slaughter.

‡ Lady of Sir Richard Browne, and mother-in-law of John Evelyn.

§ "Kate Killigrew," daughter of Lord Stafford. She had been Maid of Honour to the Queen upwards of eight years. A curious letter, introducing this Lady to her Majesty, in 1646, may be referred to in Bromley's Royal Letters, p. 135.

Saterday, and you will haue our Baron shortlie with you at Aix, he will tell you the second part of the Queene of Sweden, for he comes from her to your Court. to morrow I beleeue I shall goe a shooting, which I haue not done since you went. I am verie glade to heere that you are established in your place, which you desarve so well. this is no complement but the verie truth from

Your most affectionat frend

Hage, Aug 31. ELIZABETH.

I ame verie sorie for my Lo: Wentworths sickness. I pray lett him know so from me, and remember me to Mr Chancellour.

I pray remember my humble seruice to the King: the news of beating the Scotch is * now tolde quite contrarie by a ship come from thence.

" For Mr. Secretarie."
Indorsed by Sir E. N. 31o Aug: st: No: 1654. R. 3o. 7bris. Queene of Bohemia to me.

THE QUEEN OF BOHEMIA TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Hagh, Sep: 7 (1654).

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you both for the good news you writt to Sr Charles Cottrell out of Holland, and for your letter I receaued this morning with the relation of the defeat before Arras, I hope you will send that of Holland to Curtius † that the beleef of the Scotch defeat may not be continued in Germanie. but none pleaseth me better then

* This was a trifling affair; being merely a check given to Lilburn, the Parliamentary General who commanded during Cromwell's absence.

† Curtius had long been the English agent, at Frankfort, to the German Princes. He had been Secretary to the King of Bohemia, and in 1640 was also employed by Charles the First, in Germanic diplomacy.

what you write of my deere Godsonne *, and the continuance of my Neeces good health. The Queen of Sweden is yett at Anwerp, wee looke euerie day to see the Landgrave heere, and by him I shall know what she will doe. It is certaine that the flux is much in Monkes Army †, a Scotchman that is come from thence reports it, and all the particulars you haue written. Dr. Morley has a letter from Anwerp of some trouble by a discouerie of a new treason in London of the levellers against his pretious highness, but I beleeue you will haue more particullars of that then wee heere ‡. Dr. Earle setts forwards to morrow to Breda and so to Aix. I doe not write to you by him because this will be sooner with you. Our Baron has sent for his man Smith to meet him God knows where, for I doe not, I beleeue you will haue him at Aix: he is the direct wandring Jew. My Ladie Herbert is looked for heere shortlie, but she was not come from Paris the last week. I heare M^rs^ Hide § is to come to my Neece in M^rs^ Killegrews place, which I am verie glad of, she is very fitt for it and a great fauorit of mine, who ame euer

Your most affectio
nat Frend

I pray lett my Lord Wentworth know I ame extreme glade he is of the kings councell, being so much his frend as I ame I cannot but wish him much ioye of it.

Indorsed, 7^o^ Sep^bris^ 1654. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

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* We have been unable precisely to ascertain the "Godson" here alluded to. In her Majesty's letters preserved in the Bromley Collection, there are frequent allusions to him. In one place, (Bromley, p. 286,) she speaks of him under the name of "Tint;" but this seems merely a playful manner of writing to a familiar friend.

† Monk commanded in Scotland at this period; having superseded Lilburn, Morgan, and the other parliamentary officers.

‡ This was immediately after Cromwell's well known treatment of the House of Commons, and his assumption of the Protectorate. It was on the 3d of this month that he called together his first mock parliament; and eight days after the date of this letter, the members swore fealty to him.

§ This lady was afterwards Duchess of York; and, though not yet married to the Duke, at this period she seems to have engaged much of the royal attention. Charles, in a letter to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, in 1655, says, "I will try whether Sir S. Compton be so much in love as you say, for I will name Mrs. Hyde before him so by chance, that except he be very much smitten

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh, Sep: 15. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I assure you your letters are always verie welcome to me. I hope before this come to you, you will receaue a pacquet from Scotland which came to Roterdam, and ould Will. Kepley caries himself to Aix. I shall be verie glad to know what news it brings, because heere is againe news of Monkes being beaten, which a man of Midletons writes to Straghen from Stranaven or such a name, and from my Lo. of *(illegible)*, and that all long for the King. Stone is at last here, he saith that Cromwell will be now either King or Emperour, I wish him the latter. he has heard nothing of Bamfeild, but I easilie beleeue he is honnest enough to be well used by Cromwell, he tells the Fleet as you hear, but it will not be beleeued heere. This day the assemblie of Hollande begins. theire agent in Sueden writt to the States Generall, that S^{r} George Fleetwood, brother to him that is Leftenant of Irland, tolde him that he knew Cromwell had saide he woulde keepe the peace with the States no longer then he found it good for his interests, and woulde break with the first occasion that he can for the good of his deseins. Those of Hollande are verie angrie at the agent for writing this: those that have seene the Letter tolde it me. it is so late as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend *.

I pray remember me to my lord Wentworth, I have not time to answer his letter but will doe it by the first post.

15^{o} 7^{bris} 1654. R: $\frac{7}{7}$ Qu: of Bohemia.

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it shall not at all move him." Sir Spencer Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, was so loyal and gallant in his infancy that, as Sir Philip Warwick informs us, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation he cried because he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were.

* The following Letters of the Queen of Bohemia, where her name is not subscribed, are signed with her Cipher, as in pp. 146 and 163.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hage, Sep: 21.

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you for yours of the 18 of Sept: yesterday I was tolde that all the people at Bruxelles were sending theire goods to Anwerp for feare of the French *. Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock Parliament beginn to dispute theire priuiledges with Cromwell, but I feare they will but too well agree. I ame verie glade the King used Prince Williame and his ladie † so well. Boswell ‡ is well enough serued, but I pittie him for he is vtterlie vndone. there is heere no news at all, onelie Mons^r de Wimmenom is verie sick. the States of Holland are assembled, but Brederoke, Opdam and Merode are not yett come. it is now verie faire weather. when the Princess of Tarents picture is ended by Louyr, which will be this day, then I may chance goe a shooting §, which I haue not done since you went. I pray deliuer this inclosed to the King with my humble service. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend

I pray lett me know if the Queene of Sueden did write to the King by my Lord of Norwich, and if she did it ciuilie or not. Sure Dick Harding is growen a fish in his baths, for he is as mute as one, tell him so from me. I think the King had better stay where he is then to goe to Collein, he will not be so much at his leisure there as at Aix, those of Collein are odd people, so as I ame of your opinion.

$\frac{1}{11}$ 7^bris 1654. R. $\frac{14}{24}$. Queene of Bohemia to me.

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* In consequence of the war existing in Flanders, between France and Spain.

† Sister of the late Stadtholder.

‡ Sir William Boswell, already noticed.

§ Hunting seems also to have been a very favourite amusement of her Majesty of Bohemia. It is frequently alluded to in these Letters; and in those of Bromley's Collection, sixteen years previous, there are several references to it.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade that I shall see my Neece heere so soone, and I thanke you for all your other news. I beleeue Dr. Morley will write those that he heares out of England of Cromwells dessoluing of his Parliament* for being so ungratious as not to doe as he woulde haue them. it was confirmed to me the last night by one of the States Generall, for three of ther Deputies are come from London that were sent about the treatie of the Amb'ors and the other disputes; they confirme all, but it was so late that I coulde not heare of the particullars. the same State tolde me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his pretious highness. I pray tell your daughter all this, for I had sealed her letter before I had the certaintie of the news. I ame verie glad the king resolues to stay at Aix, it is much better then Collein. I heare there is one that has heeretofore served my Lo: of Brainford† paked from Scotland to the King but three days agone, and came from thence but sixe days before, he would tell no news but made hast away. Soone as he went, there reached heere one Thomson, one I haue seene before: he tells all the particullars of the defeat that is so bragged of. he saith that they were dispersed vpon it, but it is aboue fiue weekes since he came from thence, being come thourough England by his countrie, the borders, where in his passage he mett with a partie where he was hurt and lamed, but for all that he is gone to the King. he much complaines of diuisions

* This evidently alludes to the transactions on the 3d of September, 1654, when Cromwell summoned that Parliament, which he immediately afterwards dissolved for their opposition to his assumption of the Protectorate; a rank and authority which, up to that date, rested solely upon a proclamation of the Council, but was not sanctioned by the People. The speech, which the Queen of Bohemia alludes to, was that remarkable one on the first sitting of the House; when a Member, after denying the authority which had called them together, boldly exclaimed, "that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down Tyranny in one man, so now he could not endure to see the Nation's liberties shackled by another, who had no right to the Government, but by the length of his sword."

† Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth in Scotland. He had been General of Charles's forces during the Rebellion; but was dead at the date of this letter.

amongst them, and not of Sir George Monroe, which they doe also. I doe admire how people could tell so great a lye as the pacquet, but it is verie common amongst my countriemen.—Phil: Mohun is heere, she is fled from England fearing to be imprisoned by Cromwell, shes verie good companie and talkes verie freelie but handsomlie. My Ladie Herbert is also heere, since Sunday last; I haue had yett no time to aske her anie thing, hauing not seene her since Sunday. Thom: Doleman* is heere and desires leeue to see me, which I haue put off untill I know the Kings pleasure: for hauing so openlie owned the setting forward of the treatie I will not see him without the Kings approbation. I haue writt thus to your daughter, and desire you both to know the Kings pleasure in it. I entreat you besides to remember my humble seruice to him, and keepe me still in his good opinion, for it is the best seruice and frendship you can doe to

Your most affectionat

Hagh Sep. 29 frend

I braggd to soone of shooting, for since I wrote the weather has not serued.

"For Mr. Secretarie."

29° 7bris 1654. R: 8bris. The Queene to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh Oct 2 (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I send you heere a letter for the King, it is about a match betwixt Prince Adolphe the King of Suedes Brother and Sophie†; he has desired it verie handsomlie: my sonne has consented

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* Dolman had suffered much in the royal cause, during the civil wars. He was a Berkshire gentleman, and his house at Shaw, just below Donnington Castle, was one of the points of attack during the battle of Newbury, making a good defence against Lord Manchester.

† Daughter to the Queen of Bohemia, afterwards married to the Elector of Hanover, and thence the stem of descent of the present Royal House of Brunswick.

to it, reseruing the King of Suedens consent and mine, who ame to acquaint the King with it. I doe it now, and send you the copie of Prince Adolphes letter, I pray gett an answere from the King as soone as you can. I haue no more to say, but ame euer

Your most affectionat
frend

I pray asure me to my Lo: Wentworth, I write not now to him, I haue no time, for the post is readie to goe. I pray say the same to reuerent Dick Harding.

"2° 8bris 1654. st. No. R. 4°. The Queene of Bohemia to me concerning ye Kings consent for Presse Sophia to marry Prce Adolph. ye King of Swedens brother."

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh, Oct. 19 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, hearing that you may chance to stay all this week at Collein, I send you this inclosed for the King, to giue him humble thankes for his aprobation of Sophies mariage. You will haue vnderstood by Curtius all the newes of Germanie, for his going to waite vpon the King. You will finde by the English prints that they are forbiden to write anie thing of the proceedings of their mock Parliament. I was at Delft to see the wrack that was made by the blowing up of the powder this day seuenight, it is a sad sight, whole streets quite razed; not one stone vpon another, it is not yett knowen how manie persons are lost, there is scarse anie house in the toune but the tyles are off.—*(A great blot on the paper.)* Apollo with leaping into my lapp has made this blott. Thom. Killegrew is heere, who makes a rare relation of the Queene of Sueden. It is verie colde, which I hope will diminish the plague. I pray be confident that I am euer

Your most affectionat
frend

Elizabeth.

I ame extreme glade to heare that the King is satisfied with Ruperts letter, and that he has answered him so kindlie. I pray doe poore Cur-

tius all the fauour you can, that he haue something from the King to incourage him the more to serue him.

The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Hagh No: 16. (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, iust now I receaue yours, and for a cause that you shall know heereafter I now answer you, this is a riddle which none but your daughter and two more know. I was Satterday last with my best Neece* at Speiling, it being her birth day. I ashure you she is (in) much trouble for her deare Brother the D. of Glocester, all the world woulde looke for no other I can witness for you.—I ame sorie the King has so much cause of greef, I beseech God he may speedilie remedie it. I beleeue my deare Nephue has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think the Queene woulde haue proceeded thus: all is kept heere verie secret that Prince Will:† doth in Overizel, but I ame tolde that all goes well, and that Deventer which toune was the most against will doe well, as also Rupert who was of the other faction‡, not against the P. of Orange but Marshals. I pray beleeue me constantlie for I ame so

Your most affectionat frend

I send you a letter for the best of Kings, tis about Thom. Killegrew's business. I pray remember me to Mr. Chancelour, and tell him his Ladie and my fauorit his daughter came hither upon Saterday, and are

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* Perhaps the Princess Dowager of Orange, *par excellence;* especially as the whole passage seems to refer to the attempts made at Paris, by Queen Henrietta Maria and her friends, to induce the young Prince to change his religion.

† Prince of Nassau Dietz, married to the Stadtholder's Sister.

‡ Evidently in allusion to the De Wit faction, which at this moment was disturbing the peace of the United Provinces. Their great object was to deprive the infant Stadholder of his official power, and to give it solely to the Assembly of the States. This, in fact, was one of the articles which Cromwell enforced upon the States, as a *sine qua non.*

gone this day to Teiling. I finde my fauorit growen euerie way to her aduantage.

$\frac{6}{16}$° Nobris 1654. R. $\frac{8}{19}$. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh De: 3, (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, I receaued yours at Berghen, whither I was come from Anwerp and Bruxells. I finde you haue vnridled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sueden at the play, she is extrauagant in her fashion and aparell, but she has a good well fauoured face, and a milde countenance. One of the players that knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxelles, where I saw the Arch-duc at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgins. I lay at S^{r} Harry de Vics *, who was verie carefull & dilligent to doe me all the service he coulde. I stayed but Sunday at Bruxelles, and returned to Anwerp vpon Munday, and heearing from Duart how the Queene of Sueden had desired to know when I came back thither that she might meet with me in an indiferent place, I made the more hast away the next day because I had no minde to speak with her since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King my deare Brother and of the King my deare Nephue and indeed of all our nation, so I auoided it and went away as soone as I had dined. Yett she sent Donoy to me with a verie civill message that she was sorie she coulde not use that ciuilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day wee might meet together with more freedome; I answered her as civillie as I coulde, and now when I went from Berghen I gaue S^{r} Will: Swann charge to make her a complement from me. I came hither upon Tewsday from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princess of

* Sir Henry De Vic had been long in the English service. He was with the Duke of Buckingham at Rochelle; and there are several well-written letters from him to Lord Conway, respecting that affair, in Hardwicke's Collection of State Papers.

Zolern * who was with me and was my guide all the iourney, and defrayed me. her daughter is now so prettie euerie way that you would like her yet better than euer you did if you saw her; she is much growen and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her: she has a great deal of witt and loues our nation extreamlie, it makes me think of your wishe† which I ame not against you know. by this post I haue had verie good news of the Duke of Glocesters constantie in his religion and of my Lo: of Ormonds handsome carriage in that business ‡, so as the Queen saith she will press him no further in it, but I hope the King will not trust to it, but gett him away from thence, which will doe the King great right: it is so colde as I can say no more, but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray excuse me to my Lo. Wentworth and reverent Dick Harding till the next.

" For Mr Secretarie."

3 Dec: St: No: 1654 R. 6°. The Queene of Bohemia cong her iourney to see the Qu. of Sweeden.

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* Francisca, daughter of Frederick the Rhingrave, and wife of John George Prince of Hohenzollern.

† Evidently allusive to a plan of producing a match between Charles II. and this young Princess, one of the daughters of the Zollern family.

‡ This alludes to the attempt made to force the young Duke of Gloucester into the Jesuits' College; from which, and other attempts upon his religion, he was only saved by the handsome conduct of the Marquis of Ormond, who voluntarily offered his services to the King to snatch his brother out of the hands of the Queen-mother and her bigotted Confessor, Montague. Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. II. pages 163—7, contains a very amusing account of the whole transaction, very much to the credit of the Marquis.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh De: 21. (1654.)

M^r^ Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 18 of this month. I long to heare my sweet Nephue * is at Bruxelles. My Neece has sent Nick: Armourer to meet him there. I haue written to him by him, if the King woulde permitt him to take this place and Teiling in his way from Bruxelles he woulde make his Sister † and me verie glade: he need not make such hast to see him, it is but the other day since he was with him, but it is much longer since wee saw him, and I ame sure our hoghen Moghens will take no notice of it if they be not asked the question as they were for the King's comming to Breda. To be with his Sister some time can doe him no harme. I haue taken the boldness to write the same by my Lo: Gerard ‡ to the King, who I beleeue will be with you as soone as this letter, for he went from hence vpon Saterday last. We heere nothing of the rebells fleet heerabouts, but they say that Blag § is to ioine with the Spanish fleet against the Duke of Guise. The French Ambassadour beleeues the treatie with Cromwell as good as broken; he is much ioyed that the meeting betwixt the Queene of Sueden and P. of Condé || was to neither of theire content, for he desired to be receaued as the Queene receaued the Archduc, which she refused, saying she had done too much in that and woulde doe so no more, yet he came to see her *brusquement a l'im-*

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* The Duke of Gloucester, who was just brought from Paris by the Marquis of Ormond.

† The Princess Dowager of Orange.

‡ Lord Gerard of Bromley; now extinct.

§ Admiral Blake is the personage here alluded to. The Duke of Guise died very soon after this letter was written, in consequence of wounds received at the siege of Arras.

|| Yet the Prince de Condé was a great admirer of Christina, who observed upon one occasion—"How great is the magnanimity of this Princess, who could so easily give up that for which mankind are continually destroying each other, and which so many throughout their whole lives pursue without attaining!" Condé, at the period here recorded, was in exile at Brussels; and though he felt offended upon the score of etiquette, her abdicated Majesty seems to have treated him with great familiarity, exclaiming "Cousin! who would have thought, ten years ago, that we should have met at this distance from our countries?" The Prince might have thanked her for his exile, as it arose partly from her intermeddling in the affairs of the Fronde in France, a few years previous.

prouist, and did nothing but *railler* her in his talke, which putt her so out as she said almost not one worde. This was in the morning; after dinner she sent to know if he woulde see the play at night, he said he would obey her, but desired to know whither he shoulde come knowen or as vnknowen, for if he came as Prince of Condé he looked to haue a *chaise a bras* as the Archduc had—she saide he had better come unknowen, so he came, and she stood all the play, railling with Mon^r^ Quito the Princes favorit. the next day the P. went to Bruxelles, and neither of them well satisfied with the other. My La: Swann will be heere within a few days, by her I shall know more of this: I haue heard the reason of S^r^ Henry de Vics iourney to Cologne*: since it is a doting time for the kings oulde Ministers of State, I thanke God your wife is yet aliue, for feare you should fall in loue againe. I pray lett me know when that wedding will be, for I (will) send you a letter to reverent Dick to bespeak him for brideman. I thank you for your congratulation of Apollos† returne, you know how great a favorit he is to

Your most affectionat frend.

I pray tell my Ladie Hide I ame verie glade she is so well come to Cologne.

" For M^r^ Secretarie."

¼ Dec: 1654. R. ¼. The Qu: of Bohemia co^s^ the Pr: of Condé and the Qu: of Sweedes being unsatisfied w^h^ e[illegible]h other.

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* It was an affair of courtship! Her Majesty again alludes to it in page 158.

† Her Majesty's lap-dog, already noticed!

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh, Dec: 27, (1654.)

Mr. Secretarie, since you wrote yours, I understand that that arch villaine Manning has receaued his iust desert.* I wish all those of his cabal with him. I wish I might know whome he has accused on this side the sea, to auoide them, but this is onelie in case you may tell it, for I doe not desire it otherwise; I haue curiositie enough to desire to know the rest but I will not desire but as you think fitt. There is little news heere, the King of Sueden† has a sonne borne to him and has . . . . and prospers exceedinglie. the K. of Poland‡ is in Silesia, hunts and passeth his time with little care of anie thing else, this I haue from his owne resident, but I feare the Electour of Brandebourg§ will be in a ill condition if he doe not make an agreement with the King of Sueden. it is beleeued that Prince Williame will be shortlie Marschall of the Feelde: those that were so much against him are not now so fierce: else there is no news, onely Scone is come, and I hope all will be well ended in that foolish business. I ame euer

Your most affectionat frend.

Mr. Charles Cottrell, my Lo: Wentworth‖ and reverent Dick Harding I cannot write to them now for lack of time. I pray say the same to Monsr Soiret from me.

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* Of this Manning a remarkable anecdote is related in a scarce tract, now in the British Museum, which professes to give a Memoir of Charles during his exile.

"Before his Majesty's departure from Colen, there happened a discovery of one of those persons who, under pretence of waiting upon him (Captain Manning by name) discovered unto the Protector all his designs and counsels; who being found out, was by his Majesty's command, sent to a strong castle adjacent to Colen, there to be kept close prisoner. But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousnesse, one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to order) pistoled him as he was lighting out of the coach at the Castle gate, giving him less than the due reward of his so abominable treachery." It was by this Manning that Penruddock was betrayed. He corresponded with Thurloe.

† Charles Gustavus Duke of Deux Ponts, who had recently succeeded the abdicated Christina.

‡ The well known John Casimir. The Queen's observations seem almost prophetic; as the whole of Poland was conquered by the Swedes in less than two years after the date of this epistle.

§ George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia.

‖ Lord Wentworth had been high in command, during the Civil Wars; and after Goring went

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh Jan: 4, (1654-5.)

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 29th at my returne vpon Thursday last from Teiling, and this morning I haue letters from Bruxelles, who tell me that my deare Nephue the D. of Glouces-ter was there vpon new years eue the same day I was at Teiling, but when he came thither or goes from thence I know not. I ame extreme glade the King permitts (him) to see his Sister and me. I hope he will suffer him to stay some time with my deare Neece, it will be a great contentment to her and no hurt to him, and as long as there is nothing tolde to the States of him, they will take no notice of it, this I know is true. I ame sorie for poore S[r] Henry de Vic *, for lett the match break or goe on, it is euerie way ill for him: We heare no cer-taintie heere how the French treatie with the rebells in England goes, whither it breake or peece †. I ame verie sorie for the Countess of Mortons death ‡, I pittie S[r] Thom. Berkley, but most her children. the Queene of Sueden is now at Bruxelles, where she was receaued in great state: I beleeue the Arch-duke § wisheth her at Anwerp, for she persecutes him verie close with her companie, for you know he is a verie modest man. I haue written to the King some particullars of it which are verie rare ons, but the Prince of Condé is still verie unsa-

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to France, a second time, he had the command of the Western Army. Yet Bulstrode says of him that "he was a very lazy and unactive man, and was not thought either of interest, experience, courage, or reputation enough for that trust which was devolved upon him."

There are some curious anecdotes of him in Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 150, &c.

* Sir Henry de Vic, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, had been his Majesty's Secretary for the French mission, and also agent to the King of Denmark. See p. 156.

† In January the Cavaliers were stirring, but in vain; and in the following November, Cromwell made peace with the French. The Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Prince of Condé seem to have been meddling with those affairs, through the diplomatic exertions of the Count de Tott; as may be seen by reference to a letter in Bromley's Collection, page 186.

‡ Widow of William Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and long in great personal favour with Charles the First.

§ Archduke of Austria.

tisfied with her and will not come at her. I haue one peece of news which it may be you haue not heard: the resident of Polande tells me that there is a treatie betwixt Sueden and Polande and a perpetual peace, and to assist one the other against the Muscovits: the King of Poland will quit his pretention to Sueden vpon condition that he be recompenced with some lande or Island for his heire, that if they be not chosen to succeed the kingdome of Polande, they may haue some place to them selfs to liue in, for the K. of Polande has no patrimonie of his owne nor can buy anie lande under the croune of Poland: his agent has order to goe for England, to see if Cromwell woulde send some ships against the Muscovits to make a diuersion. the good agent is verie vnwilling to goe, but he must obey his master. Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations that all kings and nations doe worship; I wish him the like end and speedilie, and you a hapie new yeare as * your most affectionat frend.

"For Mr. Secretarie."
4° Jan: St. No: 1654-5. R: 7. Qu: Bo:

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh Jan: 10, (1654-5.)

Mr. Secretarie, I beleeue you will heare at Collein how I haue bene debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. wee made Friday out and every night, which lasted till Saterday at fiue a clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of P. Will: † childe: I was at the supper: my Neece, the P^s^ douager, the little Prince ‡ and

* Her Majesty's political gossip in this epistle is highly deserving the notice of the historian. A preceding note shews that the proposed peace between Poland and Sweden was of very short duration.

† This evidently refers to William Frederick, Count and Prince of Nassau Dietz, who had married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

‡ Afterwards William the Third of England, then only four years of age.

P. Maurice were gossips: the States generall, I meane their Deputies and the Counsell of State and myself and Louyse were there as guests. after super was dancing this (till) three a clock, my little Nephue was at the super and sett verie still all the time: those States that were there were verie much taken with him. the King of Sueden with his army is within an houres going from Kunisberg with twentie thousand men, most horse. the Elector is in the toune and has also which they say is twentie thousand also, he has [*torn off*] foot then the King has [*also torn*]* Ambassadour goe this weeke from hence towards Sueden and Dennemark, one of those that goes for Dennemarke is Mon^{r} d'Ameron a gentleman of Utrecht, a verie honnest & great Royalist and so you may be sure my great frend, but I beleeue they will doe but little with that King, for I ame tolde from a good hande that he and the K. of Sueden are in verie good intelligence together, which I ame not sorie for considering how little these States assist there allies. My deare Neece continues her resolution of going from hence Thursday next, but I dout the weather will hinder for it thaughs apace.

I ame euer your most affectionat frend.

I have not time to write to Mons: Soiret, but tell him he was wished heere vpon Friday last. I haue written to my Nephue all the particullars of what they were and who was best dressed.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Hagh, Jan 11 (1654-5).

Mr. Secretarie, I hope my next will tell you of my sweet Nephues being wellcome to Teiling, for Mr. Lovell assures vs all heere that he is perfectlie well. I beleeue Mr. Fraiser is not sorie to haue a commis-

* This alludes to the first invasion of Poland by Gustavus, who marched from Pomerania into that Kingdom after the irruption made by his order, by General Wittemberg.

sion to waite upon him this way, for so he may see his Mistris though she will not confess him so. I know not how your people at Colloigne * goe on with theire business, but our resident Thom. was asked yesterday for the first time, and so was Jack Sayers. I feare resident Halle will not haue by much so good a bargaine, but how Bess who is left at Bruxelles will take it, for she has written a terrible letter to S^r^ Charles Cottrell of it, and how confident she is of her Masters honnestie to her, so as she may chaunce forbid the bains. Vicfort tolde me yesterday that Bourdeaux has order to stay yett in England, which shews what you beleeve is true. the news I writt to you of Poland and Sweden is most true, and that De Bre makes still his monitions to goe for England.

Wee had a Royaltie, though not vpon twelf night, at Teiling, where my Neece was a gipsie and became her dress extreame well. . . . . was a Northolland boorine ; Mrs. Hide † a shepardess and I assure you was verie handsome in it, none but her Mistress looked better then she did. I beleeue my Ladie Hide and Mr. Chancelour will not be sorie to heare it, which I pray tell them from me. the queene of Sueden takes a house at Anwerp, all her owne people leaues her and Italiens and Spaniards comes in theire place. Heere is little news stirring. I beleeue you heare of the quarelle betwixt my sonne and the Elector of Ments, it may come to some ‡ ill business. it is so colde and they make

* Charles the Second now kept his Court at Cologne, but in great privacy. Sir Stephen Fox is described by Bulstrode, as having the care, management, and disposal of his household, which he kept at an expence of not more than six hundred pistoles *per* month. In fact, such was the royal economy, that Charles never kept a coach during his long stay in that City. " In the time of the King's banishment," adds Bulstrode, " he spent two years at Cologne, where he was well received by a widow, at whose house he lodged."

In a letter written by the King to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and preserved in the Miscellanea Aulica, p. 109, it appears that Charles led a very rational and sober life whilst at Cologne. He says : " I hope it will not be many days before you see how we pass our time at Collen, which tho' it be not so well as I could wish, yet I think it is as well as some of you do at Paris ; at least some that are here would not pass their time so well there as they do here."

In another letter, Charles mentions a design of himself and the Princess Dowager of Orange, to go to the Frankfort Fair *incognito*.

† Afterwards Dutchess of York ; but then in the household of the Princess Dowager of Orange.

‡ A trifling dispute about boundaries.

such a noise with theire bells and pleids in (the) street as makes me end, but ame euer

your most affectionat frend.

I pray remember my humble seruise to the King, and in my name make an humble suit to him in Thom: Killegrews * behalf. it is to recommend him to Pr. William for Captaine Morgans companie who is dead. the companie lyes at Orzo and is under Eri . . . e, it will make him to subsist untill the King be able to doe for him, and his wiues frends haue putt him upon it. I woulde not trouble his Ma^{tie} with a letter since you are in the place. Thom: writes himself to the King about it ; it will be a great honnour for him the Kings writing because his wiues frends will by that . . . . . his Ma^{ties} fauour to him.

" For Mr. Secretarie."

11^{o} Jan. 165$\frac{4}{5}$. R. $\frac{1}{1}$. Queene of Bohemia to me.

The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas.

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours. My sweet Nephue is not yett gone from Anwerp, but I hope now the weather is better, and I shall see him I hope shortlie, for as soon as he comes to Teiling I will be there. I hope it is a good prophesie of the Electrice of Brandebourg † hauing a sonne, but she doth looke to be deliuered before the end of this month or the beginning of the next. The letters out of England say Cromwell is bringing his armie to London, and doubles

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* Killigrew, so well known in the private history of Charles's reign, was groom of his bedchamber after the Restoration, and happened to be engaged one morning with a volume of his own plays, which he took up in the window, whilst his Majesty was shaving. "Ah! Killegrew," asked the King, "what will you say at the last day, in defence of all the idle words in that book?" To which the facetious Tom replied, that he would give a better account of his "idle words" than the King would do respecting *his idle promises* and *more idle patents*, which had undone more than ever his books did!

† The Electress Elizabeth Charlotte was daughter of Frederick V. Elector Palatine, and therefore sister-in-law to her Bohemian Majesty.

his gardes, plants cannon in manie places in London and at the Toure; it is saide he will make himself King by force since he cannot be it otherwise: this is written to the P. of Torente. I doe not heare that Bariere is at Bruxelles. I will tell Thom. Killegrew what the King answeres. As for the Archduc he may thanke God to be ridd of the Queen of Sueden, who is lodged at the Count of Egmonts house in Bruxelles, where she stays all winter. My Lord Norwich has got news that the Archduc goes for Spaine, and Don John of Austria comes in his place and marrieth the Queene of Sueden, and to haue the Low Countries as the Archduc Albert, but I beleeue it not: there is nothing else that I haue to say to you but ame euer

Your most affectionat frend

Hagh, Jan. 18.

18° Jan: 165⅘. R: ⅓. Queene of Bohemia.

To her Royall Highnes the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange, from the States of Holland and West-Vriesland.

Most excellent Princesse,

We were informed by some that the Lord King Charles your Royall Highnesses Brother should haue betaken himselfe within the limitts of this State, and particularly that he should at this present shelter himselfe in the house at Tylinge: And although we cannot by any meanes beleiue or expect from the wisdome and reason of the said mighty Lord the King that he would or durst vndertake contrary to the Treaty of Peace made the last yeare with the Commonwealth of England to come within the limitts of this State, and directly against our particular orders comprehended in our Resolutions of the 30th of July, 2d and 4th of August all in the year 1653, and the writing made by the vertue thereof to be giuen to your Royall Highnes within the Province of Holland and West Vriesland: So haue we after good reasons, and for setling our selues in entire rest, found meete with these to set before the eyes of your Royall Highnes what is said before, with a desire and demaund that you will speedily declare, and assure vs of

the truth heereof, nothing doubting, but desiring and requiring your Royall Highnes as much as in her lyes by all good offices and duties to be willingly helpefull to take heede and effect that the said mighty Lord the King doe not cast himselfe within the limitts of their high and mightines: and referring our selues thereto

Most excellent Princesse, We committ your Royall Highnes to Gods protection. Written in the Hague the 8th of March 1655. Your Royall Highnesses good friends

THE STATES OF HOLLAND AND WEST-VRIESLAND.

By order of the same,

HERB'T VAN BEAUMONT.

1655.

The superscription.

"To her Royall Highnes the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange *."

Indorsed by Sir Edw. Nicholas.

8° Martij 165$\frac{4}{5}$. Coppy of the translation of ye letr written by ye States of Holl'd to ye Prsse Rll concg ye Ks being reported to be at Tylinge.

Instructions for our trusty & well-beloued Seruant, RICHARD BROWNE, Clerke of our Privy Councell &c. (in 1640.)

CHARLES R.

Hauing occasion to send a person of trust into Holland, unto our deare Sister the Queene of Bohemia, and our Nephew the Prince Elector Palatin, Wee are pleased to make choise of you for the imployment, and for your better direction therein, to prouide you wth the Instructions following:

You shall represent unto our Sister, and Nephew †, (wee being in-

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* The obscure Editor of Grebner, in his astrological guesses, has the following curious one. Speaking of Charles I., he says, "The old Prince of Aurange he almost beggard, and yet to no purpose; the Parliament one time or other getting all armes and ammunition which ever came over to him; its confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in England, Aurange had been King," &c. In the margin this political conjuror adds—"Its pittie Aurange lived not to master the Jew Hollander."

† The Elector Palatine had been in England previous to this, and was then elected Knight of

formed he hath a desire to passe over into these partes) how inconuenient it would be to our seruice, if att present he should undertake the journey, and that w^th^all, it can noe wayes aduantage his owne affaires, since we shall still haue the same care and affection for them, in his absence, as if he were present, and now especially in this Treaty between us and the States of the Vnited Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, wherein his interests shall not be forgotten.

That for the paper w^ch^ S^r^ Richard Cave * hath given us, Wee find it soe directly contrary to the interests of the States, and in itselfe impracticable, that from that ground, Wee cannot hope any effects conducible to the good of our Nephewes affaires, yet in this present Treaty we are resolued to endeauour y^e^ interest of him, and the House Palatene, soe farre as the present conjuncture of affaires will permit, it being one of the principall motiues that induced us to harcken to this Alliance w^th^ the States, and the Prince of Orange.

You are further to giue our Sister and Nephew, all reall asseurances of our loue and affection to them, and particularly of our desires, that all misunderstands (if such there chance to haue bin) that haue happened either in circumstance, or otherwayes, concerning the ouuertures of this Marriage † intended betweene our eldest daughter and the Prince of Oranges son, may be taken away: Wee foreseeing that nothing can be of more aduantage to them in their present condition, then that there be a cleare vnderstanding, and reall friendship betweene them, and the Prince and Princesse of Orange: w^ch^ you are effectually to represent vnto them by all the arguments and reasons you can

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the Garter. In consequence of the present negociation, he did not proceed to England until 1643, two years afterwards. Perhaps Charles the First was aware of the pernicious counsels which finally induced him to vote with the Parliament, in opposition to his Royal Uncle.

* This Sir Richard Cave appears to have been much engaged in the affairs of Holland and the Palatinate. In Bromley's Collection of Royal Letters, he is mentioned by the Count Palatine in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, as Captain Cave: he was then serving in the army, and occasionally employed in diplomatic affairs.

† The marriage took place on the 24 of May 1641, when the Princess was only twelve years of age; and it is a curious fact in Charles's private history, that it was celebrated with great magnificence in the interval between the sentence and the execution of the Earl of Strafford.

frame, and of what dangerous consequence the contrary may be to their interests and restitution.

You shall likewise give unto our Sister and Nephew, a true & particular knowledge of the state of the Treatyes betweene us and the States Ambassad^rs (as our principall Secretary shall informe you) as well of that of the Marriage, as of y^e Confederation, in the latter of w^ch, we are resolued (as aforesaid) to take a speciall care of their interests.

You are to acquaint them, that although the two Treatyes are not come as yett to a conclusion, neuerthelesse hauing ben pressed by the Prince of Orange, that his son might passe into England before his going to the Field, Wee haue soe farre giuen our assent thereunto, as that wee haue left it to him, to doe therein as he shall thinke fitt.

You are to impart these our Instructions vnto S^r William Boswell our Resident, and to take his aduise in all thinges that may concerne our seruice, and you are w^th him to addresse your selfe in our name to the Prince & Princesse of Orange, & to passe like offices w^th them for the endeauouring & setling of a good understanding betweene our deare Sister, our Nephew, and them, according as wee soe earnestly desire, and their interest requires: Giuen under our Signe-manuall att our Court at Whitehall y^e 23^th of Febru: 1640.

(Signed) H. VANE.

Indorsed,

His Maties Instructions to Mr. Browne, going into Holland 1641."

Instructions for our trusty and welbeloued RICHARD BROWNE*, ESQ. one of the Clerkes of our Privy Councell, and our Agent w^th our good brother the most Christian King: (in 1641.)

CHARLES R.

Wee hauing occasion to imploy our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin the Earle of Leycester† our extraord^ry Ambassad^r w^th our good

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* Afterwards Sir Richard, father in law of John Evelyn, Esq.

† Robert Sidney, nephew of the gallant Sir Philip.

brother the French King, in the gouernem^{t} of our Realme of Ireland, as our Lieutenant generall there, and to that end being now to recall him from his imployment in France: Wee haue that confidence of your fidelity, and abilities, and particularly of your experience in those parts, that wee haue thought fitt to make choise of you for to be our Agent there, and that you may the better acquitt your selfe in that charge, you shalbe provided wth the Instructions following:

First vpon your arriuall in that Kingdome, you shall addresse yo^{re}-selfe vnto our said Ambassad^{r} extraord^{ry} for to be by him presented vnto that King, to whom you shall deliuer yo^{r} l'res of Credence, and impart your charge:

And when you shalbe thus admitted to his presence, you shall in due, and the best manner, lett him know the great affection wee beare to his person, and the good aduancement and prosperity of him and his affaires, and how much wee doe desire, according to the antient friendshipp and strait obligations betweene us, to maintaine all good intelligence and correspondence. To w^{ch} end, that there may be nothing wanting on our part, Wee haue now, vpon the comming away of our Ambassad^{r}, sent you to reside there: And soe you are accordingly to make this your principall aime, as it is indeed the proper charge of all Amb^{rs}, Legats, and Agents, to nourrishe and maintayne a good correspondence betwixt the two Crownes.

And therefore you are to informe yo^{re}selfe of all former Treatyes, and more especially of the last and most fresh in practice, betweene these Crownes, being the rule by w^{ch} the proceedings of the subjects of both sides are to be regulated.

And that you may better know wherein Wee, or our subjects, are any wayes concerned in those parts, whether in suites, processes, or otherwayes, you are to take all fitting and necessary informations from our said Ambassad^{r}, and what businesses shalbe left in agitation by him for o^{re} seruice, you are in our name to continue the prosecution thereof, and to giue account of yo^{r} proceedings therein.

Another part of your charge is, that you watch carefully ouer the motions of that State where you are, what treaties, alliances, assistances, or ennemityes shalbe moued wth other States openly, or vnder-

hand, wherein our affaires may be any wayes concerned; and for yo^{r} better light and information herein, you are to keepe intelligence wth our Ambassad^{rs} and Agents wth other Princes, and States, to whom wee will giue orders to correspond wth you.

And as there shall further occasion arise for you to negotiate in, for our seruice, you shall receiue directions, either immediately from our selues, or from our principall Secretaries in our name, w^{ch} you are to obserue & follow, as if it came vnder our owne hand, and from time to time to aduertise them (or vs as the importance of the occasion may require) of all yo^{re} proceedings, and what soeuer else may come to yo^{re} knowledge, w^{ch} may be usefull and necessary for the good of our affaires:—Whitehall the 23th of July 1641.

H. VANE.

"Instructions for Mr. Browne."
July 23, 1641.

CHARLES R.

Nostre feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de Nostre Chambre Privée, Secretaire en Nostre Conseil Privé, et Nostre Resident en France, salut. Comme ainsi soit que ceux contre qui Nous avons a faire presentem^{t} touchant le reste des derniers Dotaulx * de Nostre tres chere Epouse la Reyne, se veulent servir contre Nous de certains pretendus Ordres donnez l'un au mois d'Octobre 1633. par feu Nostre Grand Thresorier †: l'autre par Nous du 20^{me} Juin 1639 a Barwick. Nous vous declarons & tous aultres qu'il appartiendra, que Nous desavouons celuy pretendu du dit N're Grand Thresorier, com'e estant donné hors son pouvoir, et contre le bien de Nos affaires et interests, & contre Nostre intention. Et pour celuy donné au dict Barwick, Nous le revo-

* This resumption with respect to the Queen's dowry was evidently to facilitate the supplies from the Continent; since at this precise period her Majesty transmitted to the King a considerable sum of money raised upon the pawned jewels of the Crown. She went to Holland on the 23d of February preceding.

† Richard Weston Earl of Portland.

quons absolument, com'e ayant esté tiré de Nous par surprise & du tout contre N^re^ intention & le bien de Nos affaires. Ce que vous declarez et notifierez quand ainsi vous adviserez éstre affaire. Et pour ce faire, ces Nos Lettres vous seront Garrant et Authorité suffisante. Donné soubs Nostre signet le dixneufiesme jour de Juillet a N^re^ Cour a Beuerley, 1642, l'an XIIX^me^ de N're Regne.

A N^re^ feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de N're Chambre Privée, Sec're en N're Conseil d'Estat & Privé, et N're Resid^t^ en France. 1642.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well beloued Wee greet you well. Whereas one Walter Strickland * hath bin very lately sent in y^e^ name of both Houses of Parliam^t^ here with credentials to treate with o^re^ Allyes the States G'rall of the Vnited Netherlands, as pretended, for the publick good, though without any concurrence or knowledge of Us, which We must interprett the highest act of affront & disobedience w^ch^ hath bin committed against o^r^ Royall person & dignity; And this example leading us to a beleefe of what Wee haue bin told, but were not apt to creditt whilest there was any shew of reverence of o^r^ knowne Regalities yet remaining, that Augier †, or some other person, is by the said Houses sent with their usurped comission into France; Wee haue thought fitt hereby to authorise & com'and you to use y^re^ best and utmost meanes as well privatly as publickly & in Our Name to hinder & oppose any audience, countenance, or treaty in any kind to be afforded the said Augier or other whatsoeuer craving the same of o^re^ Brother the French King, the Princes of the Blood, or any of the Protestant Party o^re^ Friends & Allyes, without Warrant under owre

* This Strickland was afterwards a member of Parliament, and one of those who had been strenuous in the affair of the "Self-denying Ordinance"; yet he is expressly stated by Walker, in the "History of Independency," to have been in the receipt of large sums from the public purse.

† Augier had formerly been in his Majesty's confidence in the diplomatic negociations on the Continent with regard to the Elector Palatine.

owne hand. And if, notwithstand^{g}, Augier or any other shall prevaile, That you then in O^{re} Name solemnely protest there against as the highest violacon of theire Allyance & Friendship with Vs, against w^{ch} Wee shall seeke such reparacon as by Gods assistance Wee shall be enabled. For all w^{ch} as these o^{re} Letters shalbe y^{re} sufficient Warrant & Proteccon, So we shall expect hereof yo^{r} faithfull & bounden discharge as occasion therefore shalbe offred vnto you. Giuen at o^{re} Court at Nottingham the 12th day of Septemb^{r} in the Eighteenth yeare of o^{re} Reigne 1642.

" To our trusty & welbeloved Richard Browne, Esq.
Our Resid^{t} with o^{r} Brother the French King."

Indorsed,

" From His Maty 20th day of Sep^{r} 1642 *."

CHARLES R.

Trusty & welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee beleeve that before this Letter the Capucins † of Somersett house, or some from them, wilbe arrived at Paris & haue represented there how disgracefully they were lately entreated at London. Wee are exceedingly displeased that soe high an affront hath been put upon the Treaty between Vs & the French King Our Brother, & upon Our owne Authority. But forasmuch as this barbarous Act is the child of that monstrous Rebellion w^{ch} goes big with confusion & destruccon to our Person & Posterity as well as our Laws & Rights, Wee wilbe cleere of any imputacon thereof, disavowing the same, the authors, actors & abettors thereof, as Wee doe disavow & detest all their traytrous machinacons against

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* This letter was written a month after the King had hoisted his standard at Nottingham.

† This evidently refers to the complaints, so long existing, against the Queen's Ecclesiastical establishment. So powerful was the popular feeling against Popery, that the King was forced to proceed much further than his own intentions would have led him; for he not only offered, in a message to the Parliament, to require by proclamation that all statutes concerning Popish recusants should be put in execution, but that the seven condemned Popish priests should be banished, and all Romish priests to depart the Kingdom in twenty days. Burton's Civil Wars.

Vs & the Peace of Our Kingdoms, leauing them obnoxious to the iust indignacon & revenge w^{ch} God shall inflict upon them in his due time. And to this effect Wee will & command you in Our Name to make yo^{re} addresse to Our said deare Brother the French King for his satisfaccon & the discharge of Our conscience & affeccon to Him in this regard. And soe Wee bid you farewell. Giuen at Our Court at Oxford the 5th day of Aprill in the Nineteenth yeare of Our Reigne.

1643.

" To our trusty & welbeloued Richard Browne,
our Resident with our deere Brother the French King."

From his Ma^{tie} 5th April, 1643.

The Private Correspondence

BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,

AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I.

AND THE USURPATION.

*** The connection which Lord Clarendon had with the events and politics of the period to which this Work refers, is too well known to require more, in this place, than a short introductory sketch illustrative of the subjects noticed in the various letters. The first two of these are written from Jersey, whither Sir Edward Hyde had accompanied the Prince of Wales; having indeed been of his Council when he was at Pendennis Castle, which he evacuated in 1645. Jersey was at that time under the government of Lord Jermyn; and Sir George Carteret was his deputy. When the Prince went to Paris to join his mother, Sir Edward remained behind; his reasons for which are fully recorded by himself in his Life. At Jersey he staid two years; and during the same period Sir Edward Nicholas was at Caen in Normandy, afterwards in Holland, where he had the King's leave to reside, on his being forced to fly from England*. Lord Digby also, to whom frequent reference is made, had been in Ireland, when Charles fled to Jersey: but joined him soon after with two frigates, and two hundred soldiers; at which time he strenuously urged the departure of the Prince for his father's Irish dominions. The Prince having afterwards proceeded to Holland, Sir Edward Hyde joined him there in 1648†, and, soon after the murder of the Royal Martyr, was sent Ambassador into Spain, from which country he rejoined the young King in France, and was appointed resident at Antwerp, where he remained during Charles's unsuccessful attempt in Scotland; but was ordered to Paris on his master's arrival there after the escape from the battle of Worcester.

These events fill up the hiatus between 1646 and 1652, the date of the *third* letter; and it only remains to explain some particulars of the affairs alluded to in many subsequent parts of the Correspondence, with respect to the Royal fleet.

When Charles I. perished on the scaffold, a portion of the Navy revolted from the Parliament, and sailed to Holland in aid of the Royal

* Vide Lord Clarendon's State Papers, vol. II. p. 286.

† A very interesting account of his adventures upon that occasion may be found in Clarendon's Life, page 105.

Cause. These ships were soon put under the command of Prince Rupert, and were employed by him in a predatory warfare against the Commonwealth, besides making several attempts on the Eastern coast of England in aid of the small Royal party still existing there; after which they proceeded to the Irish coast, where they took some valuable prizes. The Parliament sent Blake after them; but in 1649, Rupert, having forced his way through Blake's fleet, continued to capture English ships, apparently on his own account, and indeed without either asking for, or receiving, any orders from his Majesty. He then proceeded for Portugal, but was forced off by Blake, so that he was obliged to fly for the Mediterranean, where he commenced aggressions on the Spaniards, and was repaired and refitted at Toulon, from whence he found it necessary to retire, sailing, in 1650, for the West Indies.

At this period Scilly and Jersey sent out swarms of privateers; but those islands being captured by the Parliamentary forces, the freebooters were obliged to bring their prizes into the ports of Britanny; and, in return for the sanction of Royal Commissions, were called upon to pay certain droits into the King's Exchequer—a circumstance to which many of the following Letters refer.

In 1652, Rupert arrived at Nantes from the West Indies, after suffering heavy losses from storms; so that, in fact, he only brought back one man of war, and three or four other vessels, being the sole remains of twenty-five ships of force of which his squadron originally consisted: and these he was compelled to sell to pay his seamen, under circumstances which will be found illustrated in the ensuing Notes.

It may be proper here to bring to the Reader's recollection that the King staid at Paris until 1654, when he proceeded through Flanders to Spa; thence to Aix La Chapelle, and, finally to Cologne, as noticed in the preceding series. In 1657 he was at Bruges, where he appointed Sir Edward Hyde to be Lord High Chancellor of England.

Paris 14. May
1652

Yr. euer dearly louinge father
to serue you.
Richard Browne

CLARENDON LETTERS.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne *.

S^r^

That you receaued not an answer to your very kinde letter of the 4 of June, by some of the Princes trayne, you must impute to that agony of minde, which was necessary to oppresse me, at the partinge fro' so pretious a iewell, and with so many good frends; I hope I shall be agayne restored to them, howeuer that all happinesse will crowne ther Counsells; whilst I with some very good frends of yours pray for them, in this poore Islande: you will very much refresh vs with your correspondence, that wee may vnderstande the hopes, and progresse of that prosperity wee pray for. I doe not in the least degree apprehend a possibility of a peace betweene the Scotts & the Independ'ts, but feare more the manner of the warr, least in opposicon to the Nacon all the English turne Independ'ts; which sure may be præuented: I believe the crisis is at hande; I wish you all happinesse, beinge

S^r^

Your very affectionate Serv^t^

Jarsy, this 12 of July 1646. Edw: Hyde.

I beseech you remember my seruice to Mr. Nicolls †, and desyre

* From the general purport of this letter, it is evident that Sir Edward Hyde was by no means pleased with the Prince's journey from Jersey to Paris. His reasons for this are pretty fully detailed in his "Life," and also in the second volume of State Papers, p. 276. The justice of the political opinions here expressed was fully verified by the succeeding events.

See also p. 239, 2d vol. State Papers, for the King's reasons respecting the Prince's visit to the Court of France; and p. 307, for further Observations on the "Scots and Independents."

† Who this Mr. Nicolls is, does not appear; for though Sir Edward Nicholas's name is sometimes spelled so in these letters, yet being then knighted he would have been called Mr. Secretary, as Sir Edward Herbert is often called "Mr. Attorney."

him, if Coll. Murray * should not be at Courte, that he keepe my letter to him, in his handes, till he see him; and that he deliuer it to none else. Your favour (S^r^) for this to S^r^ H. Mackeworth †.

Sir Ric. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I haue this day receaued yours of the 18. of August ‡ [qr. July], and by your leaue continue the giuinge you this trouble: by this tyme I hope his Highnesse hath had so good a recepcon at ffountainebleau §, that hath made some amends for the former wante of ceremony: Methinkes the imaginacons that it is possible for the Kinge to submitt to those vyle proposicons ‖, is the next treason to the makinge them, ther beinge in them no seedes left, out of which Monarchy may agayne possibly springe: and therfore I longe to heare how our brethren of Scotland comporte themselves upon his refusall, which yet I doe not exspecte will be positive, but such a one as they at London will vote to be a refusall: I beseech you let me heare, how your intelligence from London disposes the Catholiques ther, I suppose that party cleaues to the Independ'ts, and I am sure had hearetofore fayre promises from them; and can have no hope from the Presbitery. I feare the

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* Colonel Charles Murray, a companion of the Prince from Jersey to Paris. There is a humorous letter from him in Clarendon's State Papers, vol. II. p. 255, describing the arrival of his royal highness in the French capital, and subsequently at Fontainbleau.

† The first Baronet of that name, of Normanton, in Rutlandshire; and brother to the "brave and honest" Sir Francis, who distinguished himself in the Civil War, as Major General to the Marquis of Newcastle, and afterwards served in the Low Countries, during Charles's exile.

‡ This apparent anticipation of date, when compared with that of this letter, may have arisen from Sir Richard using the Gregorian style, from Paris, whilst Sir Edward preserved the old style, in conformity with English custom.

§ The letter, spoken of in the preceding postscript, for Colonel Murray, appears to have been written on the subject of the Prince's reception at the French Court; for in the second volume of Clarendon's State Papers, p. 254, there is an epistle from the Colonel, describing the distinguished reception which the Prince me with on his arrival at Fontainbleau.

‖ The propositions here alluded to are noticed in the preceding portion of this work.

ill successe of the ffrench in Italy and fflanders*, will giue them an excuse for those faylings to his Highnesse, which they meant to committ in the most prosperous condicon: and if this indisposicon in the Pr. of Condé be in earnest, they may haue ther excuses multiplyed†. If my brother Aylesbury‡ be come to you, I pray let him receaue this inclosed letter, otherwise keepe it for him. My service to Mr. Nicolls§, to whome I sent a packett by Dr. Jonson, which I hope came safe to him: My LL^ds heare, and our very good Gouernour ||, are your seruants, as I am very heartily

S^r

your most affectionate, humble seru^t

EDW: HYDE.

Jarsy this 14. of Aug. 1646.

S^r Ric. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE¶.

(Signed by Edw. Hyde himself.)

S^r

Yours of y^e 24. of Jan: from yourselfe and S^r G. Carterett came [not] to my hands till y^e post was gone, and I am now in soe great torment w^th y^e gowte, that I am not able to keepe off my bed, and soe must use another hand, w^ch I hope you will pardon. The Duke

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* During the war with Spain, in the minority of Louis XIII.; but these events were not of sufficient importance to require specific illustration.

† The Prince of Condé was then at the head of the party in opposition to the politics of Mazarine. He was sometimes a courtier, sometimes a politician, and sometimes a rebel in arms.

‡ Son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart. and brother of Sir Edward's second wife, who finally became heiress of her father and brother.

§ See note to preceding letter. || Lord Jermyn.

¶ This letter relates to the difficulties respecting the reception and sale of prizes. Of the persons referred to, Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was then Secretary to the Duke; Berkeley had been his Governor; Castelnau was Governor of Brest; Holder was agent for the captors; and Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey, was then, or soon after, a Rear Admiral in the French service, though still attached to the Royal Cause. Sir Richard Browne, the King's resident at Paris, had been dispatched to arrange affairs at Brest.

of Yorke* is now here, and conceiues all obstruccons are now remoued, w^ch troubled you at Brest, the Marquis of Castlenoe† hauing made large promises to his Highnes: I would aduice you hereafter (though you may giue me an account apart) to send a very particular state of all the buisinesse and miscarriages there, to the D. of Yorke himselfe, Sir John Berkeley, or Mr. Bennett; since all redresse must be obteyned by y^e sole mediacon of his R. Highnes, and you shall doe very well to expresse at large the misdemean^rs and cheates of y^r Captaines ‡, whom upon all occasions Mr. Holder hath wonderfully magnifyed. You must take spetiall care for y^e safe and speedy conueyance of this inclosed from the King to the Gouern^r of Innisbofine §, and I pray send the other to S^r George Carterett, if he be gone, and excuse this shortnesse, w^ch my extreame payne produces. I am

S^r

your very affecconat humble seru^t

Paris 8 ffeb: 1652. EDW: HYDE.

Sir Rich: Browne.

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* The Duke of York had much personal interest at this crisis at the French Court; for he had very recently distinguished himself in the French King's service, under the command of General Count Harcourt, and against the Prince de Condé's forces, especially on the preceding Christmas-day, when, though Condé was finally victorious, the Duke charged against him in person, and commanded the forlorn hope, consisting of the English cavalry. In this rencontre the Duke's horse was shot under him; but he himself received little hurt. Vide a printed pamphlet in the British Museum, "A bloody fight in France, Lond. 1651-2."

† The hopes of Lord Clarendon from the promises of Castlenau were but indifferently founded; for the pamphlet quoted in the preceding note expressly states that at this period the return of the Cardinal Mazarin into France with a force of 7000 men had produced great jealousies at that Court, and that Castlenau and Villeroy having forwarded his return, on purpose to undo him, were suspected by him, and had therefore forsaken the Court. Castlenau's deputy had pretended an order from his Court to detain the prizes, in hopes of being bribed by the captors.

‡ This little squadron had been recently very active, particularly in the chops of the Channel; but the republican newspapers of that day affected to treat them with great contempt. In one of those, of the 8th of the preceding month, preserved in the British Museum, it was roundly stated that Capt. Chapman, in the Recovery, convoying a small vessel for Ireland, had met with the Francis, the Patrick, and the Hunter, and maintained a gallant fight from eleven at noon till night parted them. Prince Rupert is also stated, to be at this period at sea "with six or seven lusty ships," and to have taken several Spanish vessels.

§ It was reported in the London papers that the King intended to set out for Rome, professing

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

Within 2. howers after my last to you of the 17. were sent away, I receaued both yours of the 5 and 9. of this moneth. I am entirely vn-acquainted with the person or the purposes of your Capt: Anthonie *, nor do I heare that he is in these partes. I should imagyne, that what-euer else he does, he will neuer putt himselfe in the power of the Hollander, whome he hath sufficiently prouoked and damnifyed †. I cannot giue you any good accounte of the transactions betweene this Crowne, and the English Rebells, only, that ther is nothinge like that order, of which you say you are aduertised from Rowen, that Pr: Ruperte ‡ is requyred to go away with his shippes and pryses, his Highnesse hauinge all the respecte heare, and I thinke, security, he can desyre: and I heare they do not now bragg so much as they haue done, of ther treaty in Englande, and are not without some apprehen-sion, that the Rebells of Westm. may fauour ther fellow Rebells of Burdeaux §: o^r^ Letters fro' London importe no new notable effecte of ther alteracon; ther Councell of the Army, still sittinge at Whitehall to forme ther new modell of gouerment. I know not what to say to

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openly to own the Catholic Religion, on which terms it was promised to him that the Duke of Lorraine should make a diversion in his favour in Ireland, by the relief of Galway, and by a general interference in affairs in that quarter.

* Commander of one of the privateers attached to the Royal cause.

† The royal fleet and the privateers were, at this period, in great distress for a port to shelter them, in consequence of the Parliament having captured the Scilly Islands, which had for some time been their principal harbour; Jersey also having fallen.

‡ Though the fleet under Prince Rupert was, strictly speaking, an English one, yet it appears that in a recent attack upon the Spaniards he was avenging a private cause; for when, in the Spring of 1652, he sailed from Toulon with four men-of-war and two fire-ships, and instantly commenced hostilities against the Spaniards, taking, as his first prize, a ship worth 100,000 Crowns, he put forth a declaration, in which he stated one of his reasons for this aggression to be in revenge for the injuries committed by the Spaniards against the Palatinate.—Vide Life of Prince Rupert, 1683.

§ Alluding to the Condé Party, then active in the South of France.

the complainte of your seru^t^, because you will not giue me leaue to take notice of it to the partyes who are most concerned, but I believe ther may be some errour or malice in the reporte *, because I am told by a very true frende of yours, that it is the maydes owne faulte that shee hath not her dyett ther, and that because shee might not be trusted with the gouerm^t^ of the kitchen and the buyinge the meate (in which shee was thought to lauish) shee absolutely with greate indignation refuses to take her dyett, with which they say the Lady is much troubled: but I tell you agayne, I haue this only from a frende, and not any of the house. I doubte your mayde is apt to be angry, and when shee is, shee may be as vnreasonable, as such angry people vse to be. Upon my conscience you haue not the least reason to suspecte Geo. Carterett's † frendshipp or kindnesse to you, but you must not make his frequent writinge the measure of it, and it is very possible (for he hath beue out of all roades) he may haue written, and his letters miscarry, as yours may haue done to him.

I am very heartily

S^r^

your most affectionate humble Serv^t^

EDW: HYDE.

Paris this 20th of May, 1652.

Sir Ric: Browne.

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* Nothing can more whimsically mark the great change of circumstances of the English Courtiers, than this rapid transition from national politics to kitchen gossip.

† Sir George Carteret, before this period, had been Governor of Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, as Deputy to Lord Jermyn, besieged by the Parliamentary forces in 1651. His conduct was so loyal as to merit the praise even of his enemies, one of whom said in a letter, preserved in the British Museum, "I hear he hath sent to the Scots King, to acquaint him with the state of affairs, as touching our approach, and condition of the Castle, from whom he expects a letter; and if he with it signs a warrant for delivering up the Castle, I believe the Governor (to make his own conditions the better) will soon yield it up; yet, without it, his devout allegiance is such, that he will do nothing."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I giue you hearty thankes for yours of the 17. which came safe, and I distributed the inclosed accordinge to ther derections; and the Kinge is resolued to obserue this order, of sendinge twice a weeke to Paris, wherby all our correspondencyes will I hope be præserued: I send you a pistole inclosed that you may keepe an euen reckoninge with your man for the portage of my letters *, which will quickly spende such a summ, so that I conclude your owne charge in this seruice is no easy burthen: for what will concerne me, I will be carefull to supply, as this wastes. Wee haue yett taken no further resolucon, then to sitt still some tyme heare, both to decerne what conclusion your distempers will produce †, and what our frends of Hollande will do: you will be carefull to receaue all information and aduice from the Dutch Ambassadour ‡ how affayres goe ther, and transmitt it hither: if our letters fro' the Hague be true, they looke more kindly towards us fro' that climate then they haue done, and the Ambassadour hath receaued some derection to communicate with his Ma^ty^; but I know he is so iust and kinde, that he will gladly imbrace the orders, and therfore I doubte our information may not be true. The wayes I hope will be so secure shortly betweene us

* However trifling this caution appears about a sum so trifling, yet it will be found, in a subsequent note, that the postage of letters was a most important article of expenditure to the exiled Royalists.

† The distempers here alluded to are the disputes, and consequent civil war, between the Condé and Mazarine partizans.

‡ Mynheer Borell. One of the Journals of that day, "Perfect Passages," 23 July 1652,) says, "Charles Stuart, being gone from the Louvre, continues yet at St. German's, where he hath been saluted by a messenger from the Marquis of Brandenburg, inviting him into Germany. *His Creature Brown, and the Dutch Ambassadour Borel, are often togeather.*"

Borel had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, and was very much devoted to the Royal cause, having formerly been Ambassador at the English Court. He was also of the Orange party, and anxious for a war with the Commonwealth.

and you, that wee may euen visitt each other *. God preserue you, and me as I am with my whole hearte

S^r^

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t^

EDW: HYDE.

ffryday night this 19. of July, 1652.

Euery body sends ther letters to me, & I cannot refuse to transmitt them: you will lett your man dispose them to the seuerall posts. If the Spanish Ordinary be not speedily exspected, I pray putt this under youre cover to Bryon †.

Sir Ri: Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^.

Yours of the 20. came safe to me, and so the inclosed were disposed accordingly: I am sorry ther should be any hazard of hauinge our letters intercepted ‡, which I thought by the remooue of the Armyes would haue bene now without any doubte, especially since the Carry-all of this place trauelles dayly & securely to Paris: howeuer I will obserue your advice, and write any thinge of importance in cypher: you 731 . are 405 . in 532 . the 668 . King's 220 . 13. name 596 . to 667 . returne 333 . his 502 . Mat^ies^ 239 . 13 . very 699 . hearty thankes

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* The road between St. Germain's and Paris was at that period totally unsafe, on account of the military marauders of both armies.

† Count de Brienne, first Secretary of State to the French King.

‡ The disturbances at Paris and its vicinity were at this moment of such a nature as to justify the apprehensions here expressed. The scandal of the day asserted also that Charles was by no means a favourite with many of the highest rank in France; and it is recorded in a Gazette, or Mercurius Politicus of the 1st July 1652, in the British Museum, that "Charles Stuart hath secured himself by shewing them a pair of heels," (just after the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé close to Paris,) "and retreating from the Louvre to Court, where the King harbours him, being highly distasted by the Duke of Orleans, Mademoiselle, the Princes, and all the People, so that they have made several books and songs of him."

667 (to) . 668 (the) . 142 (Dutch Ambasr) . 95 . and indeede 502 (his) . 239 (Maty) . 529 (is) . exceedingly sensible 598 (of) . 502 (his) . 544 (kind) . 30 (n) . 7 (e) . 13 (s) . 62 (s) . 23 (e) . 407 (and) . 488 (freind) . 651 (shipp) . and if God blesses him, will make it appeare that he is so. 502 (His) . 239 (Maty) . 15 (d) . 23 (e) . 13 (s) . 27 (i) . 36 (r) . 56 (e) . 62 (s) . 668 (the) . 95 (Ambasr) . 667 (to) . 551 (lett) . 505 (him) . 546 (know) . as soone as he is assured that 668 (the) . 723 (warre) . 529 (is) . 25 (d) . 23 (e) . 15 (c) . 28 (l) . 21 (a) . 36 (r) . 7 (e) . 26 (d) . and then 673 (that) . 501 (hee) . 710 (will) . aduice 502 (his) . 239 (Maty) . 717 (what) . 501 (he) . 529 (is) . 667 (to) . 439 (do) . both with reference to 668 (the) . 43 (U) . 30 (n) . 27 (i) . 12 (t) . 23 (e) . 25 (d) . 41 (P) . 34 (r) . 36 (o) . 22 (v) . 43 (i) . 27 (n) . 30 (c) . 15 (e) . 56 (s) . 13 (s) . 407 (and) . 667 (to) . 671 (this) . 437 (Crowne) . 713 (with) . 722 (which) . 502 (his) . 239 (Maty) . 710 (will) . interpose 532 (in) . 673 (that) . 573 (manner) . 30 . 23 . 36 . 401 (as) . 668 (the) . 95 (Ambasr) . shall thinke 416 (best) . 13 . 12. I shall not neede to bespeake your diligence in calling often 600 (him) . 505 . 469 (for) . 86. — You will do me the fauour to send this inclosed to Sr Jo. Mennes *, who I suppose is still at Calice. I pray do me the fauour to desyre Monsieur Paule to giue you the title of the Duke of Bauaria, *and to informe you how longe he hath bene Duke:* — You will exspecte no newes from this place wher wee haue little to doe, but to study & take the ayre, and to longe for good newes of peace in this kingdome. If the messengers dispatched from hence do not attende you at those howres they should, it is not for want of derection heare. I haue a serious quarrell with you for somewhat Dr Earles † hath lately aduerticed me of, which in good earnest I take unkindly, and doubte you haue not so good an opinion of my frendshipp as I wish you should, and for which I must chyde you heartily when wee meete.

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* Sir John Mennes was Rear-admiral of the Fleet in the reign of Charles the First; and was one of the most distinguished loyal officers, when the Parliament took those extraordinary steps which led to the defection of the greatest part of the naval force. He was removed from his station by the Earl of Warwick, in 1642, after the unsuccessful attempt of his Majesty to regain the fleet in the Humber, which failed through some mismanagement on the part of Sir John Pennington.

† Dr. Earles was one of the Loyalists attached to the exiled Court, and Chaplain to the King. He was in strict habits of friendly intimacy with Hyde, two of whose letters to him may be found in vol. II. of the State Papers, pp. 322, 329. In the latter, Sir Edward facetiously arranges the Doctor's leisure time, allowing him two hours to eat his dinner, and "two hours in the projecting where to get one."

Let me know particularly what you receaue from Englande, and lett your man enquyre for letters derected as Edgman * aduiced you. I am

S^r^,

Your most affectionate faythfull Seru^t^

EDW. HYDE.

S^t^ Germains. Tuesday morninge 23. of July 1652.

Sir Rich: Browne at Paris.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

I haue not had an opportunity till now to acknowledge the receipte of yours of the 24. which came safe to me, and the contents therof were immediately by me imparted to his Ma^tie^, who had not before heard of many of the particulars, nor do wee yett heare from the Courte of any such message † sent from the Duke of Orleans, which it seemes they thinke fitt to conceale, when they do not intende to satisfy.

I am very sorry for the good Deanes ‡ indisposicon, though I am gladd it is nothinge but a ffitt of the stone, which I am very farr from vnderualewinge, yett it seemes lesse daungerous then a vyolent ffeauour

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* Edgman was Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, who, once vindicating him from a charge of having violated a seal, declared he knew him to be so honest, that before he would be guilty of such a villainy he would starve!

† Comparing this letter with another of the same date to Sir Edward Nicholas, in State Papers, vol. III. p. 85, it appears that the whole of the news, here alluded to, related to the negociations carrying on between the Court and the Condéans.

‡ This was Dr. Stewart, Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom Clarendon, in another place, calls "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in the learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church." He had been long about Charles's person; for, as early as 1646, in a letter preserved in the State Papers, vol. II. page 253, and addressed to the Prince, the King calls him an honest trusty servant, and recommends him to his Royal Highness as Dean of his Chapel, telling him at the same time to take the Doctor's advice, "giving reverence to his opinion in all things concerning conscience and church affairs."

with which wee heard he labored: I pray remember my seruice very heartily to him, and send me worde quickly of his perfecte recouery.

The wante of the title of the Duke of Bauaria keepes us from making a congratulatory dispatch to him, which is requisite in seuerall respectes, therfore I pray hasten it as soone as you may: Let me heare any particulars you receaue from Englande, especially how our frends at Detforde doe *. If it would be any comforte to you to haue companyons in misery, you will heare shortly that wee are in greate distresses †, for I cannot imagyne which way the Kinge will be able to procure mony for his subsistance; nor indeede how the ffrench Courte will subsiste it selfe. Wee know nothinge heare of the Spanish Army: what is become of it?

You will still commende the Kinge to your Neigbour: if the wayes were once open, I would make a iourny ouer to visitt you, and to be merry 3 or 4 howres: I am very heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate humble Seru^t^

E. H.

S^t^ Germ: 26 July 1652 ffryday 9 at night.

I pray send me the Copy of a Warrant for Barronett, for I am not sure that myne is not defectiue.

Sir Ric. Browne.

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* This inquiry refers to the Evelyn family at Says Court.

† The periodical prints of that day thus account for the King not wishing to remain at Paris. "The Scots King is still in Paris, but now upon his remove. What shall he do then? Trayl a pike under the young Lady of Orleans:" (this Lady had recently raised a regiment for the French King's service against the Confederate Lords:) "an honour too large for the late Majesty of Scotland. His Confidents have satt in Council, and it is allowed by his Mother, that during these tumults in France, it is neither honourable nor expedient for him to continue in Paris, the affections of the Citizens for the most part being alienated from the King," &c.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

The messenger who brought me yours of the 27. is so positive in the iustifyinge himselfe, that I cannot but desyre you to examine his allegations, which if not true, he shall be no more sent on this errande, at least not by me: He sweares, he was on Saturday at your house, *by* 11 *of the clocke*, and you not beinge at home, he left the letters, both the Kings and myne, with your mayde: This is so contrary to what you say, of his not appearinge before 4 of the clocke, (which putts me in apprehension that our packetts went not by the last Ordinary) that I haue a greate minde to know the certainty, and whether the fellow hath *any excuse or not:* I told the Kinge of the expedient you proposed, which he liked well, only it was sayd by a stander by, that one footeman would not be alwayes willinge to make that iourny, and hauinge so little encouragement, it is no wonder, that euery man is willinge to saue his labour. I am of your opinion that *the breach is already too wyde, betweene the two Commonwealths, to be easily closed agayne. I pray God wee may make good use of it, which will most depende upon your neighbours aduice and derection:* I pray hasten the Duke of Bauaria's titles, &c. I wish I could tell you of a more plentifull condicon heare, because I am confident you would haue a share of it: Upon my worde, the Kinge hath not yett receaued a penny of supply since his comminge hither: he hath hope of 300 pistoles, for which he gott an order at his beinge at Grubyse, but payment is not yett made *: Seriously I cannot be more troubled at any thinge, then at your distresses; which I had rather see relieued then my owne: I will *not surpryse you* at Paris, and would be glad that the communication should be with more freedome, before I uenture

* This delay is easily accounted for, by a reference to the preceding letter respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the French Court.

thither.—I will by Saturday send you a letter for George Carterett *, from whome I wonder I heare not, but more, that he forgetts his promise to you: I thought your Agent ther had taken the dutyes in spetie accordinge to former aduice. *The defeate of Count Harcourte*† I would haue bene gladd to have receaued more particularly: wee hauinge heare heard nothinge of it: and the Courte needes none of these humilliations. God præserue you, and

S^r^

Your very affectionate hu^ble^ serv^t^

E. H.

S^t^ Germains this 29. of July:
Munday 3 in the afternoone
1652.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I receaued yours of the 30. late the last night, and reade euery worde of it early this morninge to the Kinge. His 502 . Ma^tie^ 239 . is very much troubled that 673 . the 668 . Ambass^r^ 95 . should receaue any præiudice for 469 . his 502 . friend 488 . s 13 . h 17 . i 27 . p 34 . p 35 . to 667 . him 505 . nor can imagyne by what hande those offices are done ‡. The truth is, ther is so greate a licence of writinge vnder the nocon of gettinge intelligence, for which euery man thinkes himselfe qualifyed, that men care not what they write §, so they may

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* Sir George Carteret, after having been forced to surrender Jersey, was very active as a sea officer in the King's service; and in the month of July 1652, he is stated to have been on the coast of Flanders with 13 sail under the royal colours, making prize of English vessels. Soon after this he joined Van Tromp; and subsequently served as Vice Admiral of the French fleet under the Duke of Vendosme.

† Harcourt was a gallant and loyal French officer; but his laurels faded before the genius of the great Turenne.

‡ The De Wit party were at this period predominant in Holland, in opposition to the Orange Partizans, who were, of course, friendly to the King.

§ Sir Richard Browne himself had many enemies at this moment among the English Exiles;

prætende to know much, and I have seene some letters from Hollande, wherin it hath beene sayd, that the 668 . S 13 . t 12 . a 4 . t 12 . e 7 . s 62 . had 506 . giuen 493 . 30 . order to ther Ambassr 95 . to 667 . communicate all affayres with 713 . the 668 . Kinge 220 . and so it seemes others who belieued that true, may haue giuen notice of his resorte to the Louer, possibly without any ill purpose, and yett I will not absolue them from that nether : at least, folly and impertinency does the same mischieue that malice does : but the King 220 . would haue you assure the Ambr 668 . 95 . that he will be as carefull heareafter as he desyres, and for the two papers, he 501 . will 710 . examine his cabinett, wher he is sure they are, if he did not burne them, and deliuer them to me, and I will then send them to you by some sure messenger : ffor S 13 . t 12 . a 21 . r 36 . k 51 . y 10 . and 407 . 39 . Taylor* 21 . 10 . 28 . 53. I am of your opinion for the first, that he is honest, but a foole : The other is more a foole, and I doubte not so honest, though yett I do not take him for a spy : nor can I imagyne it possible for them to make any sober vsefull proposicons to 667 . the 668 . Ambassr 95. The Kinge will follow the aduice, and 407 . s 13 . i 27 . t 12 . t 42 . still, till the Ambassr 668 . 95 . w 20 . is 529 . h 17 . e 7 . s 62 . him 502 . to 667 . moue 577. The sendinge Lord 394 . Willmot 532 . into 667 . Germany† 186 . is not declared, and 407 . if 531 . hee 501 . goe 491 . s 13 . (which will not be yett) hee 501 . shall not goe 491 . by 415 .

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some of whom, from a wish to dismiss him from the King's service, went so far as to insinuate at Court that, "his Majesty being present, he could have no Resident." This is alluded to in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, in the State Papers, III. 112.

* This Taylor, adverted to in former notes, was the King's agent with the Emperor of Germany and the Diet; as appears more particularly in a letter to him from Sir Edward Hyde (State Papers, vol. III. p. 112), in reference to an approaching meeting of that body. But in the same volume, page 121, a very strong reason is given for Lord Wilmot's German Embassy, for Hyde says: "I am sure a wise man is wanting there; for Taylor is the most absolute fool I ever heard of."—Vide further, same volume, pp. 113, 116.

† How well the King's motions were watched by the Parliamentary spies, is evident from the fact that a journal of the 5th August 1652, states—"The late King of Scots is at St. German's, and expects daily to bee sent for by the Hollanders. The *Lord Wilmot is designed to go Ambassador from him into Germany.*"

Holand, the King would nott haue the Bishop
192 . 668 . 220 . 728 . 589 . 514 . 668 . 99 . propose any such thinge
to the Ambas^r that you should lett the
667 . 668 . 95. Though he be willinge 673 . 731 . 665 . 551 . 668 .
Ambas^r know hee can putt such places
95 . 546 . that as low as his power is, 501 . 429 . 615 . 654 . 618 . 13.
in Irland and Scotland of Holand
532 . 204 . 407 . 363 . into the handes 598 . 192 . as would inable
them to torment ther enimyes * : Ther is no opinion of the good nature
Pr. El. Pal. †. The Earl of Br: was to councel
and gratitude of 308 . 452 . 598 . 103 . 707 . called 667 . 121 . as
Counsell^r of
an old 121 . 599 his father ‡ : and it would haue bene greate pitty he
L^d Digby
should not : he is a good old man, and much my frende. 155 . in-
tends his owne businesse and lookes not after what concernes us : I
thinke I haue answered all yours : and I am able to add nothinge of
this place : god of heaven præserue you, and me as I am heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate hu^ble Seru^t,

EDW. HYDE.

St. Germains, Wensday July
31. 8 at night. 1652.

Sir Ri. Browne.

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* This is a most extraordinary fact, and perfectly in unison with another letter from Sir Edward to Secretary Nicholas, published in the State Papers, vol. III. p. 86. Fortunately for the King's credit, and the honour of the Nation, the idea was finally dropped by both parties.

† The Elector Palatine subsequently justified this opinion; for, when the German Princes made up a sum of ten thousand pounds for Charles, the Elector, though under great obligations both to his father and grandfather, did not contribute a single stiver.—Vide Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 418.

‡ In tracing the conduct of the Earl of Bristol throughout these letters, the inquisitive reader will derive much amusement from Walpole's account of him as a Noble Author.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

Since I writt last to you (though it was but on ffryday night) I haue receaued 5 letters from you, two of the 2d, one of the 3. of the 4. and the 5. of this moneth, all which are now before me to be answered in order, after I have exceedingly thanked you for your diligent and very punctuall correspondence, which is so greate a virtue, that it is hardly to be founde, and therfore it is high iniustice not to rewarde and gratify it, which I hope will one day be done.

I have informed the Kinge of the Venetian Ambassadors complainte against Mr. Killigrew *, with which his Ma^ty^ is very much troubled, and resolues upon his returne hither, to examyne his miscarriage, and to proceede therin in such a manner as shall be worthy of him, and as may manifest his respecte to that Commonwealth, with which the Crowne of Englande hath alwayes held a very stricte amity, and his Ma^tys^ Ministers haue in all places præserued a uery good correspondence with the Ministers of that State, and therfore his Ma^ty^ is the more sensible of this misdemeanour of his Resident: However his Ma^ty^ wishes that the Republique had proceeded accordinge to the vsuall custome, and first acquainted him with ther iust exception against his Minister, that therupon his Ma^ty^ might haue testifyed his respecte to them by recallinge and punishinge him, and that they had not by a judgement of ther owne compelled him to retyre, which beinge so vnusuall a way, his Ma^ty^ doubts will not be cleerely and generally under-

* Sir Edward, in his Life, page 116, says, that the King was at first unwilling to send Killigrew to Venice; but afterwards was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in the capacity of Envoy "he might borrow money of English merchants for his own subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master."

This letter adds some interesting historical detail upon a circumstance but slightly noticed in the page of History. François Erizzo was the Doge who acted thus cavalierly to the representative of an exiled Monarch. Perhaps one of the most prudent, yet most dignified, of the events of Charles's reign, is the affair here treated of: and the Venetian Senate, if they had any feeling for Royalty in eclipse, must have experienced a degree both of shame and sorrow for their hasty conduct!

stoode, but may be interpreted to the Kings disaduantage as a declininge in this tyme of tryall that auntient frendshipp with the Crowne of Englande, which his Ma^ty^ is gladd to finde by the Ambassadour is not in truth the purpose or intention of that Commonwealth, and you are to thanke the Ambassadour in the Kings name for his particular affection to his Ma^ty^, which he desyres him to continue.—After I had shewed the Kinge your letter, he appointed me 667 (to) . 36. 23. 4. 25. 7. 530. 532. (read) councell 121. and the resolucon was ther taken for the answer, so that the very wordes which I haue used upon this argument, were consider'd and perused by the Kinge.—I have bene very much troubled for poore Mr. Douglasse's beinge sicke, and am much comforted with your good newes of his amendment: If ther had not bene 3 or 4 persons of quality heare very sicke, as my Lo: Wentworth *, ... Schomburgh, younge Mr. Jarmin †, who hath the small pox, and others, who would not indure the absence of ther physicon, Dr. ffrayser ‡ had gone over to Paris to looke to him: I pray when you go next remember my seruice to him, and desyre him to be very carefull of himselfe that he fall not into relapse: — I could willingly be of your minde for the certainty of one avowed messenger, but I finde it harde to lay the worke upon one man, which your passe must suppose; besydes the askinge such a warrant might possibly shutt the doore against all others, and that would not be well, for betweene the English and Dutch Letters, and the particular businesses from this

* Lord Wentworth, of whom some particulars may be found in a former note, was shortly after this sent as Agent to Denmark, where he remained until the ensuing year.

† Son of Thomas, elder brother of Lord Jermyn. He succeeded his uncle, after the restoration, in the Barony of Jermyn, but not in the Earldom of St. Alban's, and died without issue male.

‡ Fraser was a Scotchman, and mingled much in the religious politics of that Country; he also had some political as well as medical influence at the exiled Court. Lord Clarendon, in State Papers, III. 119, says of him, "I am glad you have so good a correspondent as Dr. Frayser, who is grown (God knows why) an absolute stranger with me; he is great with Lord Gerard and Mr. Attorney, but he will speedily leave us and go for England, which truly I am sorry for, for the King's sake; for no doubt he is good at his business, otherwise the maddest fool alive."—He also speaks particularly well of him in the same volume, p. 45; yet Fraser took great offence against Sir Edward, on account of this trip to England, actually asserting that it was Hyde's wish to have him murdered when there, or that he might languish in prison until he should die of grief and hunger!

place, ther is no day passes without a messenger to Paris, and an authority graunted to one might cause all the rest to be in more daunger; the conclusion is, that wee will euery Wensday morninge, or Tuesday night, send an honest fellow to you, and agayne on Saturday morninge, and in those two only I will take my selfe to be most concerned. I hope the Kinge of Spayne * is not deade, and then the arryvall of the ffleete will indeede prooue a cordiall. I haue the same reproches fro' the Hague, for not writinge things which I doe not know, and sometymes that are not. — You must explayne this; you say, *I have not yet seene* 95. *both he and I haue bene to* [*too*] *busy*. What do you meane by that, sure you haue not bene so, nor does any wise man thinke you can be soe: I haue 668 . 670 . 569 . 29 . 2 . 36 . 27 . 400. 13 . 501 . sent to 668 . 216 . 415 . 502 . 13 . 43 . 30 . 59 . 722 . 731 . requyred and the 220 . gaue 569 . two dayes since: I will keepe them till you order me to dispose them. As I was much startled my selfe with readinge yours of yesterday, which my Lady Harberte † sent me late in the night, concearning 673 . 668 . 220 . 506 . 493 . 30 . some derections quite contrary to what I understoode to be his minde, so I gave my selfe the pleasure of perplexinge 502 . 239 . by readinge only the first parte of your letter: and when he was in trouble, and protested that he had neuer gaue any such order, I reade him that which was in cypher, with which he was wonderfully pleased, and exceedingly thankes 668 . 95 . and referres the proceedinge 532 . 530 . intirely 667 . 502 . 440 . 15 . 36 . 23 . 12 . 537 . and frendshipp, for as he hath hitherto accordinge to his aduice forborne in the least degree to stirr, or moue any thinge, for feare of doinge it vnseasonably, so he very well knowes, that such an ouerture as this, timely made, 571 . 493 . 502 . 488 . 13 . 532 . 192 .

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* Philip IV. He died not until 1665.

† Wife of Sir Edward Herbert, the Attorney General, and, for a short time, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

opportunity 667 . 13 . 21 . 10 . somewhat on his behalfe*, which of themselues originally they could not doe, and therfore 668 . 220 . committs 668 . 428 . 25 . 43 . 15 . 42 . 23 . 598 . wholy to 12 . 17 . 23 . 95 . and will acknowledge alwayes 668 . 495 . 7 . 18 . 24 . 56 . 12 . 13 . 667 . 505 . and ther is no doubte, if ther were an opportunity 667 . 12 . 36 . 23 . 21 . 42 . 23 . 600 . 668 . 220 . 13 . 416 . 17 . 21 . 28 . 18 . 7 . ther would be founde reall aduantages yett in his power (as low as it is) 667 . 493 . 713 . reference 667 . 204 . 407 . 363 . and really I have reason to belieue that wee could speedily 580 . 213 . 191 . 407 . 13 . 27 . 28 . 52 . 10 . 402 . 603 . deuocon. You must lett 668 . 95 . 546 . that 668 . 220 . hath this day dispatched 549 . 12 . 21 . 18 . 24 . 667 . 668 . 446 . 598 . 231 . (with whome he is in singular creditt, and is indeede a very honest man) 661 . 428 . 27 . 1 . 36 . 23 . 505 . 589 . in any degree to disturbe 192 . 417 . 600 . the other hande . 667 . declare that 501 . 710 . 401 . 13 . 529 . 12 . 676 . 414 . 13 . 12 . 164 . which I doubte not he will doe

* On consulting a letter of the 2d August to Secretary Nicholas, then residing in Holland, it is evident that this passage refers to the former proposals for the delivery of certain places, both in Scotland and Ireland, to the Dutch.

† The King's wishes at this period are recorded in one of the public journals, ("Several Proceedings," 28th October 1652,) in a letter from Paris. "Charles Stuart, the Tituler Scots King, lives in the Palace Royall, and still in necessity; his Mother went to Challeau on Munday last; he impatiently expects this peace; he could wish to be now in Ireland, so he told some of his own Creatures of late; so would all about him: Yet Ormond and Inchiquin tell him plainly that those who most oppose the Commonwealth are but Ulster men, which doe not much care for him, and are only for their own ends, which if they could obtain, would never look upon a King, and that if they promise to be faithful to a Parliament they would be constant."

‡ Lord Taafe was particularly active in the King's Councils, with respect to the affairs of Ireland. A Gazette of that day, alluding to the King's Hibernian proceedings, says, when speaking of the proposed operations of the Duke of Lorraine — "Lord Taafe is the man that manageth the business with the King, which is much opposed by the Lord Wilmot, and some others, as a course very improbable: and this hath occasioned a quarrel, and afterwards a challenge, betwixt Taafe and Wilmot, which with much ado was composed by the Scots King."

heartily. I conceaue my L^d^ Inchiquin * (though I haue not spoken with him of it this day) does not speedily intende to make use of his passe, but will send to you agayne about it, before he exspects it fro' you.—It is very true ther was such a summ of mony lately receaued at Paris for the Kinge as you mention, and 40. pistoles of it disposed to that Lady, which is all the mony he hath receaued since he came hither, and in some tyme before, and he hath hope to receaue iust such a summ agayne within these few dayes, but alasse it doth not inable his cooks and back-stayres † men to goe on in the provydinge his dyett, but they protest they can undertake it no longer: I hope ther will be shortly another manner of receipt, and then if you should be left out, I should mutiny on your behalfe: in the meane tyme, if it would giue you ease, I could assure you, my L^d^ . . . . . nor I have one cardicue in the worlde, yett wee keepe up our spiritts: ffor gods sake do you so to, and he will carry you through this terrible storme. — My L^d^ Jermin is this day gone to the Courte, how longe he stayes I know not. We haue no newes, at least that I know. I pray tell us as much as you know of the Armyes mouinge, and what hope ther is of peace. I am

S^r^

your very affectionate hu^ble^ serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

S^t^ Germans this
Tuesday the 6. of Aug.
6. at night. 1652.

This messenger is to returne as soone as the fflanders letters are arryved.

S^r^ Ri. Browne.

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* It had been intended, at this period, that Lord Inchiquin, accompanied by Jermyn, should go as Ambassador to Holland, to prepare matters for Charles's reception there.

† The public journals, in real or fictitious letters from Paris, asserted loudly that the "quondam" King, as they styled him, had grown so hateful to the people of that City, "since Loraigne's treason, being afraid lest he might find such entertainment from them at the new bridge as others had experimented, and being reduced to nothing to subsist on, and having beggared a multitude of bakers, brewers, butchers, and other tradesmen, on Saturday last departed out of this town with all his family (*nullo relicto*). The Prince of Condé and Beauford accompanied him about a league off the town; he is gone to St. Jermin's, and from thence to St. Dennis, intending for Hol-

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^,

That yours of the 10. of December (which came to my handes the same day that I dispatched my last to you) hath yett brought you no answer, is not my faulte, for as I was takinge penn & paper to do it on Sunday last, your other of the 14. arryued, which derected me to change my cource of writinge, & to send no more to Nantz *, but to St. Malos: and indeede I was very gladd to finde that you were bounde for Brest, wher I should haue wished you, notwithstandinge any discouragements you receaued from thence, except you could bringe a recommendation from this Courte: for Mr. Holder † writes me worde, that a letter from Moun^r^ Castlenoe would signify very little. I am confident the letter you haue from our Master, will præserue you from any affronts, and then sure your beinge ther will be at least for your owne aduantage, both to collecte what is dew to his Ma^ty^ upon accounts ‡, which must be worth somewhat, and will be easily discouer'd by what Mr. Holder hath receaued from the Duke, and to receaue the dewes upon ther last pryzes, which will, they say, amounte to a rounde summ.—Though S^r^ Geo. Carterett was gone out of the towne, when I receaued yours of

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land, where keeping a correspondence with the Duke of Loraine, and likewise with his Mother and his Brother Yorke, who are to remain yet in France, he hopes to worke some mischiefe to the State of England."

We suspect, from the internal evidence of this Parisian letter, that, like many others of modern date, it is of London manufacture—"*mutato nomine*," &c. It is not the less curious! *for in those days the public papers were printed with an Imprimatur from Hen. Scobell, Clerk of Parliament!!!*

* Sir Richard Browne was, at this moment, very active in endeavouring to collect the King's dues on the prizes brought into the different ports of France.

† Holder was Secretary to Prince Rupert. He was loyal, and it appears from Lord Clarendon's State Papers that great dependence was placed on him when wanted: yet Sir Edward calls him "the pert, importunate agent of the Catholics."

‡ The difficulty which the King experienced in raising any money upon the prizes, is alluded to in "Perfect Passages" of the 15th October 1652: "Prince Rupert hath lately seized on some good prizes; he keeps himself far remote, and makes his kinsman, Charles Stuart, make a leg for some cullings of his windfalls."

the 10. yett very contrary to my exspectation he returned hither 3 or 4 dayes after, and stayed only one night, when I shewed him your letter; sure he will do all the good offices to you in all thinges he is able. My L^{d} . . . . . will obserue the caution you giue him, and will be gladd you can discouer any monyes to be dew to him, and he will gladly giue you authority to receaue it; indeede a supply will come as seasonable to him, as to any body, for when I haue told you, that none of us haue receaued a penny since you went, you will belieue our necessityes to be importunate enough, which would be more insupportable, if wee did not see the King himselfe reduced to greater distresse then you can believe or imagyne. I perceaue the arrest of ffarrande, is upon some pique betweene the Duke of Vandosme and the Marshall Melleray *, betweene whom the contests grew very high, and are like to breake out to such a degree that the Courte is not without apprehension, that it shall not conteyne them both to its seruice, and seemes at present, to be vnsatisfyed with the Marshall, and I heare some letters of reprehension are sent to him; therfore this arrest is not like to produce any aduantage to his Ma^{ty}. besydes that it seemes the shipp is out of the power of the Marshall. I haue giuen Choquex the papers, and will conferr with him what is to be done, for it is I perceaue true that the shipp and all the furniture was really putt into his handes by Pr. Ruperte †, so that besides the restitution of the vessell, ther will be a large accounte to be made: When any thinge is resolued, you shall haue an accounte of it.

I am very gladd you haue had so good successe in your suite, I hope it is but an instance of future good fortune at Brest, wher ther is much dew, if you haue receaued so little, as I haue formerly hearde you haue mentioned: — I præsume you haue kept an exacte accounte of all you haue had upon those assignations, which I putt you only in minde of,

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* Melleray was Governor of Nantes.

† Prince Rupert, just before this period, was in the West Indies, and had with him a fleet of fifteen sail, to which eight Dutch ships were joined in October. He is stated in the journals to have captured ten rich English vessels, whilst cruizing off St. Kitts. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that another journal, the "Perfect Passages," places him off Cyprus, and describes him as capturing all vessels that pass him in the Levant.

because upon conference with S^r^ Geo. Carterett, he could not belieue it had bene possible, that upon so many pryzes as he obserued to be brought in, you should touch so little, as I assured him had come to your handes. When you went from hence, and vpon occasyon of somewhat I writt lately in a letter to Mr. . . . . of the no profitt accrewed to his Ma^ty^ upon that receipte, he answered me, that it was impossible much could come to his Mat^tys^ owne receipte, when he granted so large assignments out of it, and so mentioned in the first place, what was allotted to you, as if it had bene payde. — Wee know nothinge of Englande more then that your ffrench Minister was landed at Dover. Wee shall shortly see what his reception hath bene, and shall then better guesse at the effects; in the meane tyme, we are at no ease heare. My Lo: of Rochester (for that is my L^d^ Willmotts title) * is to sett out from hence on Thursday morninge, he trauells with a small trayne, and hath it in his power to assume or not assume the title of Ambassadour †, which I suppose he will choose to declyne, and do his busi-

* There was considerable difficulty in finding a proper title for Lord Wilmot, since his first proposed one of Essex was claimed by Lord Capel, and that of Danby by the Attorney General; upon which, as stated in the Clarendon Papers, III. 128, " my Lord declined that title, and so his patent is drawn up for the Earl of Rochester."—Also III. p. 57.

† It was hoped that he would be able to induce the German Princes to advance money for the King's private expenditure; and also to interfere with the Dutch, and render them disposed to undertake some decided step in his favour. The King must, certainly, at this period, have been in extreme distress, if we are to credit a letter from Paris in the " Several Proceedings" of 13th December, which asserts that " the titular King of Scots is reduced to so low condition that he is forced to eate his meals in taverns here at Paris, having not the commodity of dining at home."

The distress of the King and his friends may indeed well be imagined, when Sir Edward Hyde, not three months before this date, thus expresses himself in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas: " It is no wonder you should desire to be eased, as much as may be, of all kinds of charges. I am sure I have as much reason as any man living to join with you in that thrift; yet I cannot avoid the constant expense of seven or eight livres the week for postage of letters, which I borrow scandalously out of my friends pockets, or else my letters must more scandalously remain still at the post-house; and I am sure all those which concern my own private affairs would be received for ten sous a week, so that all the rest are for the King, from whom I have not received one penny since I came hither, and am put to all this charge; and yet it is to no purpose to complain, though I have not been master of a crown these many months, and cold for want of clothes and fire, and owe for all the meat which I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is not longer able to trust."

nesse in a priuate way, which will procure a speedyer dispatch. — God præserue you.

I am

S^r^

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

E. H.

Pallais Royale this
24 of Decemb. Christmasse Eue, 1652.

Commend me to Mr. Holder, and lett him know I have now receaued his of the 13.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I haue receaued yours of the 22^th^ from Nantes, and am very gladd that you haue passed that parte of your iourny so well; I hope the rest will be as successfull, though I do not exspecte you should finde as good weather to bringe you home, as you haue had to carry you out: The Spanyard * desyred me to giue you my thankes for your care of him, which I do very heartily, and conceaue by this tyme he is gotten into his owne Country, and I do not thinke he will euer visitt ffrance agayne, which he hath no reason to loue, but for the English which he founde heare. Ther hath beene yett no letter from the Mareschall de Melleray, which ther was no reason to exspecte, if you had not mentioned it, as somewhat you thought intended; I am exceedinge gladd that he proceeded so roundly with the English Rebells, as to arrest both the shipps and goods †, I wish they did so in all other partes of ffrance, that they might proceede a little more briskely towards ther

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* This is a part of the private history of the time, to which there is no certain clue. There were some plans in agitation on the part of the Condeans to persuade both England and Spain to aid them with their arms; and as at this period there were two powerful political parties at Madrid, perhaps the man alluded to may have been a secret agent in the politics of the day.

† This is an event not elsewhere recorded; unless it alludes to the seizures of some ships at Dunkirk, afterwards restored to Cromwell by the French Government.

greate worke, then yett they appeare to doe, but if I am not deceaued, the English will quicken them shortly, if they haue any spiritts left.

You must not suspecte your frends kindnesse and affection to you, when I tell you, that your arrett is not yett dispatched: you know how little seruice I can do in that kinde by any personall sollicitation of my owne, more then by callinge upon S^r^ Ri: Foster *, which I haue often done, and in truth I thinke him to be as carefull in all that concernes you, and in this particular, as a frende can be: But the truth is, he hath bene ill since you went, and your Aduocate hath bene neuer with him, not at home when he went to finde him, and the setlinge the kings businesse with the Surintend't (which is yett farr from beinge setled) hath so worne out the good old man, that he hath not bene yett able to settle yours, which he promises me to dispatch out of hande: I forgott likewise to tell you, that his man is gone from him, which leaues him so much the worse.

I receaued this weeke a letter from S^r^ Ger. Lucas, under a cover to you, dated from a place called I thinke . . . . . , I suppose it is somewher in Britany, and I belieue you haue some addresse to him, therfore I trouble you with the inclosed.—All heare are your Seru^ts^: God præserue you. I am very heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate humble Serv^t^

Edw: Hyde.

Pallais Royall 29 of Novemb. 1652.

The Kinge would have you giue Mr. Richards all assistance in executinge the orders for the Patricke & Francis †, formerly granted to S^r^ G^e^ Carterett: the 10^th^ & 15^th^ are to be payd to the proper receauers.

Sir Ri. Browne.

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* Sir Richard Foster was keeper of the King's privy purse, though he seldom was lucky enough to have any cash in it. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. p. 46.

† Two of the Jersey privateers.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S[r]

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of Decemb. and am very gladd that you were then upon your way to Brest, wher sure your presence will be more necessary then at Nantes, though it may be, your company was not much desyred ther: you will I suppose finde the seamen and Capt: weary of that Porte, and therfore you are like to be the more wellcome to them, with the proposicon from the Marechall de Melleray*, and if they were once induced to goe to Porte Lewes, I would mooue the Kinge to take notice of it, and to write to the Marechall: I hope you haue founde good store of mony for your selfe at Brest, from the pryzes which haue bene brought in, & that you finde that trybe of Captayns as towardly as Mr. Holder reported them to be, who hath a wonderfull esteeme of them: Though I do not loue to infuse any iealosyes or distrust into any man, of his frends, and those of whome he hath a good opinion, yett I haue reason to warne you, to be a little upon your guarde, and not too freely to imparte all you know or thinke to 667 . Mr. 568 . H. 17 . o 2 . l 28 . d 15 . e 23 . r 36 . who 704: trust me is a 4 . . . 699 . weeke 726 . man 573 . and so sottishly corrupted in 534 . his 502 . Religion 337 . that 673 . hee 501 . belieues whatsoeuer any p 34 . r 36 . i 27 . e 7 . s 13 . t 12 . sayes to him, how ridiculous soeuer, and to all these virtues he thinkes himselfe wiser then Salomon. Ther are some other reasons for this caution, which I cannot expresse at large, which make me belieue that he 501 . is 529 . not 589 . so 645 . iust 538 . to 667 . you 731 . as be 501 . ought to be. Wee are all heare in the same beg-

* Melleray was at this moment a great object of jealousy to Cardinal Mazarine, who caused a letter to be sent to him from the King, inviting him to Court, and adding an offer of the command in Champagne; but the Marshal was aware that this was an intrigue to get him and his son to Court, they being suspected as friendly to the Condé Party, and therefore he excused himself on pretence of illness, &c. He was Governor of Nantes.

garly condicon * you left us, which I thinke by longe custome will grow a seconde nature to us: I should be gladd to heare that S^r^ Geo. Carterett were come to Brest.—God præserue you, and bringe us well togither agayne:—I am very heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 11 of January 1653.

Sir Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

I haue yours of the 3^d^ and of the 6. of this moneth; and you had receaued an answer to the first before the last had come to my hands, if it had bene in my power to haue returned you such a one, as could haue satisfyed my selfe. I was as full of the sense of the iniury and indignity that is offred to your Captaynes at Brest, and truly so is the Kinge, as they could wish, but you know iniuryes and acts of iniustice are not as soone remedyed and repayred heare, as discouered: The Kinge wished young L^d^ Jermin, Mr. Atturny and my selfe, to con-

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* This is rather extraordinary, when even the Parliamentary journals in England state the following remarkable facts, in November 1652: "The King of Scots lies yet in the Palace Royal, whither the King and Queen came to give him a visit, and in abundance of ceremony, to thank him for that great pains he had taken in labouring the healing up of those sad breaches between his Majesty and his People; which Christian office has gained him at Court the title of *Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Pericli Dissipator Gallici, Pacisque Compositor Generalissimo.* 'Tis rumoured that the King of Denmark should send him £.100,000 in gold for a present, with the promis'd assistance of him and his subjects in the disputing of his cause against all opposers. The Duke of Yorke is still in high favour, and is cryed up for the most accomplished gentleman, both in arms and courtesie, that graces the French Court. The English begin to be admitted dayly into places of high trust and command; and those shaded Cavaliers, whom the world thought worthy of nothing but exilement, begin to be looked upon according to their worth and known gallantry."

sider what was to be done, and wee were all of opinion, knowinge what Princes all Gouernours are at present in ffrance, that it would not be fitt to mooue the Courte, which no doubte knows nothinge of this arrest and restrainte, nor it may be of the bargayne and connivance for the admissyon of our shipps (for you know wee haue bene longe without the benefitt of the printed Order you mention) before Mons. Castlenoe (from whome the orders were without question sent, for his owne benefitt) be first spoken with, and my L^{d} Jermin * promised to doe that presently, and he hoped effectually; but wee finde after longe enquyry that Mons. Castlenoe is gone out of this Towne to the Cardinall, nor is it knowne when he will returne, and yett it is thought as necessary, that his minde and resolucon be first vnderstoode: Therfore my L^{d} Jermin hath written to him, and inclosed the State of the case, made out of your letters, and M^{r} Atturny hath sent the same to the Duke of Yorke, who wee presume is most like to gett a full dispatch in it, and wee must exspecte the answer from thence, and then if there be any cause to complayne at Courte, wee will take the best care wee can, that it be made as it ought to be.

ffor the other businesse concerninge the Marq: of . . . . . , of which

* Jermyn's influence at the exiled Court had for some time been very great; and is thus described by a journalist of that period, in a volume of Tracts in the British Museum: "The little Queen is retired to the nunnery at Chaliot, there to spend her time a while in devotion, for the advance of some designes that she hath on foot; she left her son the fugitive at the Louvre, given up to the bent of his Common Prayer Mongers, and of Jermyn, whose power is now greater with him than any; which is a sure sign that his Mother rules him again, and that he hath resigned his judgment, affection, and all to her, because heretofore there was a sore grudge between him and Jermyn, in regard at his former being here (Paris) Jermyn (who then commanded and still keeps the purse) was very streight handed over him in his expences. — — The old Court flies begin now again to flock about him" (30th Dec. 1651) "from all parts. Crofts is returning from Poland, where he called himself a Lord Ambassadour, and is to be made a Lord, as soon as he comes (as they would have us believe), for his pains in that employment, and for the charitable contribution of our Polish Cousins that (they say) he brings along with him. Some of them are come to the Louvre already out of Flanders, as Hide, a man of dignity too, that calls himself the Chequer Chancellor; here is also Bramhall, of London Derry, Dan O'Neill, Fraiser, a physitian, and one Lloid, a Chaplain. These bring newes, that Buckingham and Secr. Nicholas would have come along too, but that they wanted Ghelt; and the rest of his Majesties black Guard and retinue, that wander in the Low Countries, if they were sure of daily bread for their attendance."

I thinke I writt somewhat to you in my last, Mr. Atturny and I haue spoken with Choquy of it, who exspects euery day an answer to what he hath formerly sent to the Marq: and when that comes, or that it appeares he desyres not to make any answer, the Kinge will conclude what he should doe as to the revocation.

ffor your Hamborough pryse, you cannot suppose that I will returne a priuate opinion of my owne, in a businesse of that nature, for many reasons, and the Kinge commanded me to aduise with M^r^ Atturny, and upon both our consideringe the case, as M^r^ Holder sent it me, wee doe not see it so cleerely stated, as to be able to giue the Kinge any iudgement upon it, since it does not appeare that the goods do at all belonge to any English marchant or ffactor, but for ought appears may be the proper estate of the Hamberghers.

I did not suppose they had suffred you to giue any adiudications ther, and that the former arrest had bene made at Rhemes upon that quarrell: Wee hope the Duke will be heare within 2 or 3 dayes, and then it will be necessary to receaue his derection upon all this businesse. My L^d^ Inchiquin and I are upon some trouble with your Landlord, who yesterday was at your house, and expresses some purpose to seize upon the goods; which we all vnderstande would not only be very mischieuous to you, but very dishonorable to the Kinge, and therfore you may be confident that wee omitt nothinge that is in our power to doe, hauinge not a penny to discharge the debte*. This day S^r^ Ri: ffoster goes with my L^d^ Inchiquin to him, to see how farr good wordes and promises will prevayle with him, and all other courses shall be really taken for his satisfaction, that are in the Kinges power. Will ther be nothinge

* The distress of the King may be faintly appreciated from an extract from the Mercurius Politicus, 8th July 1652, where it is stated: "Charles Stuart, who was said to be gone in our last" (from Paris), "went not till some few days after. He made the more haste, because a servant of his was fallen upon, pursued, and beaten, even in his master's place of abode at the Louvre. Hee also was besieged there by the bakers, butchers, and other tradesmen of all sorts, in whose books he is faln very deep; and they feared, if they lost him, they should lose their money. But to pacify them they were told his intent was but to go to Rosny upon the way to Roan. His Mother marches with him. The small baggage they have is already gone. They give out that they wil returne after the peace is made, and condemn this City of Ingratitude; alledging that it had bin blockt up by the King before this time, had it not bin for their mediation with his Majesty."

dew upon the Kinges owne share of the pryses brought in by the Patricke & Francis, that might be imployed to that purpose? any order should be procured from hence.

I pray convay this inclosed to Ge: Carterett, who I suppose is not still with you. God præserue you. I am heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Pall: Ro: this 21 of January 1653.

Sir R: Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

I have receaved yours of the 7th from the good Govern^r^ and your selfe, and this must serue as answer to you both, for I am still in my old posture, not yet able to stirr from my bed. I have not heard these many weekes from Mr. Holder, but I suppose he giues the same informacon to the Duke and his Officers, if not, what he sayes is likely to be beleiued more then what I shall informe, therefore I must still renew my aduice to you, that you write very particularly to the Duke himselfe, or to some of his Officers, of all the obstruccons you meete with, and very particularly of the misdemeanours of the Captaines *, and of any such proposicons and expedients which you thinke fitt to offer for the promoting his seruice, and I make noe doubt but his Royall Highnes will as soone hearken to you, and be aduiced by you, as by any persons. I can giue you noe Intelligence from hence whilst I continue thus a prysoner, but truely I thinke they who are abroad know little of moment, the Court here being wholy intent upon battels and matters of pleasure, and our owne affaires being in a dead calme, ex-

* The Duke of York was actually at this period with the French Army under Turenne; and though he here appears to have been personally interested in the affairs of the little squadron of privateers, yet there is no mention of it whatever in the Life recently published from his own Memoir.

specting some gentle gale from some of our neighbours to give them motion, and really I doe belieue y^e^ good spiritt does improve, since noe body can doubt, but y^t^ the people in England are generally well prepared for it. This is all I can say to you, but y^t^ I am to you both

your most affectionate humble servant

EDW. HYDE.

Paris 18 Feb. 1653.

The King hath lately bene aduertised by the Gouernment of Innisboffine that if any Marchantmen will bring corne, armes, or ammunicon thither, they shall be sure to receiue ready money for it, and that such a supply would enable them for some time to exspect greater, and not to submitt to the Rebells. If it were possible to procure any of your Men of Warr, or any Marchants to resort thither, it would be a wonderfull good seruice, therfore I pray deuice all wayes possible to compasse it, and lett me know how the seuerall letters I sent to you directed to y^t^ place haue bene disposed off*.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

I am sure it can be no newes to you that Pr. Rupert is safe at Nantes †, and therfore it is very probable this letter may not finde you

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* These plans and hopes were soon after put an end to by the capture of Innisboffin by the Parliamentary Army, it being then the last place in Ireland that held out for the King.

† This was the last of Prince Rupert's maritime expeditions during the Interregnum. On his return to Europe he captured a rich prize laden with tobacco, and having carried her into Nantz, in March 1653, he was soon after seized with a violent illness, recovering from which he proceeded to Paris, and was well received by the French King. From thence he went to the Imperial Court; but returned to England at the Restoration.

The small fleet now under the command of Prince Rupert had been originally re-fitted at Toulon; but having met with losses of ships, particularly at the Azores, where his own flag-ship, the Reformation, had been sunk, and the whole crew of 360 men perished, with the exception of Rupert, his brother Maurice, and twelve others, it was found necessary to return to the Northern parts of France, particularly as Admiral Penn, with his squadron, was waiting for them in the Streights of Gibraltar.

at Brest, but that you may haue thought it fitt to attende his Highnesse, and offer him your seruice. The Kinge hath sent Mr. Holder some derection concerninge the Hamborough shipp. If George Carterett * be not with you, I pray send this letter to him by the first safe opportunity, and if he hath not a coppy of your cypher, send it to him, I havinge used it in this letter for 3 or 4 lynes, which it is necessary for him to understande. Excuse me, who hauinge no letter of yours to answer, for beinge at present so shorte, which you know is not my naturall faulte. Wee haue reason to hope the Kings affayres are upon a mendinge hande, with reference to Hollande. — God be with you. I am very heartily

S^r^

your most affectionate Seru^t^

Edw. Hyde.

Paris this 22 of March (1653).

Sir Ric: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

Aboute three days since I receaued yours of the 24. of the last moneth, which makes me still wonder how it comes to passe, that *yours are so longe upon the way*, for it is not possible that the post can be 12 or 14 dayes upon the way from Brest, and so much tyme ther is still betweene your writinge and my readinge. I suppose *the Gouernour* is now gone to Nantes, or else he will not wayte on the Prince, which I should be sorry for: the Kinge sent his coach on Wensday to Orleans, supposinge it will meete his Highnesse † ther, or

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* Sir George Carteret, a little before this time, commanded a small squadron of the Royal ships, with which he cruized, principally upon the coast of Ireland, and greatly to the annoyance of the Republican Party, if we may judge from their splenetic observations in the journals of the day.

† Prince Rupert. This event is much noticed in the London journals of that period. These

that he will be ther within a day or 2 after, so that wee exspecte him heare on Tuesday or Wensday, and till his returne I do not conceaue that you neede putt your selfe to the trouble of a iourny, and if ther be then any *occasyon* for it, I will aduertise you: If the euidence against the Captaynes be so pregnant as it seemes by you to be, of seueral theftes and cozinages, how would it be possible for the Judge to declare them innocent? and though it may, it would be difficulte to obteyne iustice against them in that jurisdiction, yett the declininge to giue in the testimony and charge against them before the proper officer (though it is possible he will not haue power enough to cause reparacon to be made, if he had the will to do it) will be made a greate countenance to them, as if the allegations were not waighty; and I finde (though I am a stranger to all that is done on that syde of the house) that the Captaynes are upon all occasyons much magnifyed, as excellent vsefull ministers.—I am very gladd of that order you mention, against the transportinge the necessaryes for shippinge, which I wonder the more at, because wee conceaue the ffrench Minister at London euery day getts grounde, but I hope they will deceaue each other.—Innisboffin was poorly giuen up aboute the middle of ffebruary, so that now I feare the poore Irish haue only woods and boggs for shelter: I pray keepe all those dispatches safe by you, but you neede not send them backe, till you come your selfe. *Hath G^e^ Carterett a good opinion of Anthonio?* I hope ther will be some parte of your *house-rent* payd out of hande, but I know not what to say to your assignements upon the Prince, who no doubte will haue occasyon to vse all and more then he can haue brought home, to repayre and fitt out his shipps *.—It is a good and conscientious thinge to pay off any old debts, and good husbandry to discharge those first, for which interest is

journals also assert, upon the authority of some runaway seamen, who landed at Weymouth, "that all the plunder he hath brought is not worth £.10,000, and that the Swallow is hallen up altogether unserviceable."

* These were the shattered ships which had returned to Nantz from the West Indian cruize; but another portion of the Royal squadron was now favourably received in the ports of Holland; as is asserted in the "Moderate Publisher" of the 15th April 1653. Indeed it was generally reported that the States had now resolved to give to Charles the title of *King of Great Britain.*

to be payd; but if I were in your case, I should satisfy my selfe, in keepinge mony enough in my purse to præserue me a yeere from staruinge, before I thought of payinge any debtes. Wee *do flatter ourselves* with an opinion that our affayres will mende, and that wee shall not stay longe heare, indeede I belieue our Master will putt himselfe into *some action* this summer, and that wee shall not spende it in ffrance *. God præserue you and

S^r^

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

E. H.

Paris this 12. of April (1653).

Indorsed by Sir R. Browne:
From Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12 Ap^l^ 1653. Received 19 Ap^l^.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble^, 21 April 1653.

Two dayes since I receiued your Hon^rs^ of 12^th^, by which it appeares that it made better speede hither, then it seemes mine commonly doe to Paris, the cause wheroff is, that betweene this place and Morlaix there is noe settled convaiance, only the opportunity of such Carriers who come uncertainly from thence hither once or twice a weeke to fetch linnen cloth. I haue not yett heard one word from the Gouvernour since his goinge hence: butt Mr. Holder (who yesterday returned from Nantes) assures mee that hee had beene with the Prince some dayes before his Highnesses going for Paris; and that His H. did also acknowledge to him to haue receiued my l're by Sir G: Carterett †.

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* This was a vain hope, for Charles remained in France until the ensuing year.

† How very little chance the Privy Purse had of assistance from the assets of the squadron, may be judged from a letter of Hyde's to Nicholas, where he says: "You must never expect information from me of any of the business of the Prize, or any thing that is managed by Prince Rupert, who consults only with the Lord Keeper; and I much doubt very little of that money

I perceiue the French Minister is nott returned (as wee were made beleiue) out of England, which I am sorry for, butt hope God in his due time will doe our worke by puttinge his Ma^ty^ into some successefull action worthy his Royall undertakinge: and shall with impatience expect to heare how in case our Maister leaue the Kingdome, I shall bee inabled to returne to Paris (one handsome stepp to which the discharge of my house-rent will proue), or be otherwayes disposed off in order to his seruice. If wee had faire play the Kinges dues here would rise to somethinge, butt with this most abominably shockinge Gouvernour there is such an unpreuentable tyranny in the vpper and corruption of the under officers in this place where we are but *precario*, that it is a shame to see it.

Captain Antonio hath vppon that score quite left this port, and will yf hee may bee beleiued be shortly with you at Paris, where he hath a proces. S^r^ G. Carteret will giue y^r^ Hon^r^ an account of him; for since the receipt of your last I haue written to him soe to doe. He knowes what I thinke of him, and yf his owne opinion bee not better then mine, I doe assure your Hon^r^ it is nott admirably good: and I doe wish the Kinge would bee very sparinge how hee conferre any fauour on him until he deserue better then hithertoo I can say hee hath. I perceiue you haue new Councellors sworne & a grand new Officer with whom I am obleeged to congratulate. God direct all for the best: soe that the generall of our affaires goe well, it matters not much what becomes of him, who is unfaignedly and æternally Y^r^ Hon^rs^

Most faithfull, most obliged
and most humble seruant
R: Browne.

Brest 21. April 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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will come to the King. I shall be satisfied if what is raised on the guns and ship (for all is to be sold) come justly to his hands." Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 200.—And again, in p. 222, he speaks more feelingly: "The truth is, Prince Rupert is so totally governed by the Lord Keeper [Sir Edward Herbert], that the King knows him not. You talk of money the King should have upon the Prizes at Nantz; alass! he hath not only not had one penny from thence, but Prince Rupert pretends the King owes him more money than ever I was worth."

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble^

My last to your Hon^r^ were of the 28^th^ Aprill, Munday last; the day followinge in the eueninge came priuatly to this towne the Marquis de Neubourg, youngest brother to the Marq: de Sourdiac, with another gentleman in his company; who immediatly went to the Castle, and after a longe consultation with Mon^r^ de Camper concealed themselues as much as they could. Yesterday in a small fregat* which was goinge to sea with his Ma^ties^ commission, this Marquis, with a Captain, an Officer in the Castle, & 150 men, amongst which our turbulent Captain Smyth, imbarqued as priuatly as they could with intention to goe and reduce the Isle of Ushant, for which enterprise I heare this Marquis hath brought the French Kinges orders and Mon^r^ de Castlenau's recommendations. And I presume the Island yf taken, will as formerly bee re-annexed† to this gouvernment of Brest. Wee are in hourly expectation what the successe will bee, wheroff your Hon^r^ may expect account in my next, and accordingly I shall gouverne myselfe in the demand of his Ma^ties^ dues out of the tobacco that shall bee there found, which is nott vppon this occasion to bee neglected. Nott yett one line from my deare S^r^ George Carteret: wee liued together like brothers; and I hope hee hath nott soe soone forgotten mee.

Prayinge, &c. From your Hon^rs^ &c.

R. B.

Brest. 2 May. 1653.

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* The journals of the day, in allusion to the loyal navy, say: "The King of Scots Pickroones play their cards cunningly upon the coast of Jersey; no less than two delicate prizes have they taken and carried to Shawsey Island" (Isle du Choisi), "amounting to a great value; besides Captain Chamberlin playes his pranks notably, and trusses up our pore fishermen, even as a falcon doth wild ducks, forcing them to pay tribute to his young master Charles, and exacts a pistol upon all such boats that fetcheth urack [sea wrack] from the said island of Shawsey, belonging to the French King."

† This affair is rather unintelligible, unless we suppose that Ushant had declared for the Condéan party. The Tobacco alluded to, may possibly have formed the cargoes of prizes carried in there by the Royal cruizers.

The Hollanders bringe more prizes dayly into the ports vppon this coast. Captain Swart who commanded The Patricke hath this weeke lanched a small man of warre under the Holland Colours; Agent Rameng Coale hauinge undertaken to procure for him a sea-commission from the States of Holland.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S[r]

I haue receaued yours of the 21. of the last, and had one little letter from the Gouernour* since his departure from you, after he had wayted on the Prince: I belieue he is now busy at Burdeaux, yett sure he will sometymes write to his frends, who haue the lesse reason to be angry with his silence, since his wife knowes so little of him, that shee askes me wher he is. Our reportes of the proceedings of the ffrench Minister in Englande are so different, that I know not what to thinke of it, many of our frends at London conceauinge him even ready to come away full of dissatisfaction, & on the contrary the Courte heare belieue, or seeme to belieue, that they haue almost finished a treaty with them to ther content: if the newes which came to the Towne 2 dayes since, be true, that Burdeaux hath declared it selfe a common wealth, and is promised protection fro' Englande, ther will be a quicke end of that negotiacon: I wish wee were ready to be gone from hence, though you were not so amply prouyded for, as I wish, yett I doubte not somewhat would be done towards it: in the meane tyme, I am confident S[r] Ric: ffoster hath payd at least halfe a yeeres rent, but I thinke more: I know no new Councellours made, but the Keeper†: and wee haue now

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* Sir George Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey.

† Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Keeper since 1652, of whom Clarendon says, that he "thought himself the wisest man that followed the King's fortune; and was always angry that he had not more to do." His intrigues are humourously depicted by Lord Clarendon, in his own Life, page 123.

another new greate Officer, Pr: Ruperte, Master of the Horse*: God præserue you, and send us a good meetinge. I am very heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

E. H.

Paris this 3 of May 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I receaued yours of the 28. of the last, and of the 2^d^. of this togither 3 dayes since: I thought all the dutyes of the Marq^s^ pryzes had bene already in Mr. Bullins hande, and I told him that he should, and he told me he would retayne in his owne hands the 15^th^ for you: I will not so much as enquyre into what concernes or may relate to the 10^ths^. nor a worde more concerninge the Commissyons, for which I am sure Edgeman neuer exspected a penny, but Maffonett did, and had reason to doe, which I suppose Mr. Bennett† had not: but no more of that: nor I pray take any more notice of it.

I receaued a letter from the good Gouernour within these 2 days from Brouages, which was the first I had from him since his beinge at

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* A letter from Paris, in the journals of the day, says: "Prince Rupert is in some measure recovered of his bloody flux, but goes little abroad out of the Palace Royal, because he wants a princely retinue, which I see no probability for him to have in France yet a while. Charles Stuart is at a non plus what to do; things do not answer his expectations; his designes faile him."

Another observes: "Prince Rupert flourishes with his Blackmoors and new liveries, and so doth his cousin Charles, they having shared the monies made of the prize goods at Nantz; and in recompense Rupert is made Master of the Horse."

† This is the person of whom Clarendon says, in his Characters, that he was a man bred from his cradle in the Court, and had no other business in the world than to be a good courtier, in the arts whereof he succeeded so well, that he might well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time; and, though his parts of nature were very mean, and never improved by industry, yet, passing his time always in good company, and well acquainted with what was done in all businesses, he would speak well and reasonably to any purpose.

Nantes, though he sayes he hath writt others. It is no easy matter in that hurry he is in of businesse and remooues, to write frequent letters, nor is he good at itt at any tyme, and therfore you and I shall be very vnkinde and vniust to him, if wee suspecte his frendshipp to us, for those omissyons, which all men, but those of the penn, are alwayes guilty of: He is sure a very worthy person, and loues wher he professes so to doe: You heare what a noble confusion Cromwell hath made, by dissoluinge ther Parliam^t^* with all the contempt and scorne imaginable, and now those adored members, and of the Councell of State, are looked upon by all, as they deserue to be: What be ther next acte, is our greate expectacon, and what influence that which is done, must haue upon forraigne Nations, who were treatinge with them: sure some notable crisis is at hande, worse I hope wee cannot be. All thinges are heare, as they were, S^r^ Ric. ffoster hath payed 500^li^. for your rent, and hath acquittance only for so much, but no information, what the contracte is, or how much is still in arreare. God send us a good meetinge in England, which is not despayred of by

S^r^

your very affectionate serv^t^

E. H.

Paris May 19. 1653.

Sir R. Browne.

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* Alluding to the events of the 21st April, when he entered the House at the head of a party of soldiers, took away the mace, and ordered the doors to be locked up. A few days afterwards a bill was stuck upon the door—"This House to be let, now unfurnished." The London papers of that day said, as by letter from Paris, "Charles Stuart pretends to be as glad at the dissolution of the Parliament of England, as at the coming of his brother Henry to him, but I think they are both but frolics. He hath received intelligence from Rome, that the Pope will have nothing to do with him, and in no case have dealing with him, as being not only inconstant and unsettled what to do, but unable to do any thing."

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble^ 20 May 1653.

Yesterday I gaue yo^r^ Hon^r^ notice of my beinge called to Nantes: this morninge as I am ready to putt foote in stirrop, Captain Sadlington's* fregat arriues from the coast of Irland with the bearer hearoff O'Sullivane Beirne†, a person whom I find noe lesse by his owne discourse then by the testimonye of all his countrymen here, very well affected to his Ma^ties^ seruice: He comes deputed from such of his Ma^ties^ faithfull subjects as yett remaine in the West side of Munster: and hastens now toward Paris to giue his Ma^tie^ an account of those parts: which though of it selfe it bee recommendation enough, yett at his request, I take the boldnesse by these to addresse him to y^r^ Hon^rs^ acquaintance, and by y^r^ fauour to his Ma^ty^: The state of whose affaires, I hope hee may by Gods goodnesse find in a condition able to afford such releife as may excite and animate these embers of Loyalty into a fire, nay flame, sufficient to destroy and consume the circumambient and the now too predominant contrary of haynous Treason and unparaleld Rebellion. In which good omen I kisse yo^r^ Hon^rs^ hands, and rest

Y^rs^ &c. &c.

R. Browne.

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* Captain Sadlington was retained in the service after the Restoration, and fell gallantly fighting for his Country in the year 1673, on the 4th of June, in the action with Van Tromp. He then commanded the Crown, under the orders of Prince Rupert.

† O'Sullivan Beirne was a gentleman of some landed property in Ireland, living near Beerhaven, and was of such consequence in that part of the Country, where the clans of O'Sullivan were very numerous, that he was chosen general of the forces raised in aid of the Royal Cause. The reason of this visit to France seems to be accounted for by the following extract from the "Severall Proceedings" of the 30th June 1653: "From Ireland it is certified, that a party of Irish, of General Bear's men, had a design to have surprized some garrisons; but, having notice, a party fell upon them in their march, routed them, and killed many; and Bear himself, with some other officers, got into a boat, and fled over into France."

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I receaued yours of the 7. 3 dayes since and yesterday your other of the 10. and returne this by the same hande which brought me yours, which seemes to be very sollicitous and confident to returne it safely and speedily to you: I haue sent you such a letter from his Ma^ty^ to the Marshall, as in my vnderstandinge is necessary, and I hope if any thinge would, will præuayle with him. To have inserted the memoire it selfe would not haue bene so proper, since it cannot be supposed to be within his Ma^tys^ proper cognisance. Your letters concerninge O'Sullivan Beare are not come to my hands.

Upon the receipt of your former I did send the inclosed to Mr. Bennett, who hath notwithstandinge not vouchsafed to conferr with me a worde about the businesse, and when I sent to him to know whether he would send any thinge to you, and lett him know what his Ma^ty^ had directed, he returned me answer that I might haue spared his Ma^ty^ that labour, for the Duke had done the same, but I hope actes of supererogation in this kinde will do no harme: it may be he will send his letters vnder this cover.

Ther is no questyon that I know concerninge your accounte, it is fitt you should alwayes haue it ready, and produce it when it is called for, and I doubte not you will receaue all iust allowance, and truly I am heartily glad that it hath brought so seasonable a reliefe to you *: our

* It appears from the public journals that a seasonable supply had arrived for the Royal Family at this moment. The "Faithful Post," of the same date as this letter, says, in a letter from Amsterdam, "Here is arrived the adventurer called the Spanish Bark; coming from Rochelle: he hath taken three prizes about the West, which he hath sold in France, amounting to a great value, which is distributed by the Commander in Chief, Capt. Grimes, as followeth—to the poor distressed widow, our late Queen, £.1000; King of Scots, £.3000; Duke of York, £.2000; Duke of Gloucester, £.1000."

Master thinkes of remoouinge, but when or whither is not yett determined. Wee exspecte euery day newes of an engagement at sea betweene the two ffleetes, the successe of which may probably alter * the temper in both Councells, at London and at the Hague, the last still pressinge most vnreasonably ther desyres of treaty. I am very heartily

S^r^

your most affectionate Serv^t^

E. H.

Paris this 14. of June 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I haue receaued yours of the 30. of June by Mr. Holmes, & a duplicate of it by your mayde, to nether of which ther needes any answer, my last which you since haue had satisfyinge the contents of those. Since, your other of the 5. of July are come to my handes.

To what concernes the Marshall I can add nothinge, till I know in the way I advised what his prætences are; nor haue I any reason to

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* The action did take place, and the Dutch were defeated. The consequences, if we are to believe a letter from Paris in the public journals, were very inimical to Charles's interests at the Court of France; for it was there stated that "the news of the defeat given by the English to the Dutch much startled the Court, and indeed all France; those of Charles Stuart's followers gave out reports at first that the Dutch had beaten the English, and that he was to go to Holland, and that they would do great things for him, and the English went vapouring of it up and down the streets, and some of them were soundly *foxt;* but the next day came news to several merchants of this City, besides letters to the Courts (which were kept more private), that the Dutch were beaten, and had sustained a very great losse: upon this there was a great meeting of the Council with the King, and their countenances very sad all about the French Court, and divers of the English going through the streets of Paris were so mocked and jeered that they have been ashamed almost to shew their heads abroad."

imagyne that he hath taken any excepcons to your person, only when I asked, why it was desyred that the busynesse might be referred to Pr. Rupert, since being not upon the place, his Highnesse could not so easily giue direction upon it, answer was made to me, that it might be, that the Marshall desyred not to treate with S^r^ Ri. Browne: and truly in those cases, when men aske vnreasonable thinges, it is no wonder that they haue no minde to be pressed by publique Ministers *.

I doubt I shall not be able to finde a copy of your peticon and order from the Kinge, if I can I will, nor will I do any thinge upon that busi-nesse, till upon your view of the whole accounte you can see in what state you are, and then I will procure such orders as are necessary; till then it is to no purpose to discourse of it: nor is it proper for me to send to M^r^ Windham † (with whome I haue no correspondence) to know what you haue receaued from him, you will state all that upon your accounte. The course I propose to my selfe to obserue is, that the Kinge signe a warrant to you, to deducte out of your receipts satis-faction for all such warrants which he hath formerly signed upon others, and which haue prooued ineffectuall to you; and if that satisfyes for the tyme past, advise what will bee best, to order for the future.

Wee are full of exspectation what will be the issue of the treaty in Englande ‡ betweene the Dutch and the Rebells, which our frends ther do not belieue like to produce any reconciliation: and then I hope wee shall quickly leave this place, the which our poore Master prouydes to doe. The same day brought the newes of the takinge Bourgue by the

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* This alludes to the rapacious conduct of the Marshal with regard to the prizes, and the stores of the ships that were sold.

† Mr. Windham, as early as 1652, had been appointed the receiver of the King's fifth in all prizes; and this by the King's special appointment, in opposition to the Duke of York's recommendation of the Bishop of Derry. The situation was one which Sir Edward Hyde had been very anxious to obtain for his godson, son to Sir Edward Nicholas. Vide Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. pp. 112, 118.

‡ The public journals of the time gave a very different view of the feelings of Charles's little exiled Court, asserting that they were constantly engaged "in forms of Common Prayer" for the success of the Dutch fleet over that of England! Nor were the *Saints* at home particularly anxious for Peace, on the pretence that the "work of the Lord is not yet done; that the sword must not be sheathed, untill they have brought down the tyranny of Rome, and restored poor ignorant captives to a gospel enjoyment of the universal freedom."

Duke of Vendosme and Rhetell by Marshall Turgu, and yett the Prince of Condé is confident the English will relieue Burdeaux *.

I am S^r^

Your very affectionate humble Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Paris this 12 of July (1653).

S^r^ Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^ Paris this 30^th^ of July (1653).

I haue receaued yours of the 23. of July, as I had before your other of the 16. I deliuered your other to Pr: Ruperte, and he hath promised me to write to the Marshall, who he sayes he knowes will make no scruple to deliuer those parcells to you and the Dukes officers, which concernes the 10^th^ & 15^ths^, which beinge done, you are not to make any instances in the Kings name, for the rest, till his Ma^ty^ shall be better informed, and you receaue other orders: so that you are only to looke for the 15. and 10ths. † I desyred the Prince to send his letter for the Marshall inclosed to you, but he was not willinge to do that, because ther is an Agent heare of the Marshalls with whome he transactes all, and by whome he promises such directions shall be giuen, that upon your repayringe to the . . . . . Gouernour (which is all you neede to do) that shall be done which wee exspecte: It is now the tyme that the businesse of the pryze is transactinge, and therfore the Prince desyres that all complyance be vsed towards the Marshall, and that wee do nothing to anger him:—I finde the Mar: pretends the stoppinge the other goods upon prætence of much mony dewe to him as Admirall

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* The Prince of Condé was mistaken.

† This system of temporizing with the avaricious detainer of the captured property, to which the exiled Court was reduced, is not only a convincing proof of the inhospitable conduct of the French Government, but also of their want of authority over their own Officers, if they did not participate in the plunder.

of Britany, upon many pryzes brought into those portes by the owners of those goods. I yett heare nothinge of Anthonio.

I know not what to say to your mayd, nor the information shee hath receaued, but I assure you, the Kinge takes all possible care that the house receaues no affronte, and to that purpose hath had a consideracon of it in Councell within these 3 dayes, in which, particular order is taken, that his former directions to you, and to Dr. Cozens, be reuiued and renewed, for the keepinge up the seruice * carefully when he shall leue this place: and I had order to sende for your landlord, and together with S^r^ Ri: ffoster, to renew to him his Ma^tys^ gratious promises that he shall not be any looser: I intende this day to send to him to come hither: Ther are yett only 500^lis^. payde of the rent by S^r^ Ri: ffoster: when mony can be gotten, more shall: In the meane tyme, the Kinge himselfe commanded me to write to you; that you should if possible returne some mony to the landlorde, in parte of the rent, out of your receipts ther, with such a letter *for his encouragement that he may vnderstande it to be his Ma^tys^ mony, and sent by his order, and I thinke you will be no looser by it, for heareby I shall be able to keepe off all prætences and importunityes for other orders, w^ch^ his Ma^ty^ hath promised to me.* I have no more to say, but that I am

S^r^

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

E. H.

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* Dr. Cosins (afterwards Bishop of Durham) was one of the King's Chaplains, often mentioned by Mr. Evelyn in his Diary; and this relates to having the service of the Church of England regularly performed at Sir Richard Browne's house, which Mr. Evelyn says was always done.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I haue receaued yours of the 26. of the last moneth, and by this tyme I suppose Pr: Ruperte * is with you at Nantes, so that you can iudge what is like to become of your businesse better then I, but his Highnesse seemes to me to be confident that the Marshall will make no question of deliueringe the 10^th^ and the 15^th^. but it seemes he claymes accounts for the rights of his Admiralty of Britany †, upon which he thinkes ther is a greate arreare dew to him from all those who haue carryed pryzes into Brest: And to this pointe you shall do well to instructe your selfe as well as may be, and whether his Officers at Brest ever demanded any thinge before he made this seizure at Nantes, for in truth I know not how to answer this; if he hath the rights of Admirall due to him in all the portes of Britany, and none of our shipps haue ouer payd him any, by virtue of ther deere-bought protection at Brest, I do not wonder he takes the best way he can to recouer his dewes, when wee fall into his dominions: Ther is not the least thought of Ostende in the pointe: My opinion is, that you should do the best you can to gett the 10^th^ and 15^th^. and you are to

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* His Highness had nearly lost his life a few days before this date, as recorded in a journal of that period: "Paris.—We have not much of news here; but the river Seine had like to have made an end of your black Prince Rupert; for some nights since hee woulde needes coole himselfe in the river, where he was in danger of drowning, but by the help of one of his Blackmores escaped. His Highnesse (it seems) has learnt some magic amongst the remote islands; since his coming hither he hath cured the Lord Jermin of a feaver, with a charme; but I am confident England is without the jurisdiction of his conjuring faculty."

† There were also other difficulties respecting those prizes; for the French Court were at this period, or at least Mazarine was, so anxious to conciliate the favour of Cromwell, that they actually suffered an arrest to be made upon the prizes, the affairs connected with which were very badly managed, as Sir Edward Hyde observes in another place, by Sir Edward Herbert, whom he describes as despising all men, and looked upon by Prince Rupert as an oracle. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 177.

The paltry conduct of Mazarine, surpassed even by that of Marshal Melleray at Nantes, on this occasion, may be further seen on reference to Clarendon's History, vol. III. pp. 405, 6, where Melleray's is also justly depicted in its proper colours.

vse his Ma^{tys} name to no other purpose, and then lett the rest petition the Prince (since his Ma^{ty} hath referred the matter to him) to mediate for fauour to the Marshall, for it is playne he will haue somewhat out of it, if not the whole: God blesse me from your ffrench Governours: Concerninge your house I can add nothinge to my last: nor will any care be omitted to keepe up the seruice. God præserue you. I am

S^{r}

your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^{t}

E. H.

Paris this 2^{d}. of Aug. (1653).

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^{r}

Yours of the 31. of the last (which is the last I haue receaued from you) gaue me so much ioy, that as soone as I receaued it, I thought it my duty to imparte the good newes to the Kinge, who upon reading that clause, made not the least scruple that Mr. Morrice * was in safety, of which since wee see no euidence, I pray send me worde, how it was possible for you to be deceaued, and how the reporte came to you: I told you in my last, that it is too manifest, that Innisboffin is deliuered up, so that ther is nothinge to be done with those dispatches, but to keepe them. I can add little of newes, only that the Court hath new argument of tryumph, upon a late victory of some considerable party of the Pr. of Condé's†, wher they tooke many prisoners and some officers

* For an account of Mr. Morrice, see at the end of these Letters.

† The conduct of the Condéan Army at this period was of a most discreditable nature, if we are to believe the following statement in a letter from Paris of the 8th of August 1653, in the "Faithful Scout." "The Prince of Condé is become very considerable, and exceeds the K. in number of forces, being 7000 foot and 1000 horse, besides the Spanish auxiliary Army under the command of Gen. Fuensaldague, which makes 13,000 horse and foot. His Highness hath sent several challenges to Marshall Turein to fight; but he declines; so that he hath given Condé an opportunity to get within eight leagues of Paris, plundering all, his Germans ravishing the nuns, and ransacking all religious-houses, firing suburbs of towns, and enforcing contributions from others. He made way so far as to come and dine at his own house, where he and his commanders were as merry as so many Princes."

of eminent quality: The Dutch yett proceede very slowly, as well in order to ther allyance with this Crowne, as in any declaracon for our Master, notwithstandinge which my hopes are not abated, nor do I thinke a peace almost possible to be made betweene the two Commonwealths, and all this addresse which is so much spoken of, is only a letter from a priuate man, without any knowledge of the Pro: of Hollande, much lesse of the States Generall, who resent the præsumptiõn. *Lett me know, whether Mr. Bennett did euer requyre the ffees from you upon any of the Commissyons which I deliuered to you, or how he comes to prætende to them:* howeuer you shall by no meanes take the least notice of this question, nor declyne the course you intended, for I am sure I neuer intended to receaue penny fro' them, but would gladly know how he claymes such ffees. I wish you all happynesse, and am

S^{r}

Your very affectionate Serv^{t}

E. H.

Paris this 19. of Aug. 1653.

Sir Ri: Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^{r}

I haue receaued yours of the 15. of Octo: but nether know nor can imagyne * the reason of your longe silence, but conceaue it proceedes from some such cause, as made you wish that it might not be interrupted by any provocation from me: and yett it was not possible for me to do you any seruice without beinge instructed by you in the way, the businesse standinge as it did. I heare nothing of Choquez, and

* Though Sir Edward Hyde was too sanguine in the hopes expressed in this letter, yet the plain good sense manifested throughout, alike above that listless apathy which deadens enterprize, and that hasty enthusiasm which mars it, affords sufficient reason for the King's partiality and confidence in his counsels.

what his undertakinge is I know not. I asked the Kinge whether he knew any thing of the businesse, and I haue reason to believe that he nether hath nor will giue any order in that affaire without askinge me how the case standes; but if you give me no cause to move publiquely in it, it is no wonder if I say nothinge of it, and if you do write upon the argument, you will write so that the letter may be reade at Councell, any other advertisements you will putt in a paper aparte. I heare nothinge of the wyne, nor know not any thinge of Nantes, when they come away, who are ther, or what they do ther.

The Kinge hath spent the last fortnight in the country at Chantilly, and returned hither on Wensday last: and proposes to goe backe thither agayne on tomorrow, and I suppose will spende his tyme ther, till the fayre weather be done: I can tell you little of newes, the distractions I thinke are so high in Englande, that ther must be some suddayne alteration: and I depende more on that, then any thinge that can happen abroade, wher there is little care of *honour*, *or any thinge but ther owne present conveniences*. It may be, all the pause in your businesse is in contemplation of the *greate pryze*, and I would not interrupt that, by any meddlinge in a matter so particular and inferior as the other; but if that were at an end, or I knew what were like to come of it, I would be very importunate to know what the grounde of the proceedinge is. If ther be no reason to the contrary, I shall be gladd to heare from you, and as particularly as you please; but if you thinke it in any consideration inconvenient, I referr it wholly to you, and am very heartily

S^r^

Your very affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

E: H.

Paris this 26: of Oct: (1653).

S^r^ Ri. Browne.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble

With humble acknowledgments of your last favour of 26. Octob^r I can now give your Hon^r this brief account of my businesse here on which I haue soe longe and with much charge and trouble attended. Captain Anthonio hath without any consent of mine, nor doe I know with what power from the rest of the witnesses, payed the Mar^l fifteen thousand livres, and by this meanes obtained *mainlevee* [removal of the arrest] of all the goods arrested, and consequently gotten them all into his hands *. By H. H. Prince Rupert's order I haue now commenced a sute in law for recoverie of the fifteenths, and the Duke of Yorkes interest (both which the Mar^l allways intended to restore without diminution) and his highnesse doth soe nobly support and countenance me therin, that I hope eyther by decree of justice, or by the Captains volontary rendition, to have a speedy end, & therby be soon able to remit to Paris that money his Ma^ty hath ordered towards satisfaction of my Landlord.

I haue (together with money for the charges of the carriage) committed to M^r Killigrews care, a butt of Canary wine divided into three barrells. The one wheroff I humbly present to his Ma^ty, the other to his R. H. and the third to the Lords at Court †.

Soe praysinge God for His Ma^ties happy recovery of health, and dayly prayinge for the same,

Nantes first No^r 1653.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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* The whole of this affair is deserving of notice, and strongly marks the jockeyship of the avaricious Governor.

† The politic attention of Sir Richard in this instance shews how fit he was for a courtier—even upon a small scale. How far he was prudent in trusting Killigrew with the *wine* may be doubted!

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I haue yesterday receaued yours of the 1. and the 4. of this month together, & this day sent the Bill of Exchange to Mr. Deane, who will be very glad that he is provyded to comply with some parte of your landlordes importunity, and we shall all have the more ease by it. I heare the Canary wyne is come to Paris, but no menc'on of the delivery of it, being conceaved to be M^r^ Killigrews owne wyne*, so that I expecte a very small share of it, but have acquainted his Ma^ty^ and my LL^ds^ with that parte of your letter, and my L^d^ Chamberlyne will enquyre after it: You cannot imagyne I can misinterprett any acte of yours, which I know can not want kindness to me; your silence was very fitt, and I guessed so much at the reason of it, that I complyed with it, and yet (as you say) all is little enough, and iealous natures will alwayes finde somewhat to worke upon, to disquyett themselves and others, and I know no cure to apply to those, who are not pleased with fayre and open dealinge†.

I hope you haue not suffered your selfe to be too much a looser by Capt: Anthonio, with whom you know how to deale well enough: at least if he intends to haue any more to do with us: I hope ther is care taken to giue Geo: Carterett satisfaction, who over apprehends discourtesy from hence, and that he was putt out of the Kinges protection, when God knowes the Kinge resolved to do all he could for him and the other adventurers, as soon as the case should be so stated that he knew what to presse, but it seemes all is now composed, and it is a notable ffyne you have payd to the Marshall, if the commodityes were not of a huge value: God preserve me from such governours.—Wee

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* The Chancellor's suspicions of Tom Killigrew are not surprizing!

† It has already been hinted, in an antecedent note, that Sir Richard Browne had many enemies at the exiled Court. Hyde had many also; and no doubt all this caution in the correspondence of the two friends was for the purpose of guarding against the malevolence and insinuations of Court sycophants. Vide Hyde's preceding letter of the 26th October.

are yett in the country, which the Kinge is better pleased with then with Paris, and truly he hath recovered his health most miraculously: But if the weather changes, as it is like to doe, I suppose we shall looke backe to Paris: and then any good newes will carry us away. I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Chantilly this 10: of Novemb: (1653).

SIR RICHARD BROWNE TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Right Hon^ble^

I have here received your Hon^rs^ of the 10^th^ Nov^r^ for which I sende humble thankes, as bringinge with it the assurance of my standinge upright in your opinion: your friendship being one of the greatest consolations I have in the midst of all my sufferinges. I humbly submitt the adjoyned for your management: yf you approve not theroff, and had rather convert the summ mentioned to your own use, order it how you please and to whom you would have the bill made: perhaps you may think Mr. Edgman a fitt person to be trusted with the secret, that soe little notice may be taken. The three barrells of Sacke are yett here; in company with them goes a fourth vnder Sir Gervais Lucas* his name, which is a present I make to y^r^ Hon^r^ wherewith to rejoyce yourselfe and friends: Only I intreat you that the good Lady Lucas may have her physicall proportion out of it. . . . . warmed keepes her alive as shee herselfe sayth. That you will not give Dr. Earles half a dozen of bottles I cannot doubt. The person I last mentioned in cipher will tell you notable stories when he comes to you. To him I refer all.

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* The whole of this is in confirmation of the preceding note. Sir Gervais Lucas had been a cavalry officer in the Royal Cause during the Civil Wars.

You may beleeve him, for hee is much a man of honour. Being ready to goe from hence I expect to find your answer hereto in Mr. Richards his hands at St. Malo's. This is all at present from

y^r^ hon^rs^ most faithfull and most obliged
humble servant
R. Br.

The following is the Paper adjoined:

I have formerly acquainted you that I cannot make up my accounts untill I returne to Brest, which I am now hastening: In the interim, finding that some moneys of his Ma^ties^ will remaine with me, I humbly submitt it to your Hon^rs^ consideration whether a hundred *Lewises* in gold will not be acceptable to his Ma^ty^ to be by your Hon^r^ privately delivered into his owne Royall hands, towards his merry playing *, wherwith to passe his time at cards this approaching Christmasse. This I shall be able to performe from St. Maloes, if I may there meet with encouragement. This is all at present from

y^r^ Hon^rs^
most faithfull and most
obliged humble servant
R. Br:

Nantes 18. Nov^r^ 1653.

Mr. Chan: of the Exchеq^r^.

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* See p. 234. Lord Jermyn's conduct as cashier for the Royal expenses seems not to have been very respectful or honourable towards his Sovereign, if we are to credit Lord Clarendon, who roundly asserts, in his History, that whilst Jermyn kept a coach of his own, and an excellent table for those who courted him, yet the King, even when having the most urgent want of 20 pistoles, could not find credit to borrow them!

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I haue receaued yours of the 18. and since you are so well provyded, I cannot but commende your designe, and as I believe the Kinge does not expecte such a present, so I am sure it will be most wellcome to him, and I will promise you to present it to him, in so secrett a manner, as nobody shall know it but himselfe; and be confident I will never converte one penny that belonges to him, to my owne use, in what straights soever I should be.

I like very well your distribution of the Sacke, and I will not bragge of my share, nor fayle of delivering the proportion you assigne, and if the good Lady comes hither, (as by yours I guesse shee intendes to do, though Paris at present is a place of prodigious exspense, every thinge double the pryse of what it was when you left it) the vessell shall stay with her; and I there shall be sure of iustice, and I will fetch my allowance in bottles: Lett me only giue you this warninge, that the carriage be payd for, as I thinke you told me in your former that it was, and I am sure I cannot do it, and then, the sooner it comes the better *. Wee are full of exspectac'on of good newes from all quarters, and I hope some of it will be of such a nature that will call us from hence, which I will be sure to giue you an accounte of as soone as I can: I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

Edw: Hyde.

Paris this 24 of Novemb: (1653.)

S^r^ Ri: Browne.

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* The whole of this letter is an interesting illustration of the distresses of a man who was afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, and father-in-law of a King. It has been the fashion to run down the restored Court of Charles; but surely his exiled Court could boast some instances of honour and honesty that would have been immortalized if in classic times.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right hon.

Mons^{r} de Varennes, Intendant of Marqu. de Castlenau's affairs at Brest, havinge beene from that towne deputed to the States of Bretany, Mars^{l} de Milleray did there declare unto him that he pretended nott to abate any part of what belonged unto him in the loading of the fleete which hee had seased, and for *mainlevèe* wheroff hee had receaved 15000 livres. Wheruppon this Gentleman came hither to demand his right, & after a weekes digladiation at law with Captain Antonio, the Captain yeelded up the cudgells and gave him satisfaction. My desire to see the issue of this suite in law causeing my stay here longer then I intended, hath brought me hither your Honours favour of 15 Nov. which containinge an intimation of something of complaint against (as they call it) the King of Englands Admiralty at Brest, I considered myselfe whether it will be fitt for mee to goe now into Low Bretany before I haue once again shewed myself to the Mar^{l} and received his commands (who they say will bee here shortly) least he againe come uppon us with a second costly after-reckoninge, grounded uppon pretence of not beinge sufficiently applied unto, or of being neglected in his government; at least not untill I have your Hon^{rs} sence heruppon, which I humbly beseech you to vouchsafe mee, sending y^{r} letters as you please, eyther directly hither, or by the way of M^{r} Richards, thorough whose hands I expect answers of my last of 18th currant.

I render humble thankes to your Hon^{r} for the sanguine part of your letter, resultinge out of the good newes from Germany and England. God of his mercy improve these comforts to us; and preserue his Ma^{ties} sacred person, and vouchsafe him a speedy establishment uppon the throne of his Royal Progenitors. Soe prayes dayly and heartily

y^{r} Hon^{rs} &c.

Nantes 29 No^{r} 1653.

(The same to the same, accompanying the preceding letter.)

Right Hon^ble

I am told that the Prince [Rupert] hath now totally settled his businesse with the merchant, and stayes only to see performance. Meane time S^r Gervais Lucas hopes to be goinge with his lady some time the next weeke for Paris, and takes along with him that commodity for your Hon^r w^ch I thought would have accompanied the other 3 which are now upon their way. Mr. de Varennes carries a letter recommendatory from mee to y^r Hon^r. Yf hee uppon his Maisters the Marqu. de Castlenau's recommendation hath thus enjoyed the benefit of favour and protection in his part, how much more might wee (had not an unhandsome eclipse happened) his Ma^tics subjects and servants uppon our Royal Maisters gracious owning of us? beleeve me the Captain doth now sufficiently repent his unprofitable, unadvised, nay precipitate performance of Mons^r Choquere his bargaine.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r

I haue receaued both yours of the 29. of the last, & cannot imagyne, how any thinge I sayd to you in my former letter could make you deferr your iourney, nor can I add any thinge to what I then sayd, havinge not heard since of the complayntes, and you must indeed know the temper of those places much better then I can doe: I perceave by what you say of Mons^r Varrennes that wee are nothing beholdinge to the Marshall, who it may be *without our frends helpe* would not have beene able to have done us so much prejudice. Lett me know when you goe from thence, and wher my letters may finde you. The Capt. doth well to quitt his old frends, and betake himselfe to new who know better how

to use him. Wee heare not yett of Pr: Rupertes comminge hither, but meethinkes he hath bene longe absent. Hath S^{r} Ge: Lucas absolutely quitt his ffarme in Britany, or doth he only repayre hither for health. Meethinkes the comodity you mencon should not be worth the charge of so longe a voyage by lande. *The Duke of Yorke is returned hither, full of reputac'on & honour* *, and the ffrench Courte is expected on Sunday or Munday. I can tell you little newes: our frends in Hollande do not believe the Treaty will produce a peace, and for an instance that the States do not so much depende upon it, they have given a licence this last weeke to . . . . Ge: Middleton†, to transporte *armes and ammunicon for Scotlande, which is a good signe :* I suppose you heare frequently from Englande, where sure the confusion is very high, and it is exspected that they will declare Crumwell Protector of the 3 Kingedomes, that his single influence may compose those distractions, which the multitude cannot doe, for Mr. Peters himselfe now professes that Monarchy is the best government. God send us well under it. I am

S^{r}

your most affectionate Serv^{t}

E. H.

Paris this 6. of Decemb: (1653).

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* The Duke had been serving under Turenne, and had just before this period distinguished himself much at the siege of Mousson. Being disappointed in his wishes to be present at the siege of St. Menehoud, he had repaired to his brother's Court, in order to accompany him during part of his route from France to Germany.

† Middleton bore the rank of lieutenant-general, and was very active in Scottish affairs, as Charles's agent with the Highlanders and other Loyalists in that Country.

Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

Right Hon^ble^

This being onely to give course to a Bill of Exchange for one hundred Lewis's of gold in specie payable at sight unto Mr. William Edgman, which I haue desired Mr. Richards to inclose herin at St. Malos.

Nantes 10 Dec. 1653.

The Same to the Same.

Right Hon^ble^ Nantes 20 Dec. 1653.

My last unto your Hon^r^ were of 10 Dec. with an inclosed bill which Mr. Richards assures me will be punctually payed this very day (20 Dec^r^) at Paris. My desire now is (in case you approve theroff and will at my humble request vouchsafe to accept this poore tender of my seruice) to transmitt to your Hon^r^ a supply of money for your owne occasions in that now extraordinary deare place, which I am the more apt to beleive in regard that the price of all thinges here raysed a third since my cumminge into this Province. I doe nott dessigne lesse than a thousand livres, and am very sorry I cannot performe it untill I draw a somme from Brest, in which I find great difficulty at present, noe man beinge willinge to meddle with money, in regard of the approachinge fall at the end of this month. By this abatment in the species I am like to sustaine not an inconsiderable losse, for I heare they have this good while payed the Kings dues at Brest according to the rate the money went many monthes since, when the commodities were sold *(viz.)* Lewises of gold at 12 livres and of silver at 3*l.* 9*s.* And I am told the Duke of Yorkes receivers can gett noe better quarter. I know not why I should nott make the just reparation of this losse as an article in my account, as well as the Treasurer of the States of Bretany who hath on this consideration lately had seven thousand crownes indemnification adjudged him by Act of the States. By way of S^t^ Malos your Hon^rs^ next com-

mands will find mee, and you may well imagine your presence, tho not possible, will be most heartily wished, and your health noe lesse cordially celebrated.

I am now to acknowledge your Hon^rs favour of the 24. Nov. & 6. Dec^r. The three first vessells of Sacke are doubtlesse longe since arrived by water at Orleans, there expectinge Mr. Killigrew's order, who is desirous to present them himselfe. I have allready furnished him with some money towards the charges, and have taken care to defray at Paris the whole port of them and of the 4^th^ which went hence in boate the beginninge of this weeke with noble Sir G. L. [Gerv. Lucas] and his lady, who have quite abandoned this Province, the Ladies intention being to goe 'ere longe into the greater Bretany. I desire your Hon^r to give credit to him in many thinges with which hee will acquaint you, for hee is much a man of honour and integrity. Hee will tell you to what degree wee have (as you well call it) had our freinds healp and furtherance in the payment of the 15 thousand livres fine, &c. I did not till uery lately know that my Lord Percy now Lord Chamberlin was come to the Kinge, and I am likewise told that he is much in your intimacy, of which, if true, I am uery glad, for hee hath beene my noble freind of a date little lesse than 30 yeares old. I pray if your Hon^r thinke it fitt be pleased to present my humble seruice and congratulations to his L'pp.

Prince Rupert hath now quite finished his businesse with the marchant that lost the sugar prize, and speakes of goinge hence for Paris within few dayes.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r

I have yours of the 20. as I had before your former with the Bill, which was punctually payd*, and delivered to the Kinge, for which you shall have his acquittance, and I must tell you, it came very sea-

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* See p. 229.

sonably to him, and most acceptably, of which you shall heare more hereafter. ffor your new noble offer, I am not in a condic'on so plentifull to refuse it, for I must tell you that I have not had a *Lewes* of my owne these 3 moneths; therfore when you send the Bill, lett me know whether you lend me so much out of your owne little stocke, or whether it be the Kings money, for in that case, his Ma^ty^ shall be the disposer,—since my office hath never yett nor shall intitle me to take his mony without his derection *. Ther is no question any fall of moneyes is a just grounde for demaunde of allowaunce upon accounte. If you are at Ducy, wish me with you, as I do heartily. I write to the Governour the way he derected, and must be informed when he returnes to his dominion.

I hope you thinke it strange to heare that *I have bene in Englande, and have had private conference with Crumwell, and* [that you] *are not sorry that my enimyes can frame no wiser calumny against me:* Pr: Rupert is not yet arryued, nor is ther any newes of the Sacke: I shall be gladd to see S^r^ Ge: and his Lady heare. Though my L^d^ Chamberlyne † and I lyue ciuilly togither, and I can menc'on you to

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* The delicacy manifested by Sir Edward Hyde in this transaction must surely become matter of record in future History, when the party prejudices of the Civil Wars, for such still exist, shall moulder in the tomb of oblivion, like the ashes of those whose conduct and opinions gave to them a local habitation and a name.

The charges to which he next alludes were those brought against him by the Queen's party, who were unwilling that he should execute the duty which Lord Jermyn had formerly done, the disposal of the King's private funds. Mr. Long, the Ex-Secretary, was therefore brought forward to hash up this charge, on the evidence of one Massonet, or rather his hearsay evidence from a maid-servant in London, who assured him that she had seen Sir Edward go into Cromwell's chamber at Whitehall: but the King laughed at it, and was, in fact, himself a competent witness to prove an alibi. Vide Lord Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 402. When King Charles I. appointed a Council for the Prince of Wales in 1644, Mr. Long was their Secretary. After this he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Earl of Essex, on which he went into France and made great complaint to the Queen [Henrietta]. He was Secretary to Charles II. in his exile, was created a Baronet shortly after the Restoration, was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor. He was suspected of being a Papist, and a legacy in his will strongly confirms the suspicion. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. II. p. 606.

† This was Lord Percy, to whom the office had been granted in lieu of that of Master of the Horse, to which he had some claim, but which had been reserved by the King for Prince Rupert, who afterwards threw it up in a manner the most ungracious. The whole affair, as recorded in Lord Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 411, is illustrative of several of these Epistles.

him, yett it is fitt you write a congratulatory letter to him, which if you thinke fitt, I will deliver. God send you a merry Christmasse. I am

S^r^

your most affectionate hu^ble^ serv^t^

EDW: HYDE.

Paris this 27 of Decemb. (1653.)

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

Yours of the 30. of January came not to my hands till within these 2 dayes; and you haue before this tyme I conceaue receaued some of myne since that date, which have informed you, how much wee have bene all deceaued in the imaginac'on of the breach of the Treaty betweene the Dutch and the Rebells. It is now looked upon as concluded in a Peace, and though the other Prouinces are not yett reconciled to the condic'ons, wee have very fainte hopes, that ther opposic'ons will be able longe to deferr what the Province of Hollande so importunately and vehemently pursues: and I do belieue that this Crowne will labour all they can (and I thinke with successe) to gett it selfe into the Allyance *, for the facilitatinge wherof I suppose *they wish our Master gone from hence*, and wee shall gratify them in it, the Kinge resoluinge to goe as soon as he can gett away: you shall do well to hasten all accounts with your Capt^s^ as soone as may be, least they grow lesse respectfull of the Kings authority, and what they owe to him, when

* So certain were the politicians of that time of a Treaty between the French King and the Protector, that in a letter from Paris, 20th January, N. S. in the public papers, it was expressly stated, "Here is much talk, as if the Peace were concluded between France and England." It did not take place so rapidly, however; for, notwithstanding Mazarine's politeness to Cromwell, the sturdy *independent* spirit of the latter refused to amalgamate as the former wished. In writing to Cromwell, about this period, Mazarine concluded with, "Votre tres humble serviteur," which obtained nothing more from Oliver than "Your affectionate friend to do you service;" added to which, he expected from the French King the address of "mon Frere!' Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 227.

they finde that they are like to finde little protection heare. I am in greate payne, therfore you must excuse me, that I say no more, but that I am

S^r^

your very affectionate hu^ble^ serv^t^

E. H.

Par: this 17. of Feb. 1654.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Right Hon^ble^

Captain W^m^ Arundell the bearer hearoff being dispatched* by Col^l^ O'Sulleuan Beirne to giue his Ma^ty^ a particular account of his proceedinges hitherto, and to receiue our Royall and gracious Maister's farther directions and orders for the future, in case he may bee soe happy as (in the present conjuncture) to be found any way vsefull & serviceable to his owne Souueraigne, in whose just quarrell he much rather chuseth accordinge to duty and alleageance to loose his life as he hath allready donne his estate and fortune, than to drawe his sword in the service of any forraigne Potentate : I am desired to giue your Hon^r^ this summary account of what hath beene here transacted since his arriuall in these partes some few weekes since, with divers persons of quality, leadinge men in the several cheife provinces of Irland†, about 30 barrills of powder and some other armes; for transportation of which whole equipage into the southwest part of Munster, O'Sullevans country, there to make an impression, M^r^ Holder and myselfe had here prevailed with M^r^ Griffin,

* There are no historical records of the specific events in Irish affairs to which this letter alludes; the letter therefore itself becomes matter of history, and forms a link in the chronological chain of that period.

† The hopes of the Royal party, and the fears of the Cromwellians, at this moment, seem to have been equally great. A "Mercurius Politicus," date 22d February, says, "The Irish are much troubled to hear of the dissolution of the late Parliament, in whom they had great hopes, but, blessed be God! their hopes are prevented."

Captain Smyth *, and Captain Dillon, (whose readinesse to serue his Ma^ty^ on this occasion hath beene very laudable, and ought soe to be represented unto his Ma^ty^ as nott unworthy of his particular taking notice theroff) who in their three fregats had undertaken to passe them ouer & by Gods goodnesse to haue giuen a happy beginninge to this generous and loyall enterprize: offering further in case they could at ther landinge gett possession of any fortifiable place, fitt and considerable, to furnish them with 2 or 3 peeces of canon out of each vessel: and to afford them what other assistance might lye in their power. But just as they were ready to sett sayle, comes the certain advice that Mortagh O'Brian (to whom O'Sullevan cheifly intended to joyne himself, and whose party was it seemes the principall foundation of his hopes) had layd downe armes; by which unexpected newes, this soe probable dessigne auertinge for the present, O'Sullevan hath neuer the lesse thought fitt to aduenture a kindsman of his owne name, an experienced soldier, with some few others, and some powder, to goe in Captain Dillon's fregat, *tanquam Explorator*, at whose returne hee hopes within 2. or 3. weekes to bee able to giue a full account of the state of affaires in that kingdome, and what likelyhood there may bee of attemptinge any thinge there for his Ma^ties^ service and aduantage, which failinge, this noble person and his company are ready to transport themselves into Schottland, or what other part of his Ma^ties^ dominions may be thought expedient.

Brest 30 Aprill 1654.

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* How very trifling this naval force was may be estimated from the fact that Captain Smith's vessel only mounted eight guns; whilst another, commanded by Meldrum, carried two!

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^,*

The last weeke I receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, & by this post your other of the 1. of this moneth, to both which I shall neede reply no more, then to assure you that what I wrote to you was not out of the least unkinde purpose towards you, or doubte of your punctuallity in accounte, or opinion that you had receaued so much as people give out (yett, as you say the Duke of Yorkes Officers can make a shrew computac'on, and are not very nice of publishing what they conceave may aduance his Ma^tys^ service): but I was willinge to be ready to answer any questions the Kinge himselfe might be induced to aske; and the truth is his necessityes are so greate, and so like to encrease, that all wayes must be thought on to draw supply to him, and therfore make what you can ready, and I had rather you should prevent him by sendinge Bills before he expectes them, then that I should be required to call upon you: If you procure Bills upon any honest able Marchant at Antwerpe, payable to Patrick Garlande †, or his order, and send them to me, I can easily draw it from thence to Cullen, or to any place wher the Kinge will neede it. I can make no other conclusyon by the discourses of peace or warr, betweene Crumwell and that Crowne, but that the Cardinall ‡ will do all that is in his power to prevent a warr, which very many believe he will not be able longe to doe, and the Spanyard is very much abused, if he be not sure of a firme coniunction with him. I doubte the tyme of our deliverance is

* Between this and the preceding letter there is an hiatus of twelve months; during which period the King and his friends, having left Paris in June 1654, had been resident in Flanders and Germany. The inquisitive reader will find a very remarkable anecdote connected with that event in Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 413, and another at page 422.

† Sir Patrick Garland, who was long in confidence with Sir Edward.

‡ Mazarine was certainly a personal admirer of Cromwell, and therefore the more likely to be averse to a war between France and England.

not so neere at hande, as was expected. God will send it at last: you may be very confident that I will never cease to be

S^r^

your very affectionate Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Br: 22: Apr: (1655).

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

I haue receaued yours of the 10. of the last moneth, and shewed it to the Kinge, who hath sent derection to S^r^ Geo. Ratcliffe * to returne the 2000^li^. to him as soone as he receaues it, and I assure you it will come very seasonably hither, wher ther is as much pouerty as you haue knowne at Paris. I doubte Mr. Crumwell hath putt a periodd to your receipts, but it is not impossible that Dunkirke † and Ostende may prooue as hospitable to our shippinge as Brest hath bene, for they say,

* Ratcliffe had once been thought of by Charles the First as Governor to the Duke of York, in his infancy, instead of Lord Byron. He was a Privy Counsellor, and resided at Oxford during the siege, previous to which the Queen had desired him either to bring the Duke to her at Paris, or to carry him to Ireland; but this Ratcliffe refused, on the plea that he dared not to convey any of the King's Sons out of the Kingdom without an express order from his Majesty. The writer of the Life of James the Second, evidently written under that Monarch's inspection, speaking of this affair, says, "which nicety, or I may rather call it indiscretion of his, might have cost his Highness dear, as being the occasion of his being put into the Rebell's hands." When the Duke of York was taken prisoner at Oxford by the Parliamentary Army, Fairfax ordered Ratcliffe to continue with him, until the pleasure of the Parliament should be known, and he was only discharged from his attendance by the Earl of Northumberland being appointed Parliamentary Governor to the Duke. In consequence of this early acquaintance, Ratcliffe retained much influence over his Royal Highness, to the great dislike of the Queen, and also in opposition to Lord Byron. He was at Jersey with Charles, and afterwards joined him in Flanders. He was also very active in securing the Duke's interest, when it was reported that the King was dead in Scotland, three years before this period. Vide Clarendon's Life, p. 124.

† Many prizes had already been carried into Dunkirk by the Jersey privateers; and in 1650 the Duke of York had been supported solely by the tenths which the captors paid him. See further a letter on this subject to the Spanish Minister, State Papers, vol. III. p. 276.

upon closinge with ffrance, the Rebells will have a briske warr with the Spanyard, and looke every day to heare that they are possessed of some considerable place in the Indyes, which is at last believed at Bruxells: wher they finde how they haue beene fooled. I am newly returned hither, hauinge beene kept in my way hither at the Hague by a greate sicknesse, for above a moneth, but God be thanked I am now well recovered, beyonde the hope of many of my frends, and contrary to the wishes of those who are not so: I hope I may live to see better dayes: I haue not heard from George Carterett these very many monthes, though I am sure he hath many letters of myne upon his handes, so that you may tell him, I thinke he despayres, and hath given me ouer: God send us a good meetinge, wher you shall receaue all seruice from

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Coll: this 8 of June (1655).

S^r^ Ri: Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

Though it be now many moneths since I heard from you, I had not at this tyme troubled you, if by letters which I receaved the last weeke, I had not cause to believe that one which I writt above a moneth since to you, is miscarryed: I then told you how seasonable your 200 pistolls would come to the Kinge, who hath bene and is still in straight enough, since which tyme it is receaued, but not till within these 3. dayes, it being returned very unskilfully to be payd at Amsterdam upon double usance.

I told you likewise in that, that his Ma^ty^ would have you *give a*

deputac'on to Mour Marces to collecte and receaue the dutyes dew to him in 2 or 3 of the lesser and more obscure portes in Britanny, untill he should haue receaued the summ of 200 pistolls which are owinge to him, and he was well content to receave them this way:* I thought it more proper that the deputac'on should be given by you, then an immediate grante of it from his Ma^ty^ to him, therfore I pray (if my former letter miscarryed) lett him know that you haue receaued such derections, and lett him have a proper instrument accordingly. I doubte it will be very longe before he will out of those portes receaue that summ, but the request is the more modest, and could not well be denyed, his Ma^ty^ lookinge upon the man as one who hath done him many services. You can exspecte little newes from us, who have only courage enough to looke for better tymes; the apprehensions the whole Empyre hath that it shall not longe inioy ther peace, and the terrour the Kinge of Sweade † gives them by his inroade into Polande, wher he carryes all before him, proove of no small præiudice to our master, who is therby much disappointed of the mony he was promised from those Princes, so that the truth is wee are no richer then you haue knowen us at Paris: yett trust me wee are farr from despayre, and do promise our selves with reason enough, that wee shall shortly have good frendes, and see a good turne in our fortune, especially if the newes with strange confidence repeated at present heare be true, of Cromwells death: which I doubte is not upon ground enough. The Kinge and his sister are in a private ..... at ffrankeforte ‡, from whence wee expecte them in 4 or 5 dayes: The Qu: of Sweden is this very minute passinge through the Towne, wher shee stayes not, but lodges this night at Bone, the house of the Elector of Cullen [Cologne].

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* Vide p. 246.

† Gustavus, the successor of Christina, whose disputes with the King of Poland were a source of great confusion and disturbance to Germany.

‡ This journey to Frankfort is noticed in the preceding part of the Collection; it also excited some attention both in England and upon the Continent: for, in a paper of the day, a letter from Paris observes, after alluding to the newly-signed Treaty with Cromwell, "In the mean time, it seems, the Princess Royall of Orange is expected here in January, she intending to bestow a visit upon the little Queen, her mother, *and bring her all news from Frankfort Fair;* what further end there may be in the voyage is not known."

If you are very rich, and can lend me 20. or 30. pistolls, or such a summ, and returne it to honest Church, he will transmitt it to me, and it will come very seasonably to supply

Sr

Your very affectionate humble servt

Edw: Hyde.

Cullen this 28 of Sept. (1655.)

Sr Ri. Browne.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

Sr

I write now to you rather to lett you know that yours of the 16. of the last moneth is come to my hands, then to returne a full answer to it, which I cannot do till the next, and then I shall not fayle to do it, except by our intelligence out of ffrance I conclude that it is for the present to no purpose to do it in the way you propose; as I suppose it will not be, if the peace betweene Crumwell and ffrance be published, which I doubte it is, and then all your armado at Brest will be quickly discharged those harbours, and I heartily wish they may gett off fayrely, without any preiudice or even violence offred to them to obliege Mr. Crumwell. If this falls out to be the case, and that you see ther is no more worke to be done ther, you will not be the lesse intent, sollicitous and dextrous, to obliege the seamen to continue ther affection to his Matys service, and to continue ther commissyons, since ther is no greate doubte wee shall prepare a better recepcon for them at Dunkirke and Ostende, then they have found at Brest *, and *your owne particular will not be neglected:* I hope to be speedily able to say more to you upon this subiecte, and to tell you that wee shall not be longe confined to Cullen, and I pray dispatch such advises to me as soone as may be,

* The facts here mentioned will be of importance to the naval historian, in illustrating a period of which very little, at least with regard to the loyal part of the service, has yet been recorded.

as may be necessary to be considered in that traffique wee are like to have with seamen, how wee may give them encouragements enough and yett retayne a competency for our Masters supporte.

I haue not time to add more, havinge very much to doe, upon those greate alterac'ons which fall out, which truly I believe will carry us all wher wee desyre to be *: God send it, and you shall then have cause to believe me to be

S^r^

Your very affectionate hu^ble^ serv^t^

EDW: HYDE.

Cull: this 9 of Novemb: (1655).

S^r^ Ri: Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

Since my last to you, which was of the 9. of this moneth, I have receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, and yesterday another of the 8. 8^ber^. which it may be ought to be of this moneth: you will not wonder that I make no hast in sendinge these dispatches which concerne your Admiralty, which no doubte is now at an end by virtue of this peace, so that if you parte fayre, and they suffer all the vessells to get out of ther portes, it is as much as I looke for: And if ther had beene any more to be done ther, I should not haue moued the Kinge for such a letter to the Duke of Yorke as you advise, till wee had knowne his Highn^s^ pleasure, ffor for the Kinge to declare that he would abate as much of his fifteenths as the Duke would abate of his tenths, before wee know that he thinkes fitt to abate any thinge, were to putt him upon some disaduantage, and ther wante not those who would be gladd upon any occasyon to infuse an opinion of the disrespectes of many heare towards his Highn^s^. Therfore you should adiust all those thinges with his

* These anticipations, though finally correct, were too premature by five years!

Ministers, before any thinge be moued to come from hence: But at present all that designe is at an end, and wee must consider what conclusyons wee are to make to aduance our marityme affayres in fflanders, wher I hope wee shall finde all encouragement. Whateuer concessyons are to be granted, they must be to all alike, and not with distinction betweene rich and poore, which will interrupt all payments of dewes. I writt to you to send us any advise that upon your obseruance of those people, you thinke necessary to be obserued.

That which wee are sollicitous for is, to gett into fflanders *, which I hope wee shall do shortly, and not be without such a benefitt from this warr betweene Spayne and Crumwell, that may giue our frends new courage. I shall add no more, but that I wish you your heartes desyre, and shall alwayes be ready to serue you, as

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv

Edw. Hyde.

Cull: this 23. of Nouemb: (1655).

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

The Kinge is so desyrous to pay Moun^r^ de Marces some parte of the debt that is dew to him †, that understandinge that ther is dew to his Ma^ty^ from a frende of his the sayd Mo^r^ de Marces nine hundred livres, and from another twoo hundred livres, both which summes are payable

* The necessity of this step is evident, when we reflect that the second article of the new Treaty between Cromwell and the French Court provided against any aid to the *enemies* of either; and also "that neither of the Confederates shall harbor, or permit their people to harbor, any *pirates* or *robbers*"—terms lavishly applied to Charles's cruizers.

† See p. 243. This extraordinary anxiety on the part of Charles to pay his debts is deserving of remark, and excites some curiosity to ascertain its particular cause. If he had displayed the same anxiety on other occasions, his best friends would have had less reason to complain of him, and Lord Rochester's well-known *living* epitaph would have been deprived of its point!

to you from them for the fifteenths dew to his Ma^{ty}: since the former order given on his behalfe hath prooued ineffectuall to him, His Ma^{tys} pleasure is that you authorize him to receaue the sayd two summes of 900. & 200$^{li's}$ and that you appointe the sayd persons to pay the same to him. I shall neede to add no more, but that you may see, the Kinge hath a very good opinion of Mo^{r} de Marces, and a sense of some seruice he hath done him, otherwise you would not haue receaued this commande from him, by the hande of

S^{r}

Your very affectionate hu^{ble} Serv^{t}

EDW. HYDE.

Coll. this 15. of ffebb. 1656.

Cullen this 29. of ffebr: (1656)

S^{r}

I haue yours of the 31. of January, which came not to my handes till the last weeke, and I forbore to answer it till now, supposinge you would not be sooner come to Paris. ffor your men of warr, I know not what to say, they are so fantasticall and humorous, that till wee can exercize such a iurisdiction ouer them as to compell them to keepe good order, I care not how little wee haue to doe with them. In Spayne I heare they haue sent up an Agent to Madrid, to offer to engage in that Kings seruice, and Capt. Martin at Dunkirke hath desyred a commissyon from that Admiralty*: But I doubte not, when the Kinge himselfe shall be in fflanders, which I hope will be very speedily, and that by the next post I may send you newes to that purpose: those ffrygates which are manned with his owne subiects, will choose to come into his Ma^{tys} seruice, & take commissyons from him, and for the rest lett them do as they see cause: you shall do well to encourage

* The whole of these facts deserve the notice of the naval historian, being totally unrecorded.

Capt: Smith * and Capt: Beart to gett up as many seamen English as they can, and to come to Dunkirke or Ostende, wher they will be wellcome.

For your owne condicon, I am very sorry it is no better, yett in one respecte I did not thinke it so good, for I neuer imagined your receipte would have inabled you vpon the assignements the Kinge had given you to haue discharged all your debts at Paris, and thought it would haue prooued well if you were inabled to pay those which were most cryinge and importunate, which God knowes the poore Resident at Bruxells is not able to doe, but is euery day in daunger of an affronte. I am sure you doe not belieue I envy you any aduantage you have reaped: I wish it greater with all my hearte, and shall alwayes contribute towards it with all my creditt; but trust me I am often putt to answers & replyes that I know not how to go through with, when they who know the Duke of Yorke's receipts as Admirall, confidently averr that the King's haue not bene so little as 5000 pistolls, and enquyre how much hath bene payd to his vse. Therfore as soone as you can, sende me such an accounte (which neede not be uoluminous) as I may vpon occasyon satisfy his Ma^{ty} in that affayre, that I may the more confidently propose any thinge on your behalfe, which I shall doe very heartily as

S^{r}

Your most affectionate serv^{t}

EDW. HYDE.

Sir Ri. Browne.

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* Captain Smith was taken prisoner about a year afterwards, as related in the weekly journals: "Letters come from Plymouth which give an account of a good prize newly taken, and brought in thither by the Sapphire frigat. It bears the name of a Brest man-of-warr, new built, of 30 guns. He was met with about the Land's End, and had aboard two captains, the one named Meldrum, a famous pirate; the other named Smith, who sailed by virtue of a commission from Charles Stuart."

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble

I returned hither on Sunday night; and Munday morninge M^r Locker* from M^r Crumwel came into this towne, and had yesterday eueninge publick solemme audience of K. Q. and Card^l. Hee hath bought a coach and talks of hyeringe a house, and though he thus insinuates himselfe as Envoye, yett tis beleiued hee will within few weekes produce a latent Commission, and take vppon him the title of Ambass^r: Monsieur le Comte de Briene† sayd thus much to 668 . 192 . 95 . whom I was faine to visit *en particulier* by reason of some thinges I left in his hands. *Yf this should cause any alteration in His Ma^ties intentions of continuinge a publike Minister here* (as perhaps much may be sayd *pro* and *con.)* I beseech your Hon^r to giue me timely notice; that yf I bee to remoue, I may dismisse my house and forbeare to make a new houshold: and I pray your Hon^r to giue mee instructions how to carry myselfe towards 668 : 192 : 95 : whether I shall uisit him in quality of his Ma^ties Minister or not? The French Court will some time the next weeke remove towards the Frontier.

Paris 19^th May 1656.

I haue as yett beene onely once at our Court, wher by misfortune I could nott kisse y^e hands of your faire daughter.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchecker.

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* Lockhart soon became a great favourite with Mazarine. He did remain at Paris, and was very active there in 1659. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 547.

† The French Secretary of State.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I am gladd to finde by yours of the 19. that you are returned to Paris, and cannot write at large to you upon what you propose to me in this concerninge your selfe, and in some former, till wee are returned to Bruges, which I conceaue may be by the end of the next weeke: nothinge beinge possible to be maturely weighed and considered in the moc'on wee are in. I thinke wee shall be at Bruxells to-morrow or Munday, only priuately, to uisitt Don-Juan *, nothinge beinge to be publiquely declared on our behalfe till the returne of the Enuoy fro' Spayne, but wee haue no cause but to hope very well.

Ther can be no reason for you to discontinue your old frendshipp and neighborwoode with 668 . 192 . 95 . who truly I believe wishes us uery well, and can do no other then he does: when you see him, remember my service to him, and tell him I doubte not but I shall yett lyue to meete him at Whitehall. I shall now heare from you euery weeke, and shall not neede to putt you in minde not to omitt to write constantly to M^r^ Secretary†: I shall be gladd to know how your frends do in Englande, who I doubte not continue ther kindnesse to you: If nothinge be done by the ffrench Courte to discountenance you, you will not putt off your house, till the Kinge giues you full order: I pray informe your selfe who of ether Nac'on performe most respects to M^r^ Lockyer: I wish you all happinesse, & am very heartily

S^r^

Your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

Edw. Hyde.

Antwerpe this 26: May (1656).

The letter which included the examinac'ons of the Spy‡ is not yett arriued heare, so that wee haue a very obscure informac'on of that

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* Don John of Austria; formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, and recently appointed Governor of Flanders. Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, vol. III. p. 478, mentions some anecdotes respecting him and the Earl of Bristol, his belief in astrology, &c.

† Sir Edward Nicholas. ‡ P. 253.

affayre, nor can I imagyne what seruice the rogue (whome I know well) could do in these partes, to deserve the charge he hath beene to them: I heare the *life of Cardinall Richelieu is newly come out, or in the presse,* I wish you could send it to me *.

Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Right Hon^ble

I did nott vntill now know of your Hon^rs beinge in personall attendance on his Ma^ty. This ignorance of mine nott onely depriued me the contentment of beinge assured that I had soe worthy a friend soe neere my Royal Maister, butt also made me guilty of an omission of nott sooner giuing notice accordinge to my duty of my returne unto this my former station: for which I humbly crave your Hon^rs pardon †.

The French Court parted hence a weeke since, and remaines yett at Compeigne. Yesterday came newes that the Marl^l: de Turene had defeated 4 Regiments of horse, and taken a small place: yf true, a good beginninge of this Campaigne.

M^r Locker, M^r Crumwells Envoye, followes the Court: before his going hence he declared to a person of quality, that he had by him, and would ere longe produce, a Commission to be Ambassador; nottwithstandinge that I haue publiquely (since my returne hither) appeared in the French Court in presence both of this K. & Queene, and twice beene with the Count of Brienne, yett I find nothinge at all of any the

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* The Cardinal seems to have been considered, by some folks at that period, as a conjurer. An English newspaper of that date, called the "French Intelligencer," says, "There hath been lately a prophesie found in the Priory of Cardinal Richlieu at Paris, written by his own hand, wherein he foretells the wofull calamities of the Family of Stuarts, descending from *the Lyon,* that is, King James, for so he was called, by reason that he brought the rampant Lyon figured upon his breast, into the world with him. He likewise predicts three changes of Government, and domestique divisions," &c.

† Though without signature or address, it is evident that this letter is from Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

least intimation to retire *: And the other day in conference with my Lord Jermyn, his opinion was that this State would permitt me to remaine here as long as his Ma^ty thought good: soe that I expect to heare what his Ma^ties pleasure will bee, in this particular: forbearinge in the meane time to engage for the continuance of my house, or to make a new family: humbly intreating your Hon^r, that yf his Ma^ty thinke fitt to continue mee here, you will please to move for a settlement of my subsistence uppon some good and well assured funds, without which I shall soone lapse into a very sad condition.

In the conuersation I have had abroad in my trauail, as well as here in Paris since my returne had with the French Protestants, I find them generally much inuolued in Crumwells interests, he hauinge dexterously insinuated into their belief that he will maintaine them in the enjoyment of ther preuiledges: a more manifest demonstration of their good inclinations to him may also doubtlesse bee, their hauinge since Lockers arriuall effaced the name of *Kinge* out of the inscription of the Seate for the Inglish Ambassad^rs at Charanton, and left only "*pour les Ambassad^rs de la Grand Bretaigne.*"

Olim tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Epigraphen.

And in their discourse uppon all occasions, they fervently declare their great good wishes of the prosperity of the army of the Kinge of Sweden as abettinge uppon that hand in order to the ruine of Antichrist, vnder that Kinge and Crumwells banners †.

I humbly beseech your Hon^r to direct mee how I shall henceforwards addresse my letters unto you

Soe praying for &c.

Paris 2^nd June 1656.

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* This detail sufficiently marks the temporizing policy which actuated the French Court, still unwilling openly to acknowledge Cromwell to the extent of his wishes, yet fearful to offend him by the abrupt dismissal of his Envoy.

† Of all this private history of political chicanery the French Court must have been well aware. It may indeed be considered as a sufficient reason for the middle course which they held between the cause of Charles and the demands of Cromwell. The Protestants certainly had no reason to wish well to the cause of Charles.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I had not tyme the last weeke to acknowledge yours of the 23. (whiche I hope you excuse) and I have since receaued your other of the 30. in answer to both which I can say no more, then that you shall be sure of all the seruice I can do you upon all opportunityes, and I hope any improvement of our fortune will administer these opportunityes:—you shall doe well seasonably and naturally to pursue that discourse to Ld. Jermin concerninge your stay ther, and draw an advise from him hither for your reuocac'on, and then wee shall know what is next to be done. All the papers concerninge Martin wee have, and would be gladd to know what is become of the fellow, and whether he be yett hanged, and what goodly confessyon he made in that season*.—God send us once a good turne, w^ch^ it may be may not be farr off: and then wee shall have more frends and I hope lesse neede of them. I perceave your spiritts in Paris are not so composed, but that ill accidents may cause some disorders amongst you, and those people do belieue that your designe before Valenciennes may be frustrated; it is a greate stake, and these as much concerned to preserve and you to possesse it. Wee exspecte howrely newes of some action before it: I have beene misinformed if Cardinall Richelieu's life be not in the presse.—I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily

S^r^

your most affectionate Serv^t^

E. H.

Bruges this 7 of July (1656).

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* Vide p. 250.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^ Bruges this 11. of Aug. (1656).

It is uery true, I haue besydes your last of the 4: of this moneth, your other of the 21. and 28. of the last upon my hands, the subiecte of both which beinge such, as I could not discourse upon, before my L^d^ of Bristolls arriuall*, to whom you referred me, I forbore to say any thinge till I could speake to the purpose, and he arrived not till Sunday last: and you will easily believe that in this little tyme wee have not bene able to conferr of halfe the matters of importance which are necessary for present consultac'on: yett wee have spoken of your businesse, wherin I perceive he is farr from hauinge any positive opinion, nor have either of us yett spoken with the Kinge of it: Wee haue many thinges under debate, which must be præliminary to any determinac'on in that pointe, therfore you must haue a little patience, and be confident if you are designed to continue that imployment, prouisyon must be made for your reasonable supporte, and it cannot be most [more] secure then upon that pension, but whether you are to be continued ther I cannot yett tell; shortly wee may. I do not finde that the Quene or my L^d^ Jermin haue writt or sent any opinion upon it: I am of your opinion in the matter of Mon^r^ Lyon, nor can I discover the least footestepps of a treaty betweene the 2 Crownes, nor is Madrid a place of that secrecy, but the Venetian Ambassadour in that Courte would discover it. I pray informe your selfe as particularly as you can of Mo^r^ Orleanes, whose visitt in this season is not merely upon complement. It is not possible to give such an accounte of our affayres heare, as may satisfy the curiosity of our frends, since if what is intended be not kept secrett, wee shall have little fruites of it: trust me, so farr,

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* On a reference to the history and official documents of those times, this letter evidently relates to the hopes and also the plans of the Royal partizans, who were now carrying on a rapid intercourse with their friends in England, and augured much good from the distrust manifested by Cromwell in regard to his own personal security.

Lord Bristol, soon after this, was left as the King's Agent at Brussels, whilst the King and his Court went to Bruges, &c. Vide State Papers, vol. III. p. 308, 10.

as to be confident, our condic'on is very hopefull, and I am as confident that I shall lyue to see you at Whitehall, and serve you ther as

S^r^

your very affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

EDW: HYDE.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

Hauinge replyed as particularly as I can in my last to what concernes your owne particular, I should not at this tyme (when I have very much to do) acknowledge yours of the 11. were it not to desyre your fauour in transmittinge the inclosed. I receaved a letter from Mr. Bourdon whom I well knew at my beinge at S^t^ Sebastians, and I am gladd that ther is such a distinction made ther, for he writes me worde, that since the Edicte for the turninge out of towne all the English, Irish, and Scotts, ther is a seconde order, that excepts all those who can make it evident that they are good subiectes to his Ma^ty^, and therfore he hath desyred such a certificate, havinge as he sayes hitherto preserved himselfe by producinge some letters which I writt to him at my beinge at Madrid: I have in the inclosed sent him what I conceave may do him good, and have derected it as he aduised, to Bourdeaux*.

We exspecte the Duke of Yorke here very speedily, and then wee shall come the sooner to a resolution in that pointe which concernes you. I pray lett us know more of Don Michel de Castile, and of Mr. Locker: I would be gladd you would send me (if you have it by you) the life of the Connestable De Desguynes, which they say is well written. I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily

S^r^

your most affectionate hu^ble^ Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Bruges this 18: of Aug: (1656).

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* This transaction seems to have had reference to the expected war between Spain and the English Commonwealth.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^ * Bruges this 25. of Aug. (1656).

I have yours of the 18. and as you have greate reason in this perplexed and unsteady condic'on wee are all in, to desyre to know as soone as may be what your owne lott will be, so, you must not wonder that your frends cannot give you so speedy satisfaction in it, as they wish; wee shall shortly I hope see the Duke of Yorke heare, and then that matter will be most properly and seasonably consulted; besydes, the case is now very different from what it was understoode to be, when you returned to Paris, for the Romance of Don Miguell will prove authentique History, and it may be Mr. Lockier may retyre with lesse glory then he entred, and S^r^ Ri: Browne stay ther with more respecte: ther is one thinge no doubte you may depend upon, which is, if you are continued ther, some fitt assignac'on will be made for your supporte, and if you are called away, no doubte your Master will thinke of some other prouisyon and imployment for you. Our businesse does not goe so ill, but that wee may reasonably hope that wee shall all have somewhat to doe. The Declarac'on of the freedome of the Portes is now published accordinge to our heartes desyre, and many other evidences given us, of a full affection from Spayne, and if they do not do all for us that wee desyre, it is only because they are not able: nor are they so weake, and unable to helpe us, nor Mr. Cru'well at so much ease or so confident of his new Parliam^t^ that wee have reason to dispayre of better dayes, or that we may not *eate cherryes at Deptforde* agayne.

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* The hopes of the Royal partizans now revived rapidly, as is evident from the whole tenor of this letter. The reader who feels an interest in the hopes thus expressed, will be very much gratified by referring to Clarendon's State Papers, vol. III. pp. 302, 6, for various particulars, especially by the gentle mode (p. 302) adopted by Sir Edward to urge the King to a punctual payment of his debts on the receipt of some cash for himself and the Duke of York. This anxiety on the part of Sir Edward, particularly in regard to the debts at Cologne, may be accounted for by the detail of his own distressed state in that City. Vide same vol. p. 290.

I returned you by the last post an answer to what was desyred from S^{t} Sebastians, which I præsume you receaved and have sent forwarde. — I do belieue ther will be occasyon for me the beginninge of the next weeke to repayre to Bruxells and Antwerpe, and therfore if you please lett your letters be putt under couer to S^{r} H. De Vic, or Mr. John Shaw at Antwerpe : S^{r} H. De Vic complaynes he knew not of your returne to Paris, till some letters from you came into his handes to be sent to a 3^{d}. person. Corresponding with each other may be usefull to you both. I am

S^{r}

your most affectionate Serv^{t}

E. H.

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^{r}

I haue yours of the 8. upon my hands, and this last nyght at my comminge I founde your other of the 22. and how longe I shall stay heare I know not, my businesse dependinge upon the pleasure of others, who will mooue faster or slower as they haue a minde to it, and the ill newes of the losse of Valenza, and the march you haue putt this Army to make, by your attempt upon la Chappelle *, makes the season lesse fitt for those kinde of negotiac'ons, then I believe otherwise it would haue prooved ; howeuer I hope sometyme the next weeke to be agayne at Bruges, and then after the Kinge hath conferred with the Duke of Yorke, I conceaue some resoluc'ons will be taken concerninge your owne particular, and it may be the Cardinall † will finde wee can be as angry as he, and with more reason : I will enquyre of the letter you say was writt to the Jesuite, and I pray haue as stricte an eye upon

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* Alluding to the events of the Low Country wars, and the campaign in Italy. The Valenza here mentioned is in the Milanese, and was taken, at this period, by the Duke of Modena and the Duke of Mercœur.

† Mazarine.

the Knight, and informe your selfe of him, as you can: and likewise of the moc'ons of the Cardinall de Retz * which is an intriegue I do not understande: you must excuse me for writinge so impertinently at this tyme, when the truth is, I haue so much to doe, that I hardly gett this tyme to write at all: and I pray lett me heare from you of any thinge you thinke fitt to imparte, I mean when I am fro' Bruges, for whilst I am ther, your letters to the good Secretary will serue us both: God send us good newes fro' England, which is exspected by

S^r^

Your very affectionate Serv^t^

Edw. Hyde.

Antwerpe this 29: Sept: (1656.)

Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne.

S^r^

I had not tyme the last post to acknowlege yours of the 29. of the last moneth, and I haue since, by your to reasonable guesse of the slownesse of all dispatches heare, receaued your other by the last post without a date, which was the only one I receaued fro' Paris, all my other frends conceauinge as they had reason that I would be at Bruges, and therby they are all now without any letter fro' me. The truth is, my stay heare hath beene beyonde all possible exspectac'on, and hath so tyred my patience, that though this day be not like to giue so good

* De Retz had always been extremely active during the contest between the King and Princes. He was the bitter enemy of Mazarine, and also of Condé, playing a double part, and ruling the Duke of Orleans in all things. De Retz also, before this period, had been joined in an accusation brought forward against King Charles as a mere creature of Cardinal Mazarine. The "Mercurius Politicus" of July 1, 1652, says: "In the mean time the Cardinal, by his creatures, the pretended King of Scotland, the Cardinal Retz, Madame Chevreuse, Monsieur le Chasteauneuf, and Montagu, have plaied their game so well that they have drawn the Duke of Lorrain to declare for the King, and to forsake the cause of the Princes."

an ende to my businesse as I desyre, yett I resolue (God willing) to be gone to morrow towards the Kinge, from whom I haue been now aboue a fortnight: Wee are willing to belieue that these seasonable raynes will dispose both Armyes to enter into ther Winter quarters, and then wee shall do our businesse the better: Ther is a discourse of the Marq: of H . . . . court goinge this winter into Spayne, which meethinkes yett he should not haue leaue to doe: you menc'on your neighbour the Venetian Ambassadour, but you neuer speake of your next neighbour my old frend the Holl: Ambassadour *, I would gladly know what he thinkes of these alterac'ons, and whether his old affections continue to us: I haue nothinge to add but hearty wishes of your happinesse fro'

S^r^

Your most affectionate Serv^t^

EDW: HYDE.

Antwerpe this 13. of Octob: (1656).

Sir Ri: Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

S^r^

I must give you many thanks for your fauour of the 25. And the greate ciuillity you exspresse to me, which I assure you you will finde returned to you, by all the seruices I can doe: it is indeede to melancholique a tyme, to feele any præferment † with that *gusto* that it hath vsed to carry with it, and I wish that considerac'on would abate somewhat of

* Mynheer Borell.

† The preferment here alluded to was his own appointment as Lord High Chancellor of England, shortly after the Great Seal had been surrendered by the Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert. A curious anecdote respecting this latter circumstance may be found in Clarendon's History, vol. III. p. 411; and another in the subsequent page. It was not very long after this that the Duke of York was privately married to the Chancellor's daughter. A serious quarrel had for some time existed between Charles and the Duke, and a separation between them had actually taken place whilst the former, during great part of 1657, resided at Bruges.

the enuy that will attende it, but wee must submitt to the burthen and uneasinesse of the last, without any refreshment from the former: I hope the tyme is not farr of, that God Almighty will give some change to the sadd condic'on of our poore Master, and then wee his seruants shall haue aboundant matter to reioyce in, be our condic'on what it will: myne, trust me, will be much the more pleasant to me, if it shall giue me any power to lett you see how heartily I am

S^r^

Your most affectionate Serv^t^

EDW. HYDE.

Bru: this 5. of ffeb: 1658.

Sir Ri. Browne.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

[This Letter only bears the signature and postscript of Lord Clarendon.]

S^r^

I doe very seldome trouble you with my letters, knowing very well that the good Secretary* informes you of all things that passe here: But I write now vpon a particular occasion, in which his Majesties honour is concerned: and iustice and charitie obliges vs to doe all wee can: and *though you are not in your publique capacity*, and soe cannot move any thing in the Kings name, I doe beseech you for charities sake, to take a little paynes to informe your selfe and therevpon to apply your selfe to my Lord Jermyn, or Mr. Montague† on the poore mans behalfe: and I cannot but presume but they will so farre interpose, and vse their credit, that there may be no further proceeding vpon so foul an arrest, but y^t^ the man may be sett at liberty; and if

* Sir Edward Nicholas.

† After a diligent research, it has been found impossible to ascertain the individual to whom this letter alludes. Lord Jermyn and the Abbé Montague were at this time in active confidence with the Queen at Paris, as appears from a letter of the Marquis of Ormond to the Chancellor, written in 1659. State Papers, vol. III. p. 547.

it be possible, with some repairation. You cannot but remember that scandallous arrest of the Parliament of Rennes, whilst the King was at Paris, of which the Court being informed was so ashamed, that they gaue present order in it, which I thought had beene so effectuall, that there would have beene no record left of it: nor did I since heare any thing of it, till within those last fourteen dayes Mr. Crowther told mee that Mr. Bullen was in prison vpon the same arrest. I presume y^e^ Duke of Yorke hath, vpon the addresses about that time made to him, recommended it to some sollicitation; howeuer the enclosed letter com'ing to my hands within these two dayes, and the King being absent at this time from hence, I cannot but recommend the matter to you, and doe desire you upon perusall of his letter, and the processe, which will informe you of all that I can say, that you will likewise take the paynes, if it be necessary, to call vpon the Superiour of the Benedictines for the other papers, and therevpon to take such course, that such letters of evocation may be sent, as are necessary; & that the poore man may bee sett at liberty, and out of danger of future vexation: and I hope the conjunction may not be vnfauourable towards the advancement of such acts of justice. I wish you all happiness, and am,

S^r^

Your very affectionate serv^t^

Brux: 16^th^ August 1659. Edw. Hyde.

If S^r^ George Carterett be in towne, desyre him from me to do all the good offices he can in this affayre.

The following Extracts from Letters written by SIR RICHARD BROWNE, *whilst Ambassador at Paris, furnish some curious Particulars.*

21 Oct. 1642.

Rich[d] Browne, Esq; Ambass[r] at Paris writes to S[r] Edw[d] Nicholas, Secretary of State—That by his Ma[tys] late speech at .... Shrewsbury & by other advices, he hears the possibility of a thing w[ch] he hopes will never come to pass, that his Ma[ty] will be constrained to sell or engage his fairest parks or lands: that there is at Deptford certain pastures called Sayes Court, reserved in his Ma[tys] hand for the special service of his houshold, for w[ch] being so near London, there may in these intruding times, be persons ready to deale: he beseeches S[r] Edw. to move his Ma[ty] that they may not be sold, but if (w[ch] God defend) his Ma[ty] sho[d] have just cause to part from them, that he wo[d] let some sufficient persons (whom he shall find out) to deale for them, have the first offer, not above 260 acres; no man shall give a clearer light than he will, for they have been long in the custody of his ancestors, by whom the dwelling house thereon was built at their own charge, & it is the only seat he has, & is the place wherein he was borne.

To SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

7 Nov. 1642.

That [*in cypher*] doth continue his assistance to the Irish, furnishing money to buy arms, w[ch] they send away for Ireland; that he has made reiterated complaints by his Ma[tys] express order, & in his name, with so little success that it is useless to endeavor any more. The Irish priests as well as the soldiers flock very fast into their country & pretend Bishopricks and other benefices by donation from Rome. Col. Tirel is here lately come out of Portugal and hastens into Ireland. Col. Belinge (late prisoner in England) hath obtained his liberty, & is now in this town.

To the Same.

9-19 Nov. 1642.

The Prince of Condé lately sent for me & told me the Counsells of France had hitherto beene contrary to his Ma^{ty}—excused and asked pardon for his complyinge: bad mee assure his Ma^{ty} he would hence-forward doe all that lay in his power to serve him, that he would in confidence advertise me (and only me) of all that passeth, and (yf neede so require) hee would himselfe endeavour assistance for his Ma^{ty}.

Use may be made hereoff yf cherisht & kept secrett, especially in regard the French King is not like to live longe, & the Princes of the blood will probably have their share in governm^{t} then yf not sooner.

To the Same.

13-23 Jan. 1642-3.

The whole numbers of the Scotch who doe allready serve or have contracted to serve this Crowne, are,

Colonel Douglas his foot Reg^{t}	2000
Earl of Erwin his new Reg^{t} of Guard consisting of 30 companies	4500
My Lord Gray one Reg^{t} of foote	1000
My Lord Lundy one Reg^{t} of foote	1000
Col. Fullerton one Reg^{t} of foote	1000
Earle of Laudian (is sayd) shall have the auncient company of Gens d'Armes	100
	9600

Of these, allready here

Coll. Douglas Reg^{t}	1000
The Earle of Erwins	2000
Col. Fullerton's	500
	3500

The rest expected, butt much difficulty to find men in Scottland.

I have seene letters lately written from a person of great quality in Scottland bearinge the Earle of Laudian's speedy comminge over hither with his Ma^tys leave to treate the renewinge of the auncient allyances betweene the Crowns of Scottland and France; uppon which Treaty many particular interests depend, as, the reestablishinge the Marquis Hamilton in the Dutchy of Chatelraut, of the Marq. Douglas in that of Turenne, of restoringe the Captainship of the Scottish Archers and Guardes-du-corps to one of that nation, &c. . . . . relative to which negotiations [*cypher*] and Mons^r de la Ferte Imbault pretends to have in favour of him erected a new office of Colonel de la Nation Escossoise, of the same nature and in all points of profitt and honour equall to that of the Suisses.

Mr. Chambers hath very honestly beene with mee and tells mee unlesse the Earle Laudian come (as he pretends) with his Ma^ties leave, and that his Ma^ty doe well approve of the employment whertoo hee is dessigned, hee shall not bee very forward so farre to quit his allegeance to his lawfull Soveraigne as to accept threoff.

I beseech y^r Hon^r lett me receive y^r orders how I shall carry myself in this business.

Mons^r de la Ferte Imbaull is nott only a vehement stickler for the Scotch, butt in a manner also agent for the Parliament here. I have by me the authentique copie of a letter written lately to him by a Peere . . . . .* in the name of the Upper House to sollicit a businesse here. In all his discourse he rayseth their reputation to what heighth hee can, and depresseth his Ma^ties causlessly, dishonestly, and maliciously.

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* In this part of the original, the words, " my lord of Holland" are scratched through with a pen.

To the Same.

11-21 March 1642-3.

Passports to treat for a general Peace to assemble at Munster.——— The Earle of Laudian with S^r^ T. Dishington sollicite very earnestly here for the sendinge an Ambass^r^ into England to treat of an accommodation, by order as is presumed of the Parl^t^ in England, and Mr. Ferte Imbault is noe lesse earnest to bee the man. These three are all one and violent Parliamentarians.

[An inclosure in cypher.]

To the Same.

2-12 June 1643.

By the letters I recommended to M^r^ de Gressy's safe delivery, your Hon^r^ will have understood in what a miserable condition I am for want of some present supply of money, my friends haveinge plainly signified unto mee that I must expect no more from them, or from my estate in England already engaged to its utmost extent.

By the same opportunity I likewise gave y^r^ Hon^r^ notice of S^r^ Balt. Gerbiers manner of proceedinge here at his first arrival, since which he continues his frequent visits to the Queene, Princes and Ministers, taking much uppon him, and using his Ma^ties^ name how hee pleases uppon all occasions, nott onely givinge out here, butt also writing into other parts (as I have received notice by letters from good hands) that he is sent hither by his Ma^ty^ to condole about other business of great consequence. — I shall be glad to know what y^r^ Hon^r^ thinkes of this kinde of carriage of his, and whether it bee his Ma^ties^ pleasure to have a pretended Ambassad^r^ where he hath allready an avowed Resident.

To the Same.

3 Sept. 1643.

[*Cypher*] concerning which moneyes as I treated with 335 . 420 (who hath very much contributed to the findinge out and sending this summe) hee knowinge my case, of himselfe offered mee to move 335 . 501 . to reserve here what part I would towards payment of my entertainment until they received his Ma^ties^ order to put it into my hands, but I replyed that though my necessities did much presse mee, yett I would nott presume to stopp or divert any supply whatsoever sent to his Ma^ty^. Here is a very considerable quantity of 259 . 82 . 91 . 83 . [and ammunition *] sent and sendinge from hence, the particulars wheroff are I assure myselfe well knowne to his Ma^ty^ and to y^r^ Hon^r^. —— prays for money & to be preserved from perishing.

To the Same.

10-20 Nov. 1643.

The Queene is in a manner wholly governed by Card^l^ Mazarine, who is secretly leagued with the Prince of Condé, butt governed by Mons^r^ de Chavigny; this last beinge by this meanes though in a close way more powerfull than ever. The whole triplicitly I feare will league noe very favourable influence on England. —— Mr. Croft is gone to Rouen joyntly with my L^d^ V. Mountague & others to treat with som merchants for furnishinge his Ma^ty^ with armes & ammunition, &c.

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* The words "and ammunition" are struck through with a pen in the original.

To Sir Edward Nicholas.

3 Sept. 1643.

—— the welcome newes of £.20,000. sterling which this good Queene sends to their Ma^ties^ by her Ambass^r^. — They offered to put part into his hands, but he refused it, tho' his necessities were great, as he wo^d^ not intercept any supply sent to his Ma^ty^.

Much arms & ammunition sent — lord V. Mountague had 50,000 livres Tournois to purchase arms — 35,000 only expended — prays the other part may be ordered for him.

To Lord Digby.

6 Jan. 1644.

Delivers the Kings passe for 100 barrells of powder, 12,000 waight of match, 2000 swords & 500 case of pistols to be by a merch^t^ put aboard his Ma^tys^ 2 men of war at Havre. The passe was drawn according to my memoire, for the king of Gr. Br. service, but the Secretary of State caused it to be new written, & those words left out; w^ch^ among many other things I have observed, makes me think those here very far from declaring for either side in England.

To Lord Digby.

25 March 1644.

I have received your L'ps letter of 21. Feb. that some supplies of money will speedily be sent to me, & intimating his Ma^tys^ gracious pleasure to conferre upon mee (not lesse unexpected than undeserved) the dignity of Baronett; as y^r^ Lo^p^ has happily joyned these two together, soe I humbly beseech . . . . . they may not be separate butt for

mutual support and ornament march hand in hand. To attend y^r^ Lo^ps^ commands in both I have desired the bearer hereoff Mr. William Prettyman (a younger brother of my wife's) to make a journey to Oxford —— within few dayes I shall have better opportunity to express my thankfulnesse more at large.

I humbly beseech yo^r^ L^p^ to represent my most abundant gratitude to his Ma^ty^.

To Lord Jermyn.

3-13 June 1644.

Y^r^ Lo^p^ hath obtained from his Ma^ty^ a grant of the perpetuity here in France of 2822 livres tournois *p^r^ an'*. If y^r^ Lo^p^ should not already have made sure thereoff, I know not how Mr. Aubert's pretensions may interfere with this of y^r^ Lo^ps^; for three days since his Agent here signified his Ma^tys^ order to mee for payment to him of 25^m^ livres and returning from him the Diamond; which sume nott being to bee had out of the arreares, it is probable hee will now make demand of the rents themselves, which if he doe obtain, and that they bee made over to him at that lowe and underhand rate hee expects, hee will make up his summe, sweep away not only the rents themselves, but alsoe the remaininge part of the arreares.

Lord Digby and Sir Edward Nicholas.

3-13 June 1644.

The inclosed arret will lett y^r^ L^p^ see that I have at last finished the longe dependinge suite for recovery of a remainder of His Ma^ties^ portion-money longe since deposited here for the payment of certaine creditors & servants of His Ma^tie^. The rents or perpetuity tenn yeares since bought with this money, with the arrears of the sayd rents, I have been forced to wrest out of violent hands uppon the best terms I could; for to

say the truth, they were in a manner swallowed up by some greedy cormorants in too great place and power here, who never thought to have thus regorged them to their true owner his Ma^ty^. Of the tenn yeares arrears of 2822 livres *p' an.* there are little above seaven at present to bee found in ready money (the rest being nott yet payed) which present money will all be disposed off partly by the arret itselfe, and partly for necessary compositions, charges, and gratuities (as shall appeare by my just and good account) so that to his Ma^ties^ profitt there will come cleare only the perpetuity or rents themselves, and betweene two or three yeares arreares. These rents stand his Ma^ty^ in twelve yeares purchase, but by reason of the seasures the late French King and this have since these warres made uppon rents of this nature, and of the uncertaine condition of these times, they will not now bee sold at so good a rate as they may improve to after a general peace.

To Lord Digby.

7-17 June 1644.

Writes earnestly for money — inevitable ruin must befall him — has not wherewithall to provide himself out of mourning, a new Coat and Liveries, w^ch^ will much tend to his Ma^ties^ disreputation—"I appeal to all the world whether I have not in this absolutely dearest part of Christendom for these three yeares maintained his Ma^ties^ honour beyond what could be expected from my quality in these distracted times, my estate lying all in Kent and Essex yielding little or nothing, the moneys I take upp comeing uppon much disadvantage, and a constant great interest paid."

To Lord Jermin.

Right Hon^ble my singular good Lord.

Accordinge to y^r Lo^ps command to send you the Inglish newes, I now begin by this opportunity of Mr. Besse's departure: What London affords this inclosed printed will acquaint y^r Lo^p. Besides which the letters containe little or nothinge, onely some hopes of misunderstandinge and diuisions amonge the Parlamentary Generalls.

Yesterday the Pr: Elector Pal. his Agent came to acquaint mee that His Elec: Hig: hee thought was by this time at London: and to declare the cause of his iourney thither to bee, partly to see what aduantages hee might reape to himselfe from His Ma^ty and Parl: accordinge to both their promises, in case they treated an accommodac'on; & partly to sollicit some supplies of money for y^e Queene his mother and himselfe, without which they can neyther of them subsist any longer. And this hee desired mee to write to their Ma^ties. And I thinke the same excusatory account will bee brought within fewe dayes to y^r Court by Pr. Edward, who was also yesterday with mee to consult where he might most speedily and most conueniently find His Ma^ty.

The Duke of Orleans is on his way hither, and yf what I heare bee true, will visit His Ma^ty ere longe at Bourbon. Of the Duke d'Anguien's action at Fribourg I will nott giue an account till the lame Post bee come, & then I shall send it by a speedier conueyance. It shall suffice that by this sure hand I present my humble seruice to y^r Lo^p. and giue assurance of my diligent endeavours to obey y^r commands. Beseechinge y^r Lo^p to take some speedy care for the subsistance of a creature of yours whose sole ambition it is to bee vsefull to you: Many haue allready passed by and pitied his condition; butt y^r Lo^p is the Samaritan from whom alone his vrgent necessities expect that balme must cure them. In which happy omen I take the boldnesse to kisse y^r Lo^ps hands in quality off

Y^r Lo^ps

Most faithfull humble Ser^t,

Richard Browne.

Paris 19. Aug. 1644.

S^r^

After seuerall negotiations betweene the Palais Cardinal and the Court of Parlament, the Queene Regent vppon Tewsday last signified to the Parlam^t^ that being well informed of theire good intenc'ons and sincerity, she approued of theire proceedings, willinge them to meete frequently and to continew dilligently theire consultations for the publique good; w^th^all acquaintinge them, that the Ennemy was vppon the ffrontier, and that the King wanted mony, wherefore they might doe well to bring theire resolutions to maturity w^th^in the space of 8 dayes: since w^ch^ satisfactory answere, the Parlament is uery busy in finding meanes how to reforme the abuses in the gouvernment chiefly in that of the Kings reuenewe, in which worke the rest of the Parlaments of ffrance will doubtlesse comply w^th^ this of Paris. And some great Ministers may perhaps be sacrifised to the people, who have already confessed theire feares by disfurnishinge theire houses of theire choisest moueables.

Heere is all possible care taken to furnish the Prince of Condé w^th^ mony, and heere is also much seeking after horses to sende to him, wherewith to remount his Caualiers; the Prince is w^th^ his Army neere Guize, where he hath lately arrested a gent' of Piccardy (whose name is Ragny) for hauing giuen intelligence to the Spaniard, and hauinge drawne great pensions from them any tyme this 6 or 7 yeares.

The ffrench ffleet consistinge of 13 shipps and 19 gallies hath presented it selfe vppon the coast of Naples, but as yet w^th^out any success at all.

This weeke hath safely brought hither Mr. Langton, with all your noble tokens, for all which (particularly for the rare booke to mee) I render you my hearty acknowledgments, as also your two letters of 15. & 19. June, containinge (as allways of late) feares and hopes. God in his mercy direct thinges to some tolerable end or other. I wrote to Mr. Spencer this day seauenight, as to you also; and hope it went safe, though I find some of the former Post (none of mine, for I wrote nott) were intercepted. Our Prince beinge disappointed of the somme

of money hee expected from the French for his iourney, goes the beginninge of the next weeke to Callice, butt with lesse traine then hee intended, which is all I can say to you of that matter, onely that all his Ma^ties^ Priuie Councellors in France haue orders to attend his High^sse^ at Callice: my Lord Treasurer, Lord of Bristoll, Sir Ed. Nicholas, are on their way thither.

Our best respects to the good company with you in the Country: where I hope you injoy yourselues, and amongst other diuertisments with that of haymakinge, the season for which now approaches; and ought (yf you haue there had soe wett a growinge time as here) to afford you store of exercise. Farwell D. S.

Yours for euer.

Paris 4. July 1648.

From Sir Ri: Browne.

S^r^

I know not yet what judgment to make, or what the euent will bee of the affaires now in agitation betweene our Royall and our pleadinge Pallace heere. For notw^th^standinge that the exiled members of the Parlament bee restored; that the reuocation of the Intendants out of the Provinces bee resolued (three onely excepted) namely, in the Lyonnois, in Champaigne, and in Piccardy, where theire imployment is restraned onely to the affaires of the Armies; and that y^e^ Queene hath condescended to y^e^ erection of a Chamber of Justice, as they terme it, w^ch^ is to consist of a selected number of Parlament men, whereof the Kinge (to saue the reputac'on of his authority) is to haue the nomination, and is established to inquire, and informe against financiers, partisans, and others that haue misbehaued themselues: yet it will bee a difficult matter to reconcile other differences, for there is much dispute about the remittinge y^e^ arrears of the Tailles of y^e^ yeares 44, 45, and 46, and about abatinge the 8^th^ part of the Tailles of the yeare 47, and the fourth part of 48 and 49; about the regulating the impositions uppon the entry of marchandises, about the reuokinge those Edicts by w^ch^ the rents vppon the Towne house and the wages of Officers are diuerted to the Kings vse, and generally whatsoeuer almost

hath passed wthout the verificac'on of the Parlament, is subject to question. Nor is the Counsell altogeather complyant wth the Court of Parlament, hauinge lately by theire arrest cashiered an arrest of Parlament against the Dutchesse of Aiguillon. Nor is the Parlament vndiuided in ittselfe, the Kinge hauinge a party there, amongst whome the S^{r} Boulanger, Conc^{r}. in the first Chamber, two daies since pleadinge very earnestly on the Kings side, in behalfe of the Partisans in whose handes he is sayd to haue great sum'es of mony, fell downe dead in the House, wherevppon the Duke of Orleans retired, the meeting dissolued, and the people conclude this blow to bee a judgment of God vppon him for defendinge soe bad a cause.

Mars^{ll} de Gramont is come hither, whose privat businesse being not yet knowne, what appears is that he hath addressed himselfe to the Parlament to acquainte them wth the necessityes of the Army, and to demand supplyes of them, seeing all other meanes of raysinge monyes are now, by their stirringe, soe disordered, that the new Sur-intendant can neither by intreatyes, or threats dispose the *Partizans* to aduance one penny till they see farther what settlement these disputes will produce.

The ffrench ffleet is returned from the coast of Naples (not hauinge made any impression at all vppon that people) to Piombino & Portolongone. Nor doe I heare that Prince Thomas is yet embarqued.

My Lord Jermin went hence towards Callice Munday last. The Queene is returned to St. Germains. My Lord Marq^{s} of Ormond prepares for Irland. And my L^{d} Marq^{s} of Newcastle goes next weeke towards Holand by the way of Flanders, with his Lady, &c. God blesse you and vs. And send vs a happy meetinge.

Yours euer to loue and serue you.

Paris, 18 July 1648.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

S^r^

The businesse of the Parlament this weeke hath been to deliberate vppon, and examine the declaration w^ch^ the King brought them, hauing appointed fower of theire members to make report thereof vppon the 16^th^ of this month; in the mean tyme they make great difficulty to obey that part thereof, wherein the King com'andes them not to assemble any more in the Chambre St. Lewis; and this notw^thstanding that the Duke of Orleans hath seuerall tymes beene w^th^ them to mainetaine the Kings authority, and to vrge the conueniency, yf not the necessity, of theire obedience; so that, by what yet appeares, the Parlam^t^ yf they meete not in the Chambre St. Lewis yet they will doe theire businesse in some other place, and perhaps at last make a foule house; for that is certaine, that some other Parlaments of ffrance doe manifestly declare and followe theire example.

The Prince of Condé findinge great difficultyes in the reliefe of Tourné* is encamped at Bethune, there expectinge the succors y^t^ Erlack, Vaubecour, and others are to bringe to him.

At Naples the affaires betweene the King and people (ill satisfied w^th^ the Spaniards non-performance of treaty, and murmoringe by reason of the scarcety of bread) are againe fallen into great disorder; insomuch as it is thought the ffrench ffleet may therevppon make yet an other journey to attempte some new impression in that Kingdome. The newes of the seidge of Cremona is confirmed, not w^thout hopes of the speedy takinge thereof.

The Marquis of Ormond is vppon his departure for Irland. Wee are here, God be praysed, in good health. Butt when will our deare Brother William come? I am glad to heare our cottage hath beene dignified with such good company as your brother, to whom I longe to present my seruice. Our honest cousin Stefens (who will well deserue your acquaintance, and whom I recommend vnto your affection) will perhaps by that time these come to you, bee arriued. Which yf

* Which is lost.

hee bee, I pray present my seruice to him. & soe with our relatiue cordiall affections, I rest

Yours euer.

Paris, 8 Augst 1648.

Our Court wants money, and liues very quietly at St. Germains: where no peere appeares but my Lord Jermin. The Lord Marq. of Worster, the Lords Digby & Hatton, though yett in France, yett liue for the most part in Paris.

From Sir Ri. Browne.

S^{r}

Since y^{e} Com'ittinge of the King's declaration to fower Members of the Parlament, to bee by them examined wth order to make reporte thereof on Munday next, the Parlament hath followed theire ordinary course of businesse, and this interim seemes to bee a kind of truce betweene the Royall and y^{e} pleading Pallace.

The losse of Tourné hath not yet exasperated y^{e} Prince of Condé into any newe vndertakinge against the Spaniard, w^{ch} now vppon y^{e} joyninge of Erlack's troopes vnto him, it is expected hee shoulde, soe that probabily wee shall soone heare of his remoue from Bethune. In this stationary, or rather retrograde, condition of the ffrench affaires in fflanders, the certaine expectation of the taking of Cremona, and the weaknesse of the Spaniard in Catalonia, are very considerable supports; but aboue all, the relaps of Naples into (as they heere thinke) a more desperate state than euer, doth raise theire mindes, and giues here great hopes of the losse of that Kingdome to the Spaniard. In order to w^{ch} the ffrench ffleet hath set saile for L'Abbruzzo, there to joyne wth the Conte de Conuersano, who hath reuiued y^{t} rebellion and is at the head of a considerable army.

The Com'andeur de Souuray prepares for his journey into Holland, in quallity of Ambassador from the Religion of Malta, there to demande restitution of the Com'andaries, w^{ch} the States of Holland doe possesse.

The Duke of Beaufort (who 'tis thought hath not beene out of ffrance) attended w^th^ 40 or 50 horse, hath lately (as is saide) appeared in Brittany, wherevppon there are some troopes sent thither, and into Normandy, to secure those Provinces. And to Card^ll^ Mazarin they speake of giuinge a guard of 100 horse, for the safety of his person.

The Marquis of Ormond two daies since begane his journey towards Ireland.

Thankes for yours of 28 & 31. most wellcome. All your relations here salute you most cordially. To my brother yf nott com away, & to my cousin S^t^. yf arriued, present my loue and seruice, the like to all the good company with you. Farwell my deare S.

Yours for euer louinge.

Paris, 15 Aug. 1648.

From Sir Ri: Browne.

S^r^

Yf thorough the difficult and hazardous passage, these lines come safe to you, they will conuey my serious and hearty congratulations of that condition you are now in neere his Ma^ty^, wherin his gracious fauour and your owne merit haue concurrently placed you. Though I haue receiued noe letter from you since your arrivall in Schotland, yett I injoy the fruits of your care and kindnesse towards mee, wittnesse the two warrants of his Ma^tie^, dated y^e^ 4 Aprill 3^o^ Car. 1651, directed to Prince Rupert and to Mr. Windam in my behalfe, for which, as I render all humble acknowledgments to my most Gracious and Royall Maister, soe, I giue you also my hearty thankes for beinge soe happily instrumentall in a concernment of mine, though hithertoo neyther of them haue prouued any way aduantageous unto mee, for I can giue noe account where Pr. Rupert is since his comminge into the Ocean, and takinge some rich shipps belonginge to the Kinge of Spaine, and to the Genoese: And

when I addresse any demands to Mr. Windam, hee makes mee noe returne butt these kind of warrants, such as the inclosed, of which he hath many. Soe that unlesse his Ma^ty^ be pleased eyther to thinke of some other way of supply for mee, or direct some more effectuall commands to Mr. Windam, your kindsman and his family must (for ought I see) begge bread (or starue) in the streetes of Paris. In March last Mr. Windam assigned mee a thousand guilders of Dunkirke money, which makes little aboue fourescore pistolls here. Butt the man (one John Arden) in whose hands he had deposited the prize goods, out of which this summ was to bee raysed, is soe insoluent that he lyes in prison eyther nott able or nott willinge to giue any satisfaction. The truth of this will bee confirmed to you by word of mouth by Mr. Edgman, of whose safe arriuall with you, and returne into these parts, I should bee gladd to heare.

The affaires of this kingdome are in a dubious condition, occasioned chiefly by reason of some jealosies betweene the Queene Regent and the Princes; to which the neere approachinge majority (the 6^th^. 7^r^.) will, in probability, giue a period, one way or other, by a more firme settlement of the authority, imnistery, and direction of affaires. As for the aspect towards vs, all I can say to you is, it will bee answerable to the successe of his Ma^ties^ affaires in schottland, vppon which they here looke as the North Pole-starre by which they intend to steere. Our good Queene spends much of her time of late in a new Monastery at the end of Queene Mother's Cours (formerly the faire and pleasant house of Mar^l^ Basompeere at Challiot) of which shee is the titular Foundresse; and the sweete Duke of Yorke doth here subsist vppon the allowance of one thousand crownes a month payd him from this state, beinge greatly esteemed by all for his comlinesse and personall dexterity, in his behauiour and exercises.

Amongst all the publique and priuate calamities wherwith it hath pleased God to visit my poore family, wee yett (by His gracious blessinge and mercy) injoy our healths, and the hopes of a better condition, when eyther our humiliations, or our enemies sinnes shall moue the Divine power to looke more fauourably vppon vs; in order to the obtaininge wheroff I yett make shift to keepe vp a Chappell and the

Inglish Liturgie in my house, where, by ordinary and extraordinary deuotions wee implore Gods blessinges vppon his Ma^{ties} person and just cause. To that diuine Omnipotency recommending you (with all our cordiall and kind salutes) I rest,

Dear Cousin,

Y^{r} most affectionate kindsman and faithfull humble seruant,

R. Br.

Paris, 19 Aug. 1651.

I pray present my seruice to all such worthy friends of mine of our owne nation, in whom you find any memory of, or kindnes for, mee. Butt, faile nott to render mee most louinge and most respectfull to my noble friend to me still (for I know nott his new titles) Mr. William Murray.

Postscript. Extract of a letter from Nantes. 15th Aug^{t}. Prince Rupert is arriued with his Prizes in Portugall, 15 leagues from Lisbone, and there hee fitts his shipps with some others that belonge to the Kinge of Portugall, to goe against the Kinge of Spaines Gallions. This is written by a good hand from Lisbone.

Wee heere hope the newes of Schottland, and the defeat in Fife, is nott soe bad as the London prints would make vs beleeue. I pray God send us some comfortable tidinges, and bless his Ma^{ty}. with victory and successe in all his undertakinges.

P. 223. From this mention of Mr. Morrice's escape, it should seem as if there had been a report that a Royalist of that name, who in fact was put to death in 1649, had made his escape, and had remained in Ireland. A Mr. Morrice had got possession of Pomfret Castle, and had held it some time for the King; it was besieged and taken by Lambert; this gentleman had made his escape before the surrender, but was afterwards seized and was executed at Lancaster, as Whitelocke tells us. His story, as given by Lord Clarendon, is curious, and being short, may be worth repeating in this place:—

A young man, in the beginning of the war, had been an officer in the King's army, but engaged in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable. By his courage and pleasant humour, he made himself very acceptable, and obtained a commission as Colonel; but being a free speaker, and living licentiously, he was left out in new modelling the army, but not without compliments. He had a competent estate in Yorkshire, to which he went and resided there. As he grew older, he repented of having left the King's service, and meant to take an opportunity of returning to it. His humour was so chearful and pleasant, and he mixed so much with men of all parties, that he had great weight with all of them. The Governor of Pomfret Castle was his most intimate and particular friend, and was so fond of him that he was never easy without him; he was continually at the Castle, and the same bed served him. He now concerted with the King's party to surprize the Castle, and he so artfully managed with the Governor, telling him that there was such a design, that he mixed with those concerned, in order to communicate every thing to the Governor, that he completely lulled that gentleman to sleep, and made him inattentive to notices which he received from other quarters. He also ingratiated himself with many of the soldiers, and at length effected his purpose. Cromwell was then gone for Scotland, so that they had time to repair the fortifications, and collect a good garrison. Cromwell ordered Rainsborough to go with a few troops to keep them in check; and whilst he lay at Doncaster, 10 miles from Pomfret, they sent 20 picked men, who by the most dextrous management actually surprized Rainsborough in his bed, and mounted him on a horse;

but when he found how few there were who had surprized him, he called to his soldiers, and then the captors finding they could not carry him off, actually killed him, and then all made their way back to the Castle.

At length Lambert was sent to besiege the Castle; the garrison made a most gallant defence, but finding no hopes of relief, they at length offered to surrender, if they might have honourable conditions. Lambert said, they were gallant men, and he would do all he could to preserve them; but Col. Morrice and five more of those who had destroyed Rainsborough, must be given up, and he could not save their lives. The garrison said they never would deliver up any of their companions, and desired six days, that these six might deliver themselves as well as they could, the rest being at liberty to assist them. Lambert generously consented. The garrison made several sallies to effect the desired escape, in one of which Morrice and another escaped; in another sally, two more got away; and when the six days were expired, and the other two remained in the castle, their friends concealed them so effectually, with a stock of provisions for a month, that rendering the castle, and assuring Lambert that the six were all gone, and he was unable to find them after the most diligent search, and had dismantled the castle, they at length got off also.

April 1649. Col. Morris, late Governor of Pomfret Castle, and one Cornet Blackburn, who had a hand in the death of Col. Rainsborough, and who were excepted persons on the surrender of the Castle, were taken at Lancaster in disguise*.

Aug. 1649. They were arraigned at York before Baron Thorp and Judge Puleston for levying war against the kingdom. They made a stout defence on points of law, all of which were over-ruled, were found guilty, and Morrice being manacled with irons, complained of a soldier being so treated, but got no relief†.

Before the end of the month Morrice was executed‡. It is not said whether Blackburn suffered.

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* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 382. † Id. p. 405. ‡ Id. 407.

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